THE

HISTORY OF INDIA,

AS TOLD

BY ITS OWN HISTORIANS.

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

EDITED FROM THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

SIR H. M. ELLIOT, K.C.B.,

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BY

PROFESSOR JOHN DOWSON, M.R.A.S.,

STAFF COLLEGE, SANDHURST.

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STEPHEN AUSTIN,

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PRELIMINARY NOTE.

[These are not the days when the public care to listen to the minor details of an author's life; but Sir H. M. Elliot's relations and the thinned number of his personal friends—while confidently leaving his posthumous works to speak for themselves—recognise the double duty of placing on record the more prominent events of his career, and of defining under what guarantee his writings are now submitted, so to say, to a new generation of readers. The former will be found in a separate note, but to explain the origin and progressive advance of the present publication, it may be stated that after Sir Henry Elliot's death, at the Cape of Good Hope, his fragmentary papers were brought to this country by his widow. And as the introductory volume of the original work had been issued under the auspices and at the cost of the Government of the North-Western Provinces of India, the MSS.—constituting the materials already prepared for the more comprehensive undertaking in thirteen volumes—were placed at the disposal of those ever liberal promoters of Oriental literature, the Directors of the East India Company, by whom they were submitted to a Committee consisting of the late Prof. H. H. Wilson, Mr. Edward Clive Bayley, of the Bengal Civil Service, and Mr. W. H. Morley, of the Inner Temple, a gentleman who had distinguished himself as an Arabic scholar, and who was reputed to be well versed in other branches of Oriental lore. On the recommendation of this Committee, the Court of Directors readily sanctioned a grant of £500 towards the purposes of the publication, and Mr. Morley was himself entrusted with

the editorship. Mr. Morley's circumstances, at this critical time, are understood to have been subject to important changes, so that, although he entered upon his task with full alacrity and zeal, his devotion soon slackened, and when the MSS. were returned four years afterwards, they were found to be in such an imperfectly advanced state as effectually to discourage any hasty selection of a new editor. For which reserve, indeed, there were other and more obvious reasons in the paucity of scholars available in this country, who could alike appreciate the versatile knowledge of the author, and do justice to the critical examination of his leading Oriental authorities, or other abstruse texts, where references still remained imperfect.

As Lady Elliot's adviser in this matter, a once official colleague of her husband's, and alike a free participator in his literary tastes, I trust that I have secured the best interests of the projected undertaking in the nomination of Professor J. Dowson, of the Staff College of Sandhurst, who has so satisfactorily completed the first volume, under the revised distribution of the work, now submitted to the public.—EDWARD THOMAS.]

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

The foregoing note has described how, sixteen years after Sir Henry Elliot's first volume was given to the world, his papers were placed in my charge for revision and publication.

My first intention was to carry out the work on the original plan, but as progress was made in the examination of the voluminous materials, the necessity of some modification became more and more apparent. The work had long been advertised under the revised title which it now bears, as contemplated by the author himself; its bibliographical character having been made subordinate to the historical. It also seemed desirable, after the lapse of so many years, to begin with new matter rather than with a reprint of the old volume. Mature consideration ended with the conviction that the book might open with fresh matter, and that it might at the same time be rendered more available as an historical record.

In the old volume, Sir H. Elliot introduced a long note upon "India as known to the Arabs during the first four centuries of the Hijri Era," and under this heading he collected nearly all the materials then within the reach of Europeans. Since that compilation was made, it has been to a great degree superseded by new and more satisfactory translations, and the work of Al Istakhrí has also become available. The translation of Al Idrísí by Jaubert was not quoted by Sir H. Elliot, but an English version of the part relating to India seemed desirable. The subject had thus outgrown the limits of an already lengthy note, and a remodelling of this portion of the book became necessary. The notices of India by the early Arab geographers form a suitable introduction to the History of the Muhammadan Empire in that country. They have accordingly been placed in chronological order at the opening of the work.

Next in date after the Geographers, and next also as regards the antiquity of the subjects dealt with, come the Mujmalu-t Tawáríkh and the Futúhu-l Buldán. In the latter work, Biláduri describes in one chapter the course of the Arab conquests in Sind. The Chach-náma deals more fully with the same subject, and the Arabic original of this work must have been written soon after the events its records, though the Persian version, which

is alone known to us, is of later date. The Arab occupation of Sind was but temporary, it was the precursor, not the commencement, of Musulmán rule in India. On the retreat of the Arabs the government of the country reverted to native princes, and notwithstanding the successes of Mahmúd of Ghazní, the land remained practically independent until its absorption into the Empire during the reign of Akbar in 1592 A.D. Priority of date and of subject thus give the right of precedence to the Historians of Sind, while the isolation of the country and the individuality of its history require that all relating to it should be kept together. The "Early Arab Geographers," and "The Historians of Sind," have therefore been taken first in order, and they are comprised in the present volume.

So far as this volume is concerned, Sir H. Elliot's plan has been followed, and the special histories of Sind form a distinct book, but for the main portion of the work his plan will be changed. In classifying his materials as "General Histories" and "Particular Histories," Sir H. Elliot adopted the example set by previous compilers of catalogues and other bibliographical works, but he sometimes found it convenient to depart from this division. Thus the Kámilu-t Tawáríkh of Ibn Asír and the Nizámu-t Tawáríkh of Baizáwí, are general histories, but they are classed among the particular histories, be-

cause they were written shortly after the fall of the Ghaznivides, and their notices of India are confined almost exclusively to that dynasty.

The great objection to this arrangement in an historical work is that it separates, more than necessary, materials relating to the same person and the same subject. Thus the Táríkh-i Badáúní of 'Abdu-l Kádir is particularly valuable for the details it gives of the reign and character of Akbar under whom the writer lived. But this is a general history, and so would be far removed from the Akbar-náma of Abú-l Fazl, which is a special history comprising only the reign of Akbar. A simple chronological succession, irrespective of the general or special character of the different works, seems with the single exception of the Sindian writers to be the most convenient historical arrangement, and it will therefore be adopted in the subsequent volumes. This plan will not entirely obviate the objection above noticed, but it will tend greatly to its diminution.

Upon examining the mass of materials left by Sir H. Elliot the bibliographical notices were found for the most part written or sketched out, but with many additional notes and references to be used in a final revision. The Extracts intended to be printed were, with some important exceptions, translated; and where translations had not been prepared, the passages required were generally,

though not always, indicated. The translations are in many different hands. Some few are in Sir H. Elliot's own handwriting, others were made by different English officers, but the majority of them seem to have been the work of *munshís*. With the exception of those made by Sir H. Elliot himself, which will be noted whenever they occur, I have compared the whole of them with the original texts and the errors which I have had to correct have been innumerable and extensive. But with all my care it is to be feared that some misreadings may have escaped detection, for it is very difficult for a reviser to divest himself entirely of the colour given to a text by the original translator. In some cases it would have been easier to make entirely new translations, and many might have been made more readable; but, according to Sir H. Elliot's desire, "the versions are inelegant, as, in order to show the nature of the original, they keep as close to it as possible; and no freedom has been indulged in with the object of improving the style, sentiments, connection, or metaphors of the several passages which have been quoted:" the wide difference in the tastes of Europeans and Orientals has, however, induced me to frequently substitute plain language for the turgid metaphors and allusions of the texts.

The notes and remarks of the Editor are enclosed in brackets [ ], but the Introductory chapter on the Arab

Geographers must be looked upon as being in the main his work. Where any of Sir H. Elliot's old materials have been used and throughout in the notes, the distinctive mark of the brackets has been maintained.

The reference made by Sir H. Elliot to the works of other authors are very numerous, especially in the articles which appeared in his printed volume. Some of these references have been checked, and the passages referred to have been found to be of very little importance. They would seem to have been made for the author's rather than for general use, but still it is difficult to determine beforehand what particular part of an article may attract attention or excite opposition. I have worked under the great disadvantage of living in the country, far away from public libraries, and have been confined in great measure to the limited resources of my own library. It has thus been impracticable for me to verify many of these references or to judge of their value. I have therefore deemed it more expedient to insert the whole than to omit any which might eventually prove serviceable.

With the advertisements published before the work came into my hands, there was put forth a scheme of spelling to be observed in the reprint of Sir H. Elliot's Glossary and in this work, by which Sanskritic and Semitic words were to be made distinguishable by dia-

critical marks attached to the Roman equivalent letters. Admitting the ingenuity of the scheme, I nevertheless declined to adopt it, and so a determination was come to, that the long vowels only should be marked. It seemed to me that this system of spelling, while it would have required a great deal of minute attention on the part of the Editor and Printer, would practically have been unheeded by the general reader, and useless to the scholar. In doubtful cases, the affiliation of a word without proofs or reasons, would have been valueless; but more than all this, the many Turanian words must have appeared with a Sanskritic or Semitic label upon them. Either too much or too little was attempted, and even if the design could be completely accomplished, a philological work like the Glossary would be a more fitting vehicle for its introduction than a book like the present.

To shorten the work as much as possible it has been determined to omit the Extracts of the original texts, but even then, it will be impossible to include the whole of the materials in the three volumes advertised.

I have throughout been anxious never to exceed my powers as Editor, but to place myself as far as possible in Sir H. Elliot's place. I have not attempted to controvert his opinions, or to advance theories of my own, but palpable errors have been corrected, and many alterations and additional notes have been introduced, which

have been rendered necessary by the advance of knowledge. With the unrevised matter, I have used greater freedom, but it has been my constant aim to complete the work in a manner that its designer might have approved.

It only remains for me to express my obligations to Mr. E. Thomas for many valuable hints and suggestions. I am also indebted to General Cunningham for several important notes, which I have been careful to acknowledge *in loco*, and for placing at my disposal his valuable Archæological Reports, which are too little known in Europe, and some extracts of which appear in the Appendix.

SIR HENRY ELLIOT'S ORIGINAL PREFACE.

A FEW months since, the Compiler of this Catalogue was engaged in a correspondence with the Principal of the College at Delhi on the subject of lithographing an uniform edition of the Native Historians of India. On referring the matter to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, North Western Provinces, it was replied that the Education Funds at the disposal of the Government were not sufficient to warrant the outlay of so large a sum as the scheme required, and without which it would have been impossible to complete so expensive an undertaking. At the same time it was intimated, that, as few people were acquainted with the particular works which should be selected to form such a series, it would be very desirable that an Index of them should be drawn up, in order that the manuscripts might be sought for, and deposited in one of our College Libraries, to be printed or lithographed hereafter, should circumstances render it expedient, and should the public taste, at present lamentably indifferent, show any inclination for greater familiarity with the true sources of the Muhammadan History of India.

The author willingly undertook this task, as it did not appear one of much difficulty; but in endeavouring to accomplish it, the mere Nominal Index which he was invited to compile, has insensibly expanded into several volumes; for, encouraged not only by finding that no work had ever been written specially on this matter, but also by receiving from many distinguished Orientalists, both European and Native, their confessions of entire ignorance on the subject of his enquiries, he was persuaded that it would be useful to append, as far as his knowledge would permit, a few notes to each history as it came under consideration, illustrative of the matter it comprehends, the style, position, and prejudices of the several authors, and the merits or deficiencies of their execution.

Brief extracts from the several works have been given in the

fourth volume, in order to show the style of each author. Some of these have been translated in the three first volumes; of some, where the text is of no interest, the translation has been omitted; but in most instances, the English translations exceed the Persian text. As the translation and the printing of the Persian text occurred at different periods, the translation will be found occasionally to vary from the text, having been executed probably from a different manuscript, and the preferable reading taken for the fourth volume. The versions are inelegant, as, in order to show the nature of the original, they keep as close to it as possible; and no freedom has been indulged in with the object of improving the style, sentiments, connexion, or metaphors of the several passages which have been quoted.

The author has been very particular in noticing every translation known to him, in order that students, into whose hands this Index may fall, may be saved the useless trouble, which he in his ignorance has more than once entailed upon himself, of undertaking a translation which had already been executed by others.

He had hoped to be able to append an account of the historians of the independent Muhammadan monarchies, such as of Guzerát, Bengál, Kashmír, and others; but the work, as it is, has already extended to a length beyond what either its name or the interest of the subject warrants, and sufficient information is given respecting their annals in many of the General Histories. For the same reason he must forego an intended notice of the various collections of private letters relating to the history of India, and the matters which chiefly interested the generation of the writers.

The historians of the Delhi Emperors have been noticed down to a period when new actors appear upon the stage; when a more stirring and eventful era of India's History commences; and when the full light of European truth and discernment begins to shed its beams upon the obscurity of the past, and to relieve us from the necessity of appealing to the Native Chroniclers of the time, who are, for the most part, dull, prejudiced, ignorant, and superficial.

If it be doubted whether it is worth while to trouble ourselves about collecting such works as are here noticed, it is sufficient to reply that other countries have benefited by similar labours—exem-

plified in the Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, the Auctores Veteres Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, the Monumenta Boica, the Recueil des Historiens des Gaules, and a hundred other collections of the same kind —but no objection is urged against them on the ground that each chronicler, taken individually, is not of any conspicuous merit. They are universally considered as useful depositories of knowledge, from which the labour and diligence of succeeding scholars may extract materials for the erection of a better and more solid structure. This country offers some peculiar facilities for such a collection, which it would be vain to look for elsewhere; since the number of available persons, sufficiently educated for the purpose of transcribing, collating, and indexing, is very large, and they would be content with a small remuneration. Another urgent reason for undertaking such a work in this country, is the incessant depredation which insects, moths, dust, moisture, and vermin are committing upon the small store of manuscripts which is now extant. Every day is of importance in rescuing the remnant from still further damage, as was too painfully evident a short time ago, from a report presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, respecting the injury which has already been sustained by their collection.

On the other hand, it must not be concealed, that in India, independent of the want of standard books of reference, great difficulties beset the enquirer in this path of literature, arising chiefly from one of the defects in the national character, viz.: the intense desire for parade and ostentation, which induces authors to quote works they have never seen, and to lay claim to an erudition which the limited extent of their knowlege does not justify. For instance, not many years ago there was published at Agra a useful set of chronological tables of the Moghal dynasty, said to be founded on the authority of several excellent works named by the author. Having been long in search of many of these works, I requested from the author a more particular account of them. He replied that some had been once in his possession and had been given away; some he had borrowed; and some were lost or mislaid; but the parties to whom he had given, and from whom he had borrowed, denied all knowledge of the works, or even of their titles. Indeed, most of them contained nothing on the subject which they were intended to

illustrate, and they were evidently mentioned by the author for the mere object of acquiring credit for the accuracy and extent of his researches.

Again, a native gentleman furnished a catalogue of the manuscripts said to compose the historical collection of his Highness the Nizám; but on close examination I found that, from beginning to end, it was a complete fabrication, the names of the works being taken from the prefaces of standard histories, in which it is usual to quote the authorities,—the very identical sequence of names, and even the errors of the originals, being implicitly followed.

Against these impudent and interested frauds we must consequently be on our guard, not less than against the blunders arising from negligence and ignorance; the misquoting of titles, dates, and names; the ascriptions to wrong authors; the absence of beginnings and endings; the arbitrary substitution of new ones to complete a mutilated manuscript; the mistakes of copyists; the exercise of ingenuity in their corrections, and of fancy in their additions; all these, added to the ordinary sources of error attributable to the well-known difficulty of deciphering Oriental manuscripts, present many obstacles sufficient to damp even the ardour of an enthusiast. Besides which, we have to lament the entire absence of literary history and biography, which in India is devoted only to saints and poets. Where fairy tales and fictions are included under the general name of history we cannot expect to learn much respecting the character, pursuits, motives, and actions of historians, unless they are pleased to reveal them to us themselves, and to entrust us with their familiar confidences; or unless they happen to have enacted a conspicuous part in the scenes which they describe. Even in Europe this deficiency has been complained of; how much more, then, is it likely to be a subject of regret, where despotism is triumphant; where the active elements of life are few; and where individual character, trammeled by so many restraining influences, has no opportunity of development.

It must be understood, then, that this Index has not been constructed on account of any intrinsic value in the histories themselves. Indeed, it is almost a misnomer to style them histories. They can scarcely claim to rank higher than Annals. "Erat enim historia

nihil aliud, nisi annalium confectio. * * * * Hanc similitudinem scribendi multi secuti sunt, qui, sine ullis ornamentis, monimenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt. * * * Non exornatores rerum, sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt."[1] They comprise, for the most part nothing but a mere dry narration of events, conducted with reference to chronological sequence, never grouped philosophically according to their relations. Without speculation on causes or effects; without a reflection or suggestion which is not of the most puerile and contemptible kind; and without any observations calculated to interrupt the monotony of successive conspiracies, revolts, intrigues, murders, and fratricides, so common in Asiatic monarchies, and to which India unhappily forms no exception. If we are somewhat relieved from the contemplation of such scenes when we come to the accounts of the earlier Moghal Emperors, we have what is little more inviting in the records of the stately magnificence and ceremonious observances of the Court, and the titles, jewels, swords, drums, standards, elephants, and horses bestowed upon the dignitaries of the Empire.

If the artificial definition of Dionysius be correct, that "History is Philosophy teaching by examples," then there is no Native Indian Historian; and few have even approached to so high a standard. Of examples, and very bad ones, we have ample store, though even in them the radical truth is obscured by the hereditary, official, and sectarian prepossessions of the narrator; but of philosophy, which deduces conclusions calculated to benefit us by the lessons and experience of the past, which adverts on the springs and consequences of political transactions, and offers sage counsel for the future, we search in vain for any sign or symptom. Of domestic history also we have in our Indian Annalists absolutely nothing, and the same may be remarked of nearly all Muhammadan historians, except Ibn Khaldún. By them society is never contemplated, either in its conventional usages or recognized privileges; its constituent elements or mutual relations; in its established classes or popular institutions; in its private recesses or habitual intercourses. In notices of commerce, agriculture, internal police, and local judicature, they are equally deficient. A fact, an anecdote, a speech, a remark, which

[1] *De Orat.* II. 12.

would illustrate the condition of the common people, or of any rank subordinate to the highest, is considered too insignificant to be suffered to intrude upon a relation which concerns only grandees and ministers, "thrones and imperial powers."

Hence it is that these works may be said to be deficient in some of the most essential requisites of History, for "its great object," says Dr. Arnold, "is that which most nearly touches the inner life of civilized man, namely, the vicissitudes of institutions, social, political, and religious. This is the τελειότατον τέλος of historical enquiry."[1] In Indian Histories there is little which enables us to penetrate below the glittering surface, and observe the practical operation of a despotic Government and rigorous and sanguinary laws, and the effect upon the great body of the nation of these injurious influences and agencies.

If, however, we turn our eyes to the present Muhammadan kingdoms of India, and examine the character of the princes, and the condition of the people subject to their sway, we may fairly draw a parallel between ancient and modern times, under circumstances and relations nearly similar. We behold kings, even of our own creation, sunk in sloth and debauchery, and emulating the vices of a Caligula or a Commodus. Under such rulers, we cannot wonder that the fountains of justice are corrupted; that the state revenues are never collected without violence and outrage; that villages are burnt, and their inhabitants mutilated or sold into slavery; that the officials, so far from affording protection, are themselves the chief robbers and usurpers; that parasites and eunuchs revel in the spoil of plundered provinces; and that the poor find no redress against the oppressor's wrong and proud man's contumely. When we witness these scenes under our own eyes, where the supremacy of the British Government, the benefit of its example, and the dread of its interference, might be expected to operate as a check upon the progress of misrule, can we be surprised that former princes, when free from such restraints, should have studied even less to preserve the people committed to their charge, in wealth, peace, and prosperity? Had the authors whom we are compelled to consult, pourtrayed their Cæsars with the fidelity of Suetonius, instead of the more congenial

[1] *Lectures on Mod. Hist.*, p. 123.

sycophancy of Paterculus, we should not, as now, have to extort from unwilling witnesses, testimony to the truth of these assertions. From them, nevertheless, we can gather, that the common people must have been plunged into the lowest depths of wretchedness and despondency. The few glimpses we have, even among the short Extracts in this single volume, of Hindús slain for disputing with Muhammadans, of general prohibitions against processions, worship, and ablutions, and of other intolerant measures, of idols mutilated, of temples razed, of forcible conversions and marriages, of proscriptions and confiscations, of murders and massacres, and of the sensuality and drunkenness of the tyrants who enjoined them, show us that this picture is not overcharged, and it is much to be regretted that we are left to draw it for ourselves from out the mass of ordinary occurrences, recorded by writers who seem to sympathize with no virtues, and to abhor no vices. Other nations exhibit the same atrocities, but they are at least spoken of, by some, with indignation and disgust. Whenever, therefore, in the course of this Index, a work is characterized as excellent, admirable, or valuable, it must be remembered that these terms are used relatively to the narrative only; and it is but reasonable to expect that the force of these epithets will be qualified by constant advertence to the deficiencies just commented on.

These deficiencies are more to be lamented, where, as sometimes happens, a Hindú is the author. From one of that nation we might have expected to have learnt what were the feelings, hopes, faiths, fears, and yearnings, of his subject race; but, unfortunately, he rarely writes unless according to order or dictation, and every phrase is studiously and servilely turned to flatter the vanity of an imperious Muhammadan patron. There is nothing to betray his religion or his nation, except, perhaps, a certain stiffness and affectation of style, which show how ill the foreign garb befits him. With him, a Hindú is "an infidel," and a Muhammadan "one of the true faith,' and of the holy saints of the calendar, he writes with all the fervour of a bigot. With him, when Hindús are killed, "their souls are despatched to hell," and when a Muhammadan suffers the same fate, "he drinks the cup of martyrdom." He is so far wedded to the set phrases and inflated language of his conquerors, that he speaks of

"the light of Islám shedding its refulgence on the world," of "the blessed Muharram," and of "the illustrious Book." He usually opens with a "Bismillah," and the ordinary profession of faith in the unity of the Godhead, followed by laudations of the holy prophet, his disciples and descendants, and indulges in all the most devout and orthodox attestations of Muhammadans. One of the Hindú authors here noticed, speaks of standing in his old age, "at the head of his bier and on the brink of his grave," though he must have been fully aware that, before long, his remains would be burnt, and his ashes cast into the Ganges. Even at a later period, when no longer "Tiberii ac Neronís res ob *metum* falsæ,"[1] there is not one of this slavish crew who treats the history of his native country subjectively, or presents us with the thoughts, emotions, and raptures which a long oppressed race might be supposed to give vent to, when freed from the tyranny of its former masters, and allowed to express itself in the natural language of the heart, without constraint and without adulation.

But, though the intrinsic value of these works may be small, they will still yield much that is worth observation to any one who will attentively examine them. They will serve to dispel the mists of ignorance by which the knowledge of India is too much obscured, and show that the history of the Muhammadan period remains yet to be written. They will make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and and equity of our rule. If instruction were sought for from them, we should be spared the rash declarations respecting Muhammadan India, which are frequently made by persons not otherwise ignorant. Characters now renowned only for the splendour of their achievements, and a succession of victories, would, when we withdraw the veil of flattery, and divest them of rhetorical flourishes, be set forth in a truer light, and probably be held up to the execration of mankind. We should no longer hear bombastic Bábús, enjoying under our Government the highest degree of personal liberty, and many more political privileges than were ever conceded to a conquered nation, rant about patriotism, and the degradation of their present position. If they would dive into any of the volumes mentioned

[1] Tacitus, *Annal.*, I. 1.

herein, it would take these young Brutuses and Phocions a very short time to learn, that in the days of that dark period for whose return they sigh, even the bare utterance of their ridiculous fantasies would have been attended, not with silence and contempt, but with the severer discipline of molten lead or empalement. We should be compelled to listen no more to the clamours against resumption of rent-free tenures, when almost every page will show that there was no tenure, whatever its designation, which was not open to resumption in the theory of the law, and which was not repeatedly resumed in practice. Should any ambitious functionary entertain the desire of emulating the "exceedingly magnifical" structures of his Moghal predecessors,[1] it will check his aspirations to learn, that beyond palaces and porticos, temples, and tombs, there is little worthy of emulation. He will find that, if we omit only three names in the long line of Dehli Emperors, the comfort and happiness of the people were never contemplated by them; and with the exception of a few saráís[2] and bridges,—and these only on roads traversed by the imperial camps—he will see nothing in which purely selfish considerations did not prevail. The extreme beauty and elegance of many of their structures it is not attempted to deny; but personal vanity was the main cause of their erection, and with the small exception noted above, there is not one which subserves any purpose of general utility. His romantic sentiments may have been excited by the glowing imagery of Lalla Rookh, and he may have

[1] This was the grandiloquent declaration of a late Governor-General [Lord Ellenborough] at a farewell banquet given to him by the Court of Directors. But when his head became turned by the laurels which the victories of others placed upon his brow, these professions were forgotten; and the only monument remaining of his peaceful aspirations, is a tank under the palace walls of Dehli, which, as it remains empty during one part of the year, and exhales noxious vapours during the other, has been voted a nuisance by the inhabitants of the imperial city, who have actually petitioned that it may be filled up again.

[2] The present dilapidation of these buildings is sometimes adduced as a proof of our indifference to the comforts of the people. It is not considered, that where they do exist in good repair, they are but little used, and that the present system of Government no longer renders it necessary that travellers should seek protection within fortified enclosures. If they are to be considered proofs of the solicitude of former monarchs for their subjects' welfare, they are also standing memorials of the weakness and inefficiency of their administration. Add to which, that many of the extant saráís were the offspring, not of imperial, but of private liberality.

indulged himself with visions of Jahángír's broad highway from one distant capital to the other, shaded throughout the whole length by stately avenues of trees, and accommodated at short distance with saráís and tanks; but the scale of that Emperor's munificence will probably be reduced in his eyes, when he sees it written, that the same work had already been in great measure accomplished by Sher Sháh, and that the same merit is also ascribed to a still earlier predecessor; nor will it be an unreasonable reflection, when he finds, except a ruined milestone here and there, no vestige extant of this magnificent highway, and this "delectable alley of trees," that, after all, that can have been no very stupendous work, which the resources of three successive Emperors have failed to render a more enduring monument.[1] When he reads of the canals of Fíroz Sháh and 'Alí Mardán Khán intersecting the country, he will find on further examination, that even if the former was ever open, it was used only for the palace and hunting park of that monarch; but when he ascertains that no mention is made of it by any of the historians of Tímúr, who are very minute in their topographical details, and that Bábar exclaims in his Memoirs, that in *none* of the Hindústání Provinces are there any canals (and both these conquerors must have passed over these canals, had they been flowing in their time), he may, perhaps, be disposed to doubt if anything was proceeded with beyond the mere excavation. With respect to 'Alí Mardán Khán, his merits will be less extolled, when it is learnt that his canals were made, not with any view to benefit the public, but for an ostentatious display of his profusion, in order that the hoards of his ill-gotten wealth might not be appropriated by the monarch to whom he betrayed his trust. When he reads that in some of the reigns of these kings, security of person and property was so great, that any traveller might go where he listed, and that a bag of gold might be exposed on the highways, and no one dare touch it,[2] he will learn to exercise a wise scepticism, on ascertaining

[1] Coryat speaks of the avenue, "the most incomparable I ever beheld."—*Kerr*, ix. 421.

[2] It is worth while to read the comment of the wayfaring European on this pet phrase. Bernier, describing his situation when he arrived at the Court of Shájahán, speaks of "le peu d'argent qui me restoit de diverses rencontres de voleurs."—*Hist. des Estats du Grand Mogol*, p. 5.

that in one of the most vigorous reigns, in which internal tranquillity was more than ever secured, a caravan was obliged to remain six weeks at Muttra, before the parties who accompanied it thought themselves strong enough to proceed to Dehli;[1] that the walls of Agra were too weak too save the city from frequent attacks of marauders; that Kanauj was a favourite beat for tiger-shooting, and wild elephants plentiful at Karra and Kalpí;[2] that the depopulation of towns and cities, which many declamatory writers have ascribed to our measures of policy, had already commenced before we entered on possession; and that we found, to use the words of the Prophet, "the country desolate, the cities burnt, when the sons of strangers came to build up the walls, and their kings to minister."

If we pay attention to more general considerations, and wish to compare the relative merits of European and Asiatic Monarchies, we shall find that a perusal of these books will convey many an useful lesson, calculated to foster in us a love and admiration of our country and its venerable institutions.

When we see the withering effects of the tyranny and capriciousness of a despot, we shall learn to estimate more fully the value of a balanced constitution. When we see the miseries which are entailed on present and future generations by disputed claims to the crown, we shall more than ever value the principle of a regulated succession, subject to no challenge or controversy. In no country have these miseries been greater than in India. In no country has the recurrence been more frequent, and the claimants more numerous. From the death of Akbar to the British conquest of Dehli—a period of two hundred years—there has been only one undisputed succession to the throne of the Moghal Empire, and even that exceptional instance arose from its not being worth a contest; at that calamitous time, when the memory of the ravages committed by Nádir Sháh was fresh in the minds of men, and the active hostility of the Abdálí seemed to threaten a new visitation. Even now, as experience has shown, we should not be without claimants to the pageant throne, were it not disposed of at the sovereign will and

[1] Captain Coverte (1609–10) says that people, even on the high road from Surat to Agra, dared not travel, except in caravans of 400 or 500 men.—*Churchill*, viii. 252. See Jahángír's Autobiography, 117; *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, Jan. 1850, p. 37.

[2] *Elphinstone's Hist.*, ii. 241.

pleasure of the British Government, expressed before the question can give rise to dispute, or encourage those hopes and expectations, which on each occasion sacrificed the lives of so many members of the Royal Family at the shrine of a vain and reckless ambition.

It is this want of a fixed rule of succession to the throne, which has contributed to maintain the kingdom in a constant ferment, and retard the progress of improvement. It was not that the reigning monarch's choice of his successor was not promulgated; but in a pure despotism, though the will of a living autocrat carries with it the force of law, the injunctions of a dead one avail little against the "lang claymore" or the "persuasive gloss" of a gallant or an intriguing competitor. The very law of primogeniture, which seems to carry with it the strongest sanctions is only more calculated to excite and foment these disturbances, where regal descent is not avowedly based on that rule, and especially in a country where polygamy prevails; for the eldest prince is he who has been longest absent from the Court, whose sympathies have been earliest withdrawn from the influence of his own home, whose position in charge of an independent government inspires most alarm and mistrust in the reigning monarch, and whose interests are the first to be sacrificed, to please some young and favorite queen, ambitious of seeing the crown on the head of her own child. In such a state of society, the princes themselves are naturally brought up, always as rivals, sometimes as adventurers and robbers; the chiefs espouse the cause of one or the other pretender, not for the maintenance of any principle or right, but with the prospect of early advantage or to gratify a personal predilection; and probably end in themselves aspiring to be usurpers on their own account; the people, thoroughly indifferent to the success of either candidate, await with anxiety the issue, which shall enable them to pursue for a short time the path of industry and peace, till it shall again be interrupted by new contests; in short, all classes, interests, and institutions are more or less affected by the general want of stability, which is the necessary result of such unceasing turmoil and agitation.

These considerations, and many more which will offer themselves to any diligent and careful peruser of the volumes here noticed, will

serve to dissipate the gorgeous illusions which are commonly entertained regarding the dynasties which have passed, and show him that, notwithstanding a civil policy and an ungenial climate, which forbid our making this country a permanent home, and deriving personal gratification or profit from its advancement, notwithstanding the many defects necessarily inherent in a system of foreign administration, in which language, colour, religion, customs, and laws preclude all natural sympathy between sovereign and subject, we have already, within the half-century of our dominion, done more for the substantial benefit of the people, than our predecessors, in the country of their own adoption, were able to accomplish in more than ten times that period;[1] and, drawing auguries from the past, he will derive hope for the future, that, inspired by the success which has hitherto attended our endeavours, we shall follow them up by continuous efforts to fulfil our high destiny as the rulers of India.

[1] I speak only with reference to my own Presidency, the North-Western Provinces. Bengal is said to be a quarter of a century behind it in every symptom of improvement, except mere English education. To the North-Western Provinces, at least, cannot be applied the taunt, that we have done nothing, compared with the Muhammadan Emperors, with respect to roads, bridges, and canals. Even here, in the very seat of their supremacy, we have hundreds of good district roads where one never existed before, besides the 400 miles of trunk-road, which is better than any mail-road of similar extent in Europe, and to which the Emperors never had anything in the remotest degree to be compared. The bridge of Jaunpúr is the only one that can enter into competition with our bridge over the Hindun, and would suffer greatly by the comparison, to say nothing of those over the Júa, the Khanaut, and the Kálí-nadí. In canals we have been fifty times more effective. Instead of wasting our supply of water on the frivolities of fountains, we have fertilized whole provinces, which had been barren from time immemorial, and this even on the lines of which much was marked out by themselves, leaving out of consideration the magnificent works in progress in the Doáb and Rohilkhand. The scientific survey alone of the North-Western Provinces is sufficient to proclaim our superiority; in which every field throughout an area of 52,000 square miles is mapped, and every man's possession recorded. It altogether eclipses the boasted measurement of Akbar, and is as magnificent a monument of civilization as any country in the world can produce. Finally, be it remembered that six centuries more have to elapse before any thing like a comparison can be fairly instituted. It is to be hoped we shall not be idle during that long period.

NOTICE OF SIR HENRY M. ELLIOT.

HENRY MIERS ELLIOT was one of fifteen children of the late John Elliot, Esq., of Pimlico Lodge, Westminster, and third son of that gentleman. He was born in the year 1808. Winchester was chosen as the place of his education, and he entered the venerable College of William of Wykeham at the age of ten years. He remained at Winchester eight years, and, ere he left, was one of the senior præfects. During his residence there he devoted himself assiduously to the studies of the institution, and shared in its distinctions, having gained both the silver medals for speaking. Eight years passed at Winchester prepared him worthily for admission into that further temple of learning, which may be regarded, in fact, as an outlying portion of the Wykhamist establishment, New College, Oxford. It happened that at the very time, when his future destination was to be determined an opportunity presented itself, which was then of rare occurrence. From a deficiency of civil servants, consequent upon the consolidation of the British power in India, it became necessary to seek reinforcements, not alone from Haileybury, which was designed merely to supply a fixed contingent, but from new recruiting fields, whence volunteers might be obtained whose varied acquirements might compete with the special training advocated at the East India College : under the pressure of necessity such an exceptional measure was sanctioned by Parliament. Mr. Elliot, having been nominated as a candidate by Campbell Marjoribanks, was the first of the since celebrated list of Competition Wallahs to pass an examination for a civil appointment direct to India. The exhibition of classical and mathematical knowledge might have been anticipated, but although a year had not elapsed since he left Winchester, where he had no opportunity for pursuing such studies, his proficiency in the Oriental languages proved so remarkable, that the examiners at the India House placed him alone in an honorary class. He had

thus the good fortune to arrive in Calcutta with a reputation that his future career tended not only to maintain, but to exalt. After emerging from his noviciate as a writer (the term by which the younger civilians were then distinguished), he was appointed assistant to the magistrate, and collector of Bareilly, and successively assistant to the political agent and commissioner at Delhi, assistant to the collector and magistrate of Mooradabad, Secretary to the Sudder Board of Revenue for the North West Provinces, and in 1847 he became Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department. While holding this office he accompanied the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, to the Punjab, upon the resources of which he drew up a most elaborate and exhaustive memoir. Later in point of time, Sir Henry Elliot filled the same important post during the more effective portion of Lord Dalhousie's administration. His distinguished services were freely recognized by the Crown as well as by the Company. He received from the former the honour of a K.C.B.-ship; his reward from the latter was hoped for by the well-wishers of India, in the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North West Provinces, or the higher office of the Government of Madras. Sir Henry died at the early age of forty-five, while seeking to restore his broken health in the equable climate of the Cape of Good Hope.

In 1846 Sir Henry Elliot printed the first volume of his "Supplement to the Glossary of Indian Terms." The Glossary itself was a pretentious work then meditated, and for which great preparation had been made by the various local governments, as it was intended to comprise the whole series of Indian terms in official use throughout the country, and if, in Professor Wilson's hands, it fell short of public expectation, this was less the fault of the Editor, than of the imperfection of the materials supplied to him; while Sir H. Elliot's "Glossary," on the other hand, received too humble a title, aiming, as it did, at far higher and more important branches of research,—the history and ethnic affinities of the hereditary tribes, with whom he, an isolated Englishman, had lived so long, in intimate official association, settling in detail the state demand upon each member of the Patriarchal Village Communities of North-Western India.

In 1849, Sir Henry Elliot published the first volume of his "Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Mohammedan India," of which the present publication is the more mature extension.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 33, in line 11, for "Khurásán," read "Sind and Khurásán," and in line 13, insert "Vol. xxi."

Page 129, line 11, for "sixty," read "seventy."

„ 158, „ 3, after "Balhár," insert "on the land of Barúzí."

„ 214, „ 20, add, "This translation has been published as No. xii. New Series, Selections of the Records of the Government of Bombay, 1855."

„ 225, „ 20, omit "the."

„ 508, add as a note to the article on the Jats, "See Másson's Journey to Kelat, pp. 351-3; also Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vol. III, p. 209."

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EARLY ARAB GEOGRAPHERS.

I.

SALSILATU-T TAWÁRÍKH

OF THE

MERCHANT SULAIMÁN,

WITH ADDITIONS BY

ABÚ ZAIDU-L HASAN, OF SÍRÁF.

THE earliest information which Europe derived from the writings of the Arabs upon India and the lands adjacent, was that which the Abbé Renaudot published, in the year 1718, under the title "*Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine de deux voyageurs Mahométans qui y allerent dans le ix*e *siècle de notre ère.*" By a curious coincidence the work so translated happened to be the earliest work extant of the Arab geographers relating to India. So novel and unexpected was the light thus thrown upon the farther East, that the translator was accused of all sorts of literary crimes. Some asserted his inaccuracy, and pointed out the discrepancies between the statements of his work and the accounts of the Jesuit missionaries in China. He had given no precise account of his manuscripts, hence some did not hesitate to accuse him of downright forgery. Time has shown the emptiness of most of these charges. From error he certainly was not exempt, but his faults and mistakes were those of a man who had to deal with a difficult subject, one which, even a century later, long deterred M. Reinaud from grappling with it.

The MS. from which Renaudot made his translation was found by him in the library formed by the minister Colbert. This collection descended to the Comte de Seignelay; and subsequently merged into the Bibliothéque Royale. Here in 1764 the celebrated scholar Deguignes found the MS., and wrote more than one article upon it.[1]

In the year 1811 M. Langlès printed the text, and promised a translation; but he had made no progress with the latter at the time of his death in 1824. The text so printed remained in the stores of the Imprimerie Royale until the year 1844, when M. Reinaud published it with a translation and notes, prefacing the whole with a Preliminary Discourse on the early Geography of the East, full of valuable information and criticism. The following observations upon the work are condensed from M. Reinaud's; the translation is also taken from his.[2]

The title which Renaudot gave to his book is not quite accurate. He speaks of two travellers, while there was only one who wrote an account of his own travels. The basis of the work and that which bears in the text the title of Book I, is the account written by a merchant named Sulaimán, who embarked on the Persian Gulf, and made several voyages to India and China. This bears the date 237 A.H. (851 A.D.). The second part of the work was written by Abú Zaidu-l Hasan, of Síráf, a connoisseur, who, although he never travelled in India and China, as he himself expressly states, made it his business to modify and complete the work of Sulaimán, by reading, and by questioning travellers to those countries. Mas'údí met this Abú Zaid at Basra, in 303 A.H. (916 A.D.), and acknowledges to have derived information from him, some of which he reproduced in

[1] Jour. des Sav., Novembre, 1764. Notices et Extraits des MSS., Tome i. See also Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, Tome xxxvii.; Jour. Asiatique, iv serie, T. viii., 161; Asiatic Journal, vol. xxxiii., p. 234.

[2] "Relations des Voyages faites par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine." 2 Tom., 24mo., Paris, 1845.

his "Meadows of Gold,"[1] as a comparison of the following extracts will show. On the other hand, Abú Zaid was indebted to Mas'údí for some of his statements. He never mentions him by name, but refers to him as a "trustworthy person." The two works have much in common, but Mas'údí is generally more detailed. Abú Zaid finishes his work with these words: "Such is the most interesting matter that I have heard, among the many accounts to which maritime adventure has given birth. I have refrained from recording the false stories which sailors tell, and which the narrators themselves do not believe. A faithful account although short, is preferable to all. It is God who guides us in the right way."

EXTRACTS.

Observations on the Countries of India and China, and their Sovereigns.

The inhabitants of India and China agree that there are four great or principal kings in the world. They place the king of the Arabs (Khalif of Baghdád) at the head of these, for it is admitted without dispute that he is the greatest of kings. First in wealth, and in the splendour of his Court; but above all, as chief of that sublime religion which nothing excels. The king of China reckons himself next after the king of the Arabs. After him comes the king of the Greeks,[2] and lastly the Balhará, prince of the men who have their ears pierced.

The Balhará[3] is the most eminent of the princes of India, and the Indians acknowledge his superiority. Every prince in India is master in his own state, but all pay homage to the supremacy of the Balhará. The representatives sent by the Balhará to other princes are received with most profound respect in order to show him honour. He gives regular pay to his troops, as the practice is among the Arabs. He has many horses and elephants, and immense wealth. The coins which pass in his country are the Tátariya dirhams,[4] each

[1] [See Reinaud's Mem. sur l'Inde, p. 19, and Aboulféda, I., liii.]

[2] [Rúm.]

[3] [See note A in Appendix.]

[4] [These dirhams are mentioned by almost all these early writers. Idrísí says they were in use at Mansúra, and also current in the Malay Archipelago (Jaubert, p. 86

of which weighs a dirham and a half of the coinage of the king. They are dated from the year in which the dynasty acquired the throne. They do not, like the Arabs, use the Hijra of the prophet, but date their eras from the beginning of their kings' reigns; and their kings live long, frequently reigning for fifty years. The inhabitants of the Balhará's country say that if their kings reign and live for a long time, it is solely in consequence of the favour shown to the Arabs. In fact, among all the kings there is no one to be found who is so partial to the Arabs as the Balhará; and his subjects follow his example.

Balhará is the title borne by all the kings of this dynasty. It is similar to the Cosroes (of the Persians), and is not a proper name. The kingdom of the Balhará commences on the sea side, at the country of Komkam [Konkan], on the tongue of land which stretches to China. The Balhará has around him several kings with whom he is at war, but whom he greatly excels. Among them is the king of Jurz.[2] This king maintains numerous forces, and no other Indian prince has so fine a cavalry. He is unfriendly to the Arabs, still he acknowledges that the king of the Arabs is the greatest of kings. Among the princes of India there is no greater foe of the Muhammadan faith than he. His territories form a tongue of land. He has great riches, and his camels and horses are numerous. Exchanges are carried on in his states with silver (and gold) in dust, and there are said to be mines (of these metals) in the country. There is no country in India more safe from robbers.

By the side of this kingdom lies that of Táfak, which is but a

and 162). Reinaud suggests that the term is intended to represent "statére," and that the coins were tetradrachmas. (Mem. sur l'Inde, p. 235; Rel. des Voy., ii., 16; Thomas's Prinsep, i., 86.) In the Paris edition of Mas'údí they are called "Táhiriya," and Prof. Cowell states that the same word is used in the Oxford MS. of Ibn Khurdádba. This reading gives weight to a suggestion made by Mr. Thomas, that these dirhams were coins of the Tahirides, who were reigning in Khurásán, and exercised authority over Sístán in the time of our author Sulaimán.]

[1] [This agrees with Ibn Khúrdádba and Idrísí, but differs from Ibn Haukal; see *post.*]

[[2] Ibn Khurdádba concurs in this reading, but Mas'údí has "Juzr," a near approach to "Guzerat." Reinaud suggests Kanauj as the seat of this monarchy (Rel. des Voy., xcv.), but Mas'údí places the Bauüra or Bodha there at the same period. The question is discussed in note A in Appendix.]

small state. The women are white, and the most beautiful in India. The king lives at peace with his neighbours, because his soldiers are so few. He esteems the Arabs as highly as the Balhará does.

These three states border on a kingdom called Ruhmi,[1] which is at war with that of Jurz. The king is not held in very high estimation. He is at war with the Balhará as he is with the king of Jurz. His troops are more numerous than those of the Balhará, the king of Jurz, or the king of Táfak. It is said that when he goes out to battle he is followed by about 50,000 elephants. He takes the field only in winter, because elephants cannot endure thirst, and can only go out in the cold season. It is stated that there are from ten to fifteen thousand men in his army who are employed in fulling and washing cloths. There is a stuff made in his country which is not to be found elsewhere; so fine and delicate is this material that a dress made of it may be passed through a signet-ring. It is made of cotton, and we have seen a piece of it. Trade is carried on by means of kauris, which are the current money of the country. They have gold and silver in the country, aloes, and the stuff called *samara*, of which *madabs* are made. The striped *bushán* or *karkaddan* is found in this country. It is an animal which has a single horn in the middle of its forehead, and in this horn there is a figure like unto that of a man.[2] * * * * *

After this kingdom there is another situated in the interior of the country, away from the sea. It is called Káshbín. The people are white, and pierce their ears. They are handsome, and dwell in the wilds and mountains.

Afterwards comes a sea, on the shores of which there is a kingdom called Kíranj.[3] Its king is poor and proud. He collects large

[1] [رُهْمي. The position of these kingdoms is discussed in note A in Appendix.]

[2] [Mas'údí gives these passages with a few verbal alterations. The translation of the Paris edition says, "They export from this country the hair called Samara, from which fly-whisks are made, with handles of ivory and silver. These are held over the heads of princes when they give audience. It is in this country that the animal called *an nishán*, 'the marked,' or vulgarly *karkaddan*, is found. It has one horn in the middle of its forehead." Maçoudi, vol. i., 385.]

[3] [Mas'údí writes "Firanj," see *post*, page 25. Reinaud says "the coast of Coromandel;" perhaps it is the country of Kalinga on that coast.]

quantities of amber, and is equally well provided with elephants' teeth. They eat pepper green in this country because it is scarce.

* * * *

When the king of Sarandíb dies, his corpse is carried on a low carriage very near the ground, with the head so attached to the back of the vehicle that the occiput touches the ground, and the hair drags in the dust. A woman follows with a broom, who sweeps the dust on to the face of the corpse, and cries out, "O men, behold! This man yesterday was your king; he reigned over you and you obeyed his orders. See now to what he is brought; he has bid farewell to the world, and the angel of death has carried off his soul. Do not allow yourselves to be led astray by the pleasures of this life," and such like words. The ceremony lasts for three days, after which the body is burnt with sandal, camphor and saffron, and the ashes scattered to the winds.[1] All the Indians burn their dead. Sarandíb is the last of the islands dependent on India. Sometimes when the corpse of a king is burnt, his wives cast themselves upon the pile and burn with it; but it is for them to choose whether they will do do so or not.

In India there are persons who, in accordance with their profession, wander in the woods and mountains, and rarely communicate with the rest of mankind. Sometimes they have nothing to eat but herbs and the fruits of the forest. * * * * * Some of them go about naked. Others stand naked with the face turned to the sun, having nothing on but a panther's skin. In my travels I saw a man in the position I have described; sixteen years afterwards I returned to that country and found him in the same posture. What astonished me was that he was not melted by the heat of the sun.

In all these kingdoms the nobility is considered to form but one family. Power resides in it alone. The princes name their own successors. It is the same with learned men and physicians. They form a distinct caste, and the profession never goes out of the caste.

The princes of India do not recognise the supremacy of any one

[1] [Mas'údí and Idrísí gave the same account. The former says he had witnessed the ceremony himself. Idrísí refers the custom to the kings of India. Maçoudi, Tome i., 69. Idrísí, *post.*]

sovereign. Each one is his own master. Still the Balhará has the title of "king of kings."

The Chinese are men of pleasure; but the Indians condemn pleasure, and abstain from it. They do not take wine, nor do they take vinegar which is made of wine. This does not arise from religious scruples, but from their disdain of it. They say "The prince who drinks wine is no true king." The Indians are surrounded by enemies, who war against them, and they say "How can a man who inebriates himself conduct the business of a kingdom?"

The Indians sometimes go to war for conquest, but the occasions are rare. I have never seen the people of one country submit to the authority of another, except in the case of that country which comes next to the country of pepper.[1] When a king subdues a neighbouring state, he places over it a man belonging to the family of the fallen prince, who carries on the government in the name of the conqueror. The inhabitants would not suffer it to be otherwise.

The principles of the religion of China were derived from India. The Chinese say that the Indians brought buddhas into the country, and that they have been the real masters in matters of religion. In both countries they believe in the metempsychosis, but there are some differences upon matters of detail.

The troops of the kings of India are numerous, but they do not receive pay. The king assembles them only in case of a religious war. They then come out, and maintain themselves without receiving anything from the king.[2]

Book II.—*The words of Abú Zaidu-l Hasan, of Síráf.*—I have carefully read this book, that is to say the first book, having resolved to examine it and to add to it such observations as I have gathered in the course of my reading about voyages and the kings of the maritime countries, and their peculiarities, collecting all the information I could upon those matters about which the author has not spoken.

* * * *

Among the stories[3] which are current in the country (of Zábaj)

[1] [Malabar.]
[2] [It has been previously remarked that the Balhará paid his troops.]
[3] [Mas'údí relates this story also. Maçoudi, Tome i., 62.]

about ancient times, there is one concerning a king of Kumár,[1] the country which produces the aloes called kumárí. This country is not an island, but is situated (on the continent of India) on that side which faces the country of the Arabs. There is no kingdom which has a more dense population than Kumár. Here every one walks on foot. The inhabitants abstain from licentiousness, and from all sorts of wine. Nothing indecent is to be seen in this country. Kumár is in the direction of the kingdom of the Mahárája, of the island of Zábaj. There is about ten days' sailing between the two kingdoms, * * * * but when the wind is light the journey takes as much as twenty days. It is said that in years gone by the country of Kumár came into the hands of a young prince of very hasty temper. This prince was one day seated in his palace, situated on the banks of a river, the water of which was sweet like that of the Tigris of 'Irák. There was the distance of a day's journey between the palace and the sea. The wazír was near the king, and the conversation turned upon the empire of the Mahárája, of its splendour, the number of its subjects, and of the islands subordinate to it. All at once the king said to the wazír, "I have taken a fancy into my head which I should much like to gratify. * * * I should like to see before me the head of the king of Zábaj in a dish." * * * * These words passed from mouth to mouth, and so spread that they at length reached the ears of the Mahárája. * * * * That king ordered his wazír to have a thousand vessels of medium size prepared, with their engines of war, and to put on board of each vessel as many arms and soldiers as it could carry. * * * * When the preparations were ended, and everything was ready, the king went on board his fleet, and proceeded with his troops to Kumár. The king and his warriors all carried toothbrushes, and every man cleaned his teeth several times a day. Each one carried his own brush on his person, and never parted from it, unless he entrusted it to his servant. The king of Kumár knew nothing of the impending danger until the fleet had entered the river which led to his capital, and the troops of the Mahárája had landed. The Mahárája thus took the king of Kumár unawares, and seized

[1] [The country about Cape Kumárí, or Comorin.]

upon his palace, for the officers had taken flight. He then made a proclamation assuring safety to every one, and seated himself on the throne of Kumár. He had the king brought forth, * * * and had his head cut off. The Mahárája then addressed the wazír, "I know that you have borne yourself like a true minister; receive now the recompense of your conduct. I know that you have given good advice to your master if he would but have heeded it. Seek out a man fit to occupy the throne, and seat him thereon instead of this foolish fellow." The Mahárája returned immediately to his country, and neither he nor any of his men touched anything belonging to the king of Kumár. * * * * Afterwards the Mahárája had the head washed and embalmed, then putting it in a vase, he sent it to the prince who then occupied the throne of Kumár, with a letter. * * * * When the news of these events spread among the kings of India and China the Mahárája rose greatly in their estimation. From this time the kings of Kumár, when they rise in the morning, always turn towards the country of Zábaj, and bow themselves to the ground as a mark of respect to the Mahárája.

In the states of the Balhará, and in other provinces of India, one may see men burn themselves on a pile. This arises from the faith of the Indians in the metempsychosis, a faith which is rooted in their hearts, and about which they have not the slightest doubt.

Some of the kings of India, when they ascend the throne, have a quantity of rice cooked and served on banana leaves. Attached to the king's person are three or four hundred companions, who have joined him of their own free will without compulsion. When the king has eaten some of the rice, he gives it to his companions. Each in his turn approaches, takes a small quantity and eats it. All those who so eat the rice are obliged, when the king dies, or is slain, to burn themselves to the very last man on the very day of the king's decease. This is a duty which admits of no delay, and not a vestige of these men ought to be left.[1]

* * * *

When a person, either woman or man, becomes old, and the senses are enfeebled, he begs some one of his family to throw him into the

[1] [Reinaudot and Reinaud refer this to the Nairs of Malabar.]

fire, or to drown him in the water; so firmly are the Indians persuaded that they shall return to (life upon) the earth. In India they burn the dead.

The island of Sarandíb contains the mountain of precious stones, the pearl fisheries, etc, * * * * Precious stones, red, green, and yellow, are obtained from the mountain which rises over the island of Sarandíb. The greater part of the stones that are found are brought up by the tide. The water carries them into caverns and grottoes, and into the places where torrents descend. There are men appointed to watch the gathering of these stones on behalf of the king. Sometimes precious stones are dug from the depths of the earth, as in mines; these stones are accompanied by earthy matter, which has to be separated from them.

The kingdom of Sarandíb has a law, and its doctors assemble from time to time like as among us the men assemble who collect the traditions of the Prophet. The Indians go to the doctors, and write from their dictation the lives of the prophets, and the precepts of the law. There is in the island a great idol of pure gold, the size of which has been exaggerated by travellers. There are also temples which must have cost considerable sums of money. There is a numerous colony of Jews in Sarandíb, and people of other religions, especially Manicheans. The king allows each sect to follow its own religion.[1] Great licentiousness prevails in this country among the women as well as the men. Sometimes a newly arrived merchant will make advances to the daughter of a king, and she, with the knowledge of her father, will go to meet him in some woody place. The more serious of the merchants of Síráf avoid sending their ships here, especially if there are young men on board.

Among the Indians there are men who are devoted to religion and men of science, whom they call Brahmans. They have also their poets who live at the courts of their kings, astronomers, philosophers, diviners, and those who draw omens from the flight of crows, etc. Among them are diviners and jugglers, who perform most astonishing feats. These observations are especially applicable to Kanauj, a large country forming the empire of Jurz.

[1] [See Jaubert's Idrísí, p. 71.]

[*Then follows an account of the Baikarjís or Bairágís, of the inns for travellers, and of the courtezans attached to the temples.*]

The idol called Multán is situated in the environs of Mansúra, and people come on pilgrimages to it from many months distance. They bring thither the Indian aloes called *al kámrúní*, from Kámrún, the name of the country in which it grows. These aloes are of the finest quality. They are given to the ministers of the temple for use as incense. These aloes are sometimes worth as much as two hundred dinars a *mana*. The aloes are so soft that they will receive the impression of a seal. Merchants buy them of the ministers of the temple.

* * * *

The kings of India are accustomed to wear earrings of precious stones, mounted in gold. They also wear necklaces of great value, formed of the most precious red and green stones. Pearls, however, are held in the highest esteem, and are greatly sought after. * * *

Formerly the dinars of Sind, each of which is worth three and a fraction of the ordinary dinars, were brought into India. Emeralds also were imported from Egypt, mounted as seals, and enclosed in boxes. Coral and the stone *dahnaj*[1] were also imported. This trade has now ceased.

Most of the princes of India, when they hold a court, allow their women to be seen by the men who attend it, whether they be natives or foreigners. No veil conceals them from the eyes of the visitors.

[1] [A stone resembling the emerald.]

II.

KITÁBU-L MASÁLIK WA-L MAMÁLIK

OF

IBN KHURDADBA.

Abú-l Kásim 'Ubaidu-llah bin 'Abdu-llah bin Khurdádba is better known as Ibn Khurdádba, a name derived from his grandfather, who was a fire worshipper, as the name shows, but who subsequently became a convert to the Muhammadan faith. Ibn Khurdádba attained high office under the Khalifs, and employed his leisure in topographical and geographical researches, the result of which was his "Book of Roads and Kingdoms." He died in 300 A.H., or 912 A.D.[1] Up to a recent date the separate individuality of Ibn Khurdádba was disputed, and it was argued by some that he was the same person as Abú Is,hák Istakhrí, and the real author of the "Oriental Geography" translated by Sir W. Ouseley. This question was set at rest by the publication of Istakhrí's work, and by the extracts from Ibn Khurdádba, which appeared in Sir H. Elliot's first volume.

The text of Ibn Khurdádba has lately been published with a translation by M. Barbier de Meynard, in the Journal Asiatique (1865) from a copy of the MS. in the Bodleian Library, collated with another from Constantinople. Advantage has been taken of this publication to amend the translation which originally appeared in the original specimen of this work. The texts differ occasionally, and the leaves of one or both of the MSS. must have been

[1] [See Reinaud's Aboulfeda I., p. 57, and Journ. Asiatique, Jan., 1865.]

misplaced. The notes marked P give the Paris readings, where the differences are such as to preclude an alteration of the Indian version. The passages in brackets have been taken from the Paris translation in addition to those published in the first edition.

EXTRACTS.

[The greatest king of India is the Balhará, or "king of kings." The other sovereigns of this country are those of Jába, Táfan, Juzr [Guzerat], Ghánah, Rahmí, and Kámrún. The king of Zábaj is called Alfíkat,[1] * * * and the king of the isle of the eastern sea Maháràja * * * *].

The kings and people of Hind regard fornication as lawful, and wine as unlawful. This opinion prevails throughout Hind, but the king of Kumár[2] holds both fornication and the use of wine as unlawful. The king of Sarandíp conveys wine from 'Irák for his consumption.

The kings of Hind take great delight in maintaining elephants, and pay largely for them in gold. The elephants are, generally, about nine cubits high, except those of 'Anáb,[3] which are ten and eleven cubits.

The greatest king of India is the Balhará, whose name imports "king of kings." He wears a ring in which is inscribed the following sentence: "What is begun with resolution ends with success."

The next eminent king is he of Táfan; the third is king of Jába; the fourth is he of Juzr: the Tátariya dirhams are in use in his dominions. The fifth is king of 'Ana;[4] the sixth is the Rahmí,[5]

[1] [In a subsequent passage he says, "The king of Zábaj is called Mahárája," and this agrees with Mas'údí.]

[2] [Kumár is the country about Cape Comorin, Travancore, etc. Kazwíní makes the same statement respecting Kumár but he refers to Ibn Fakiyah as his authority. He adds that wine-drinkers were punished by having a hot iron placed on their bodies, and kept there till it got cold. Many died under the infliction.]

[3] [So says Sir H. Elliot's text. The Paris translation reads, "*aghbáb*, vallées spacieuses et étendues qui s'avancent dans la mer." Sulaimán and Mas'údí place these valleys near Ceylon, *post*, page 22. Rel. des Voy. i., 128.]

[4] [The Paris version here reads "'Anah," but in the first paragraph the name is given as "Ghanah," Sir H. Elliot's text has "'Ába."]

[5] ["Rahma" in the Paris translation; *alif-i maksúra.*]

and between him and the other kings a communication is kept up by ships.[1] It is stated that he has in his possession five thousand[2] elephants; that his country produces cotton cloths and aloe wood. The seventh is the king of Kámrún, which is contiguous to China. There is plenty of gold in this country.

[From the frontier of Kirmán to Mansúra, eighty parasangs; this route passes through the country of the Zats [Jats], who keep watch over it. From Záranj, capital of Sijistán, to Multán, two months' journey. Multán is called "the *farj* of the house of gold," because Muhammad, son of Kásim, lieutenant of Al Hajjáj, found forty *bahárs* of gold in one house of that city, which was henceforth called "House of Gold." *Farj* (split) has here the sense of "frontier." A *bahár* is worth 333 *mans*, and each *man* two *ritls.*] [3]

[Countries of Sind.—Al Kaírúnya [Kírbún ?[4]], Makrán, Al Mand (or rather, country of the Meds), Kandahár, Kasrán,[5] Núkán,[6] Kandábil, Kinnazbún, Armábíl, Kanbalí, Sahbán, Sadúsán, Debal, Rásak, Al Daur [Alor], Vandán, Multán, Sindán, Mandal, Salmán, Saïrasb, Karaj, Rúmla, Kúli, Kanauj, Barúh [Broach].[7]]

There is a road through the city of Karkúz, leading to the eastern countries from Persia.[8]

The island of Khárak lies fifty parasangs from Obolla. It is a parasang in length and breadth, and produces wheat, palm trees, and vines. The island of Láfat[9] is at a distance of eighty parasangs from that of Khárak, and has cultivated lands and trees. It is two para-

1 [The Paris version reads مسيرة سنة instead of مسيرة سفينة and translates "Les Etats de ce dernier sont distants de tous les autres d'une année de marche."]

2 ["Cinquante mille." P.]

3 [A ritl is one pound Troy.]

4 [A large town in Makrán. Marásidu-l Ittilá'.]

5 [A city in Sind. Marásid.]

6 [A town of Tús, near Nishapúr. Marásid; Abú-l Fidá; Sprenger's Routes, Map 4.]

7 [The locality of several of these countries is discussed in a note. Appx. A.]

8 [I do not find this passage in the Paris version. Quatremére proposed to read Hormuz for Karkúz. Jour. des Sav. Sep. 1850.]

9 [Sir H. Elliot's text has "Labin," but the Paris version reads Lafet: "it is the 'Labet' of Idrísí, and the 'Lafet' of Istakhrí, probably the Isle of Kenn." Quatremère, in Jour. des Sav. Sep. 1850. Sprenger's Routes, 79.]

sangs in length and breadth. From Láfat to the island of Abrún are seven parasangs; it produces palm trees and wheat, and is a parasang in length and breadth. From Abrún to the island of Khín[1] are seven parasangs; this island is only half a parasang in extent, and is uninhabited. From Khín to the island of Kís,[2] seven parasangs; the island is four parasangs in extent. In it are produced wheat, palm trees, and the like; the inhabitants dive for pearls, which are here of excellent quality. From Kís to Ibn Káwán[3] are eighteen parasangs. It is three parasangs in extent. The inhabitants are heretics, of the sect of the Ibázites. From Ibn Káwán to Armún,[4] seven parasangs. From Armún to Nármasírá[5] is seven days' journey, and the latter is the boundary between Persia and Sind. From Nármasírá to Debal is eight days' journey, and from Debal to the junction of the river Mihrán with the sea is two parasangs.

From Sind are brought the costus, canes, and bamboos. From the Mihrán to Bakar,[6] which is the first place on the borders of Hind, is four days' journey. The country abounds with canes in the hilly tracts, but in the plains wheat is cultivated. The people are wanderers and robbers. From this place to the Meds are two parasangs; they also are robbers. From the Meds to Kol[7] are two parasangs, and from Kol to Sindán is eighteen parasangs. In the latter grow the teak tree and canes. From Sindán to Mali [Malabar] is five days' journey; in the latter pepper is to be found, also the bamboo. From Mali to Balbun,[8] is two days' journey, and from Balbun to the great sea,[9] is two days' journey. At Balbun the route divides; fol-

1 [Sir H. Elliot's text and translation reads "Chin."]

2 [Sir H. Elliot's text and translation had Kasír. Quatremére suggested Kísh, and the Paris version gives Kis for Kish.]

3 [Or "Benou Kâvân." P. Sir. H. Elliot's text had "Abarkáwán."]

4 ["Ormuz." P.]

5 [Or Narmáshíra, the "Narmásír" of Sprenger's Routes, and "Nurmanshur" of the Maps of Kirman.]

6 [Illegible in the Paris copies.]

7 This is the first indication we have of the Coles in this neighbourhood, if we except the Κωλις of Dionysius (*Perieg:* 1148), which must be looked for in another direction.

8 ["Balín," in the Paris version.]

9 ["Lajjat," middle of the sea, gulf, great deep.]

lowing the shore it takes two days to reach Bás, which is a large place where you can take passage to Sarandíp. From Bás to Sají[1] and 'Askán, is two days' journey, in which latter place rice is cultivated. From 'Askán to Kúra three and a half parasangs, where several rivers discharge. From Kúra to Kilakán, Lúár and Kanja,[2] is two days' journey, in all which wheat and rice are cultivated, and into which the wood of aloes is imported from Kámúl and other neighbouring places, by the fresh-water route[3] in fifteen days. From Samundar to Urasír[4] is twelve parasangs; this is a great country, where are elephants, buffaloes, and other cattle, and various merchantable commodities. The king of this country is very powerful. From Urasír to Ainá is four days' journey, where also elephants and asses are met with. [From Hubalin(?) to Sarandíp, two days.]

[*After this follows the description of Pic d' Adam. In another place the author continues his account of India in these words:*—]

There are seven classes of Hindus, viz., 1st, Sábkufría,[5] among whom are men of high caste, and from among whom kings are chosen. The people of the other six classes do the men of this class homage, and them only. 2nd, Brahma, who totally abstain from wine and fermented liquors. 3rd, Kataría, who drink not more than three cups of wine; the daughters of the class of Brahma are not given in marriage to the sons of this class, but the Brahmas take their daughters. 4th, Súdariá, who are by profession husbandmen. The 5th, Baisurá, are artificers and domestics. The 6th, Sandália, who perform menial offices. 7th, Lahúd;[6] their women are fond of adorn-

1 ["Sandy." P.]

2 [Sir H. Elliot's text and translation had "Kankan, Malwa and Kanja," but Idrísí reproduces the names as "Kilkáyán, Lulu and Kanja." There can therefore be no doubt that the Paris version now given is most correct. Kúra (Kaikasar in Idrísí) would seem to be near the mouths of the Coleroon. Kánchi is the old name of Konjeveram.]

3 [Sprenger suggests the Godavery (Post-und Reiserouten, 80), but this cannot be if Kanja is Kánchi.]

4 ["Urtasír" in the Paris version, for which the editor suggests Kashmír; but Ur-desa [Orissa] is surely intended. The following name "Aina" may possibly be meant for Andhra [Telingana]. Sprenger says "Palmiras"?]

5 [Elliot's text made the first syllable "Sám." The Paris version says "Sabakferya (B. les Sabiens; Ed. Sakrya)."]

6 ["Les *Zenya* musiciens et jongleurs." P.]

ing themselves, and the men are fond of amusements and games of skill.[1] In Hind there are forty-two religious sects;[2] part of them believe in a Creator and Prophet (the blessing of God be upon them!); part deny the mission of a Prophet, and part are atheists.

[1] None of the early Arabian Geographers notice this division into tribes or classes, [but they appear to have known it, see pp. 6, 10, 19; and Idrísí reproduces this passage, see *post.*] The Grecian Authors, on the authority of Megasthenes, divide the tribes into seven, and attribute the following offices to them, which are very different from those assigned by Ibn Khurdádba.

	Strabo.	*Diodorus.*	*Arrian.*
1st Class.	Philosophers	Philosophers	Sophists
2nd ,,	Husbandmen	Husbandmen	Husbandmen
3rd ,,	Shepherds and hunters	Cowherds and shepherds	Cowherds and shepherds
4th ,,	Artificers and merchants	Artificers	Artificers, merchants, and boatmen
5th ,,	Warriors	Warriors	Warriors
6th ,,	Inspectors	Inspectors	Inspectors
7th ,,	Counsellors and assessors	Counsellors and assessors.	Assessors

Vid. *Strab. Geogr:* lib: XV. 703–707. *Arrian: Indica* 11. 12. *Diodor: Sic:* lib: II. 40, 41. and *Megasthenis Fragmenta.* E. A. Schwanbeck, pp. 42, 121, 127. It is not easy to identify the names given by Ibn Khurdádba. The first is unintelligible—the 2nd is evident—the 3rd seems to indicate the Kshatriyas—the 4th the Súdras—the 5th the Vaisya—the 6th the Chandálas—the 7th the Bázigars and itinerant jugglers.

[2] This is the number ascribed by the indignant Frenchman to England—"Forty-two religions! and only one sauce!!" The Jámi'u-l Hikáyát increases the number of religions in India to forty-eight, and the Bahjatu-l Tawáríkh, in the Paris Library, sets them down as 948. See Kasimirski, 214, and Mem. sur l'Inde, 49.

III.

MURU'JU-L ZAHAB

OF

AL MAS'U'DI'.

Abú-l Hasan 'Abí, son of Husain, was a native of Baghdád, and received the surname of Al Mas'údí after an ancestor named Mas'úd, whose eldest son accompanied the prophet in his flight from Mecca to Medina.[1] The greater part of Mas'údí's life was spent in travelling, and his wanderings extended over nearly all the countries subject to Muhammadan sway, and others besides. He says of himself that he travelled so far to the west (Morocco and Spain) that he forgot the east, and so far to the east (China) that he forgot the west. He was an acute observer, and deservedly continues to be one of the most admired writers in the Arabic language. The fruits of his travels and observations were embodied in his work called "Murúju-l Zahab" (Meadows of Gold), of which Ibn Khaldún, as quoted by Sprenger, says, "Al Mas'údí in his book describes the state of the nations and countries of the east and west, as they were in his age—that is to say, in 330 (332) A.H. He gives an account of the genius and usages of the nations; a description of the countries, mountains, seas, kingdoms and dynasties; and he distinguishes the Arabian race from the barbarians. Al Mas'údí became, through this work, the prototype of all historians: to whom they refer, and on whose authority they rely in the critical estimate of many facts

[1] [See Reinaud's Aboulfeda Introd. p. lxiv.]

which form the subject of their labours."[1] The date of his birth is not known, but he died in Egypt in 345 A.H. (956 A.D.)

The first part of the "Meadows of Gold" was translated into English by Dr. Sprenger (London, 1841), and the complete text, with a translation into French, has since been published by MM. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1851). Both these works have been used in the preparation of the following extracts :—

EXTRACTS.

CHAPTER VII.—*Mas'údí begins this chapter by stating it to be the general opinion that India was* the portion of the earth in which order and wisdom prevailed in distant ages. *The Indians* gave themselves a king, Brahma the Great, *who reigned* 366 *years, and in whose times the book Sindhind* [*Siddhánta*] *and Arjabahad* [*Áryabhatta*] *were composed.* His descendants have retained to our days the name of Brahmans. They are honoured by Indians as forming the most noble and illustrious caste. They do not eat the flesh of any animal, and both men and women wear yellow threads suspended round their necks, like a baldrick, to distinguish them from the other castes of India. *He was succeeded by his eldest son Bahbúd, who reigned* 100 *years. After him came Zámán* [*Ráma?*], *who reigned nearly* 50 *years.* He was succeeded by Por [Porus], who gave battle to Alexander, and was killed by that prince in single combat, after reigning 140 years. After him came Dabshalim, the author of "Kalila wa Dimna," who reigned 110 years. *Balhit, the next king,* reigned 80 years, but according to other manuscripts, 130 years. He was succeeded by Koresh [Harsha?], who abandoned the doctrines of the past, and introduced into India new religious ideas more suited to the requirements of the time, and more in consonance with the tendencies of his contemporaries * * * He died after a reign of 120 years. At his death discord arose among the Indians, and they broke up into divers nations and tribes, each country having a chief of its own. Thus were formed the kingdoms of Sind, Kanauj, and Kashmír. The city of Mánkír, which was the *great centre* of India, submitted

[1] [Sprenger's Mas'údí, Preface.]

to a king called the Balhará, and the name of this prince continues to his successors who reign in that capital until the present time (332 A.H.)

India is a vast country, extending over sea, and land, and mountains; it borders on the country of Zábaj [Java], which is the kingdom of the Maharáj, the king of the islands, whose dominions separate India and China, but are considered as part of India. India extends on the side of the mountains to Khurásán and Sind, as far as Tibet. There prevails a great difference of language and religion in these kingdoms, and they are frequently at war with each other. The most of them believe in the metempsychosis, or the transmigration of the soul. The Hindús are distinct from all other black people, as the Zanjis, the Damádams, and others, in point of intellect, government, philosophy, strength of constitution, and purity of colour.

* * * * *

No king can succeed to the throne in India before he is forty years of age; nor does their sovereign ever appear before the public, except at certain distant intervals, and then only for the inspection of state affairs. In their opinion, the kings lose their dignity and bring contempt on their privileges if the public gazes at them frequently. Government is only maintained by good feeling and by respect for the various dignities of the state.[1] * * * * * Royalty is limited to the descendants of one family, and never goes to another. The same is the case with the families of the wazírs, kázís, and other high officers. They are all (hereditary and) never changed or altered.

The Hindús abstain from drinking wine, and censure those who consume it; not because their religion forbids it, but in the dread of its clouding their reason and depriving them of its powers. If it can be proved of one of their kings, that he has drunk (wine), he forfeits the crown; for he is (not considered to be) able to rule and govern (the empire) if his mind is affected.

* * * * * *

[1] [The Paris translation says, "Le pouvoir ne se maintient chez eux que par le despotisme et le respect de la hiérarchie politique." Sprenger's version is "The measures of government must be carried by mildness in India, and by degradation from a higher rank."]

The greatest of the kings of India in our time is the Balhará, sovereign of the city of Mánkír. Many of the kings of India turn their faces towards him in their prayers, and they make supplications to his ambassadors, who come to visit them. The kingdom of Balhará is bordered by many other countries of India. Some kings have their territory in the mountains away from the sea, like the Ráí, King of Kashmír, the King of Táfan, and others. There are other kings who possess both land and sea. The capital of the Balhará is eighty Sindí parasangs from the sea, and the parasang is equal to eight miles. His troops and elephants are innumerable, but his troops are mostly infantry, because the seat of his government is among the mountains. One of the neighbouring kings of India, who is far from the sea, is the Bauüra, who is lord of the city of Kanauj. This is the title given to all the sovereigns of that kingdom. He has large armies in garrisons on the north and on the south, on the east and on the west, for he is surrounded on all sides by warlike kings.

Chapter IX.—Al-Jáhiz supposes that the river Mihrán in Sind comes from the Nile, alleging as a proof that crocodiles live in it. I cannot understand how he advanced this as a proof, He states it in his book, "*Kitábu-l'Amsár wa 'ajaibu-l buldán*" ("On great cities and the wonders of the countries.") It is an excellent work, but as the author has never made a voyage and but few journeys and travels through kingdoms and cities, he did not know that the Mihrán of Sind comes from well-known sources in the highlands of Sind, from the country belonging to Kanauj in the kingdom of Bauüra, and from Kashmír, Kandahár, and Táfan; and at length, running into Múltán, it receives the name of the Mihrán of gold, just as Múltán means boundary of gold. The king of Múltán is a Kuraishite, and of the children of Usámah bin Lawí bin Ghálib. The caravans for Khurásán assemble here. The lord who rules over the kingdom of Mansúra is a Kuraishite, who is descended from Habbár bin al-Aswad. The crown of Múltán has been hereditary in the family which rules at present, since ancient times, from the beginning of Islám.

The river Mihrán takes its course through the country of Mansúra, and falls near Debal into the Indian ocean. In the bays of this sea there are many crocodiles, as in the bay of Sindábúr in the kingdom

of Bághara,[1] in India; the bay of Zábaj, in the dominions of the Maharáj, and the gulfs of the aghyáb [aghbáb], which extend towards the island of Sarandíb [Ceylon]. Crocodiles live more particularly in sweet water, and, as we have said, in the estuaries of India, the water of which is for the most part sweet, because the streams which form them are derived from the rains.

Chapter XVI.—The king of India is the Balhará; the king of Kanauj, who is one of the kings of Sind, is Bauüra;[2] this is a title common to all kings of Kanauj. There is also a city called Bauüra, after its princes, which is now in the territories of Islám, and is one of the dependencies of Múltán. Through this town passes one of the (five) rivers, which form together the river Mihrán in Sind, which is considered by al-Jáhiz as derived from the Nile, and by others from the Jaihún of Khurásán. This Bauüra, who is the king of Kanauj, is an enemy of the Balhará, the king of India. The king of Kandahár, who is one of the kings of Sind and its mountains, is called Hahaj; this name is common to all sovereigns of that country. From his dominions comes the river Raíd, one of the five rivers which form the Mihrán of Sind. Kandahár is called the country of the Rahbút [Rájput?]. Another river of the five is called Bahátil, it comes also from the mountains of Sind, and runs through

[1] [This must be intended for "Balhará," in whose kingdom Sindábúr seems to have been situated.]

[2] [بؤوره This name is so given in the Paris edition, but Sprenger reads it "Búdah;" and the reference immediately afterwards to a place of the same name among the dependencies of Múltán, can hardly refer to any other than the country commonly called Budha. General Cunningham says this name "is said by Gildemeister to be written *Bovara* in the original, for which he proposes to read *Povara* for the well-known *Paurava*. From the King of Oudh's Dictionary two different spellings are quoted, as *Porán* and *Forán*; while in Ferishta the name is either *Korrah*, as written by Dow, or *Kuwar*, as written by Briggs. In Abu 'l Feda the name is *Noda*. Now as the name, of which so many readings have just been given, was that of the king's family or tribe, I believe we may almost certainly adopt *Tovara* as the true reading according to one spelling, and *Torah* according to the other. In the Sanskrit Incriptions of the Gwalior dynasty the word is invariably spelt *Tomara*. Kharg Rai writes *Tomár* [*To'ar ?*], which is much the same as Col. Tod's *Tuár*, and the *Tuvár* of the Kumaon and Garhwál MSS. Lastly, in Gladwin's Ayín Akbari, I find *Tenore* and *Toonoor*, for which I presume the original has *Tunwar* and *Tanwar*. From a comparison of all these various readings, I conclude that the family name of the Raja of Kanauj in A.D. 915, when Mas'údí visited India, was, in all probability, *Tovar* or *Tomar*." Genl. Cunningham's Archæological Report, Journ. As. Soc., Bengal, 1864.]

the country of the Rahbút, which is the country of Kandahár: the fourth river comes from the country of Kábul, and its mountains on the frontier of Sind towards Bust, Ghaznin, Zara'ún, ar-Rukhaj, and the country of Dáwar, which is the frontier of Sijistán. The last of the five rivers comes from the country of Kashmír. The king of Kashmír has the name of Ráí, which is a general title for all the kings. Kashmír forms part of Sind.

* * * * *

The kingdom of the Bauüra, king of Kanauj, extends about one hundred and twenty square parasangs of Sind, each parasang being equal to eight miles of this country. This king has four armies, according to the four quarters of the wind. Each of them numbers 700,000 or 900,000 men. The army of the north wars against the prince of Múltán, and with the Musulmans, his subjects, on the frontier. The army of the south fights against the Balhará, king of Mánkír. The other two armies march to meet enemies in every direction.

* * * * *

Múltán is one of the strongest frontier places of the Musalmans, and around it there are one hundred and twenty thousand towns and villages. In it is the idol also known by the name of Múltán. The inhabitants of Sind and India perform pilgrimages to it from the most distant places: they carry money, precious stones, aloe-wood, and all sorts of perfumes there to fulfil their vows. The greatest part of the revenue of the king of Múltán is derived from the rich presents brought to the idol of the pure aloe-wood of Kumár, which is of the finest quality, and one *man* of which is worth 200 dinárs * * * * When the unbelievers march against Múltán, and the faithful do not feel themselves strong enough to oppose them, they threaten to break their idol, and their enemies immediately withdraw.

When all the rivers which we have enumerated have passed the "boundary of the house of gold," which is the meaning of the name of Múltán, they unite at about three days' journey below this city and above Mansúra, at a place called Dúsháb,[1] into one stream, which proceeds to the town of Al Rúr [Alor], which lies on its western

[1] [Dúáb? referring either to the country between the Ghara and the Chináb, or to that between the Panj-nad and the Indus.]

bank and belongs to Mansúra, where it receives the name of Mihrán. There it divides into two branches, both of which fall at the town of Shákira,[1] which belongs also to one of the districts of Mansúra, into the Indian sea, under the name of Mihrán of Sind, about two days' journey from the town of Debal.

Múltán is seventy-five Sindian parasangs from Mansúra. Each parasang is eight miles, as stated above. The estates and villages dependent on Mansúra amount to three hundred thousand. The whole country is well cultivated, and covered with trees and fields. It is constantly at war with a nation called the Meds, who are a race of Sind, and also with other races on the frontiers of Sind. Like Múltán it is on the frontier of Sind, and so are the towns and villages belonging to it. Mansúra has its name from Mansúr bin Jamhúr, governor of the 'Ummayides. The king of Mansúra has eighty war elephants, every one of which is supported by five hundred infantry in battle, as we have already remarked; and these elephants oppose thousands of horses.

* * * * *

Let us now resume our short account of the kings of Sind and India. The language of Sind is different from that of India. Sind is the country which is nearer the dominions of the Moslims, India is farther from them. The inhabitants of Mánkír, which is the capital of the Balhará, speak the Kíríya language, which has this name from Kira, the place where it is spoken. On the coast, as in Saimúr, Súbára, Tána, and other towns, a language called Láriya[2] is spoken which has its name from the sea which washes these countries; and this is the Lárawí sea, which has been described above. On this coast there are great rivers, which run from the south, whilst all other rivers of the world flow from north to south, excepting the Nile of Egypt, and the Mihrán of Sind, and a few others. * * * Of all the kings of Sind and India, there is no one who pays greater respect to the Musulmans than the Balhará. In his kingdom Islám is honoured and protected * * * The money consists of dirhams, called Táhiriya,[3] each weighing a dirham and a half. They

[1] [The Sanskrit "Ságara." See Mem. sur l'Inde, p. 215.]
[2] [Sanskrit "Láta," the country about the mouth of the Nerbudda.]
[3] [Sprenger reads this Talatawiya, as does another Paris MS. See note page 3.]

are impressed with the date of the reign. The Balhará possesses many war elephants. This country is also called Kamkar. On one side it is exposed to the attacks of the king of Juzr [Guzerat]; a king who is rich in horses and camels, and has a large army.

* * * * *

Next comes the country of Táfan. The king is on friendly terms with the neighbouring sovereigns and with the Moslims; his military forces are less considerable than those of the kings whom we have named.

* * * * *

Beyond this kingdom is that of Raḥma, which is the title for their kings, and generally at the same time their name. His dominions border on those of the king of Juzr [Guzerat], and, on one side, on those of the Balhará, with both of whom he is frequently at war. The Rahma has more troops, elephants, and horses, than the Balhará, the king of Juzr and of Táfan. When he takes the field, he has no less than fifty thousand elephants. He never goes to war but in winter, because elephants cannot bear thirst. His forces are generally exaggerated; some assert that the number of fullers and washers in his camp is from ten to fifteen thousand * * * * * The kingdom of Rahma extends both along the sea and the continent. It is bounded by an inland state called the kingdom of Káman. The inhabitants are fair, and have their ears pierced. They have elephants, camels, and horses. Both sexes are generally handsome.

Afterwards comes the kingdom of Firanj,[1] which has power both on land and sea, It is situated on a tongue of land which stretches into the sea, from whence large quantities of amber are obtained. The country produces only little pepper, but large numbers of elephants are found here. The king is brave, haughty, and proud, but to tell the truth he has more haughtiness than power, and more pride than courage.

[1] [Sulaiman writes this name "Kíranj." See note *ante*, p. 5.]

IV.

KITA'BU-L AKA'LI'M,

OF

ABU' IS,HAK, AL ISTAKHRI'.

SHAIKH ABÚ IS,HAK received the cognomen of Istakhrí from his native city of Istakhr or Persepolis, and he is also called Al Fársí, from the province of Fárs in which that city is situated. His travels extended through all the Muhammadan countries, from India to the Atlantic ocean, from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea. The time of his journies and the date of his work have not been precisely determined, but it is certain that he wrote about the middle of the tenth century (340 A.H., 951 A.D.). He was a little anterior in point of time to Ibn Haukal, but these two travellers met in the valley of the Indus, and exchanged observations. A comparison of the following extracts will show how Ibn Haukal availed himself of his cotemporary's writings, and made them the basis of his own work. The text of Istakhrí's "Book of Climates" was published in lithography by Dr. Moeller, at Gotha, in 1839, under the title "*Liber Climatum.* It is a facsimile of the MS. in the Gotha Library, which is the only one in Europe; but, although the lithography has evidently been executed with great care, the work is unsatisfactory, for the MS. is very faulty in the spelling of proper names. A translation from the same into German was printed at Hamburg in 1845, by Dr. Mordtmann, as "*Das Buch der Länder.*" The portion relating

to Sijistán was translated into Italian by Signor Madini, and published at Milan in 1842.[1]

EXTRACTS.

The country of Sind and the bordering lands are inserted in one map, which thus contains the country of Sind and portions of Hind, Kirmán, Túrán, and Budha.

Cities of Sind.—Mansúra, Debal, Nírúr[2] [Nírún], Kálwi [Kallarí], Annarí, Balwí [Ballarí], Maswáhí, Nahraj, Bániya, Manhánarí [Manjábari], Sadúsán, and Al Rúz [Alor].

Cities of Hind.—Amhal,[3] Kambáya, Súbára, Sindán, Saimúr, Multán, Jandrúd, and Basmand.

From Kambáya to Saimúr is the land of the Balhará, and in it there are several Indian kings. It is a land of infidels, but there are Musalmáns in its cities, and none but Musalmáns rule over them on the part of the Balhará. There are Jama' masjids in them. The city in which the Balhará dwells is Mánkír, which has an extensive territory.

Mansúra is about a mile long and a mile broad, and is surrounded by a branch of the Mihrán. The inhabitants are Musalmáns. The date tree and the sugar cane grow here. The land of Mansúra also produces a fruit of the size of the apple, which is called Laimún, and is exceedingly sour. The land also produces a fruit called Ambaj (mango), which is like the peach. The price of them is low, and they are plentiful. The dress of the people is like that of the people of 'Irák, but the dress of their kings resembles that of the kings of India in respect of the hair[4] and the tunic.

Multán is a city about half the size of Mansúra. There is an idol there held in great veneration by the Hindus, and every year people from the most distant parts undertake pilgrimages to it, and bring to it vast sums of money, which they expend upon the temple and on

1 [See Reinaud's Aboulfédá, Introd. p. lxxxi., and the prefaces to Moeller and Mordtmann's works.]

2 [السرور.]

3 ["Fámhal" and "Kámhal" below.]

4 [الشعور, for this we have سراويل (trowsers) in the same passage as quoted by Ibn Haukal. See *post*, page 34.

those who lead there a life of devotion. The temple of the idol is a strong edifice, situated in the most populous part of the city, in the market of Multán, between the bazar of the ivory dealers and the shops of the coppersmiths. The idol is placed under a cupola in the midst of the building, and the ministers of the idol and those devoted to its service dwell around the cupola. In Multán there are no men either of Hind or Sind who worship idols except those who worship this idol and in this temple. The idol has a human shape, and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture on a throne made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin like morocco leather, and nothing but its eyes are visible. Some believe that the body is made of wood, some deny this; but the body is not allowed to be uncovered to decide the point. The eyes of the idol are precious gems, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. It sits in a quadrangular position on the throne, its hands resting upon its knees, with the fingers closed, so that only four can be counted. When the Indians make war upon them and endeavour to seize the idol, the inhabitants bring it out, pretending that they will break it and burn it. Upon this the Indians retire, otherwise they would destroy Multán. Mansúra is more fertile. At half a parasang from Multán there is a large cantonment,[1] which is the abode of the chief, who never enters Multán except on Fridays, when he goes on the back of an elephant, in order to join in the prayers of that day. The governor is of the tribe of Kuraish, and is not subject to the ruler of Mansúra, but reads the khutba in the name of the khalífa.

Samand[2] is a small city situated like Multán, on the east of the river Mihrán; between each of these places and the river the distance is two parasangs. The water is obtained from wells.

The city of Al Rúr approaches Multán in size. It has two walls, is situated near the Mihrán, and is on the borders of Mansúra.

Nírúr[3] is half way between Debal and Mansúra.

From Saimúr to Fámhal, in Hind, and from Fámhal to Makrán

[1] [معسكر camp.]

[2] [" Basmand" above and below.]

[3] [بسرور. See note A in Appx.]

and Budha, and beyond that as far as the boundaries of Multán, all belong to Sind. Budha is there a desert.

The people of Multán wear trousers, and most of them speak Persian and Sindí, as in Mansúra.

Makrán is a large territory, for the most part desert and barren. The largest city in Makrán is Kannazbún.[1]

Kandábíl is a great city, The palm tree does not grow there. It is in the desert, and within the confines of Budha. The cultivated fields are mostly irrigated. Vines grow there, and cattle are pastured. The vicinity is fruitful. Abíl is the name of the man who subdued this town, which is named after him.

Distances.—From Tíz[2] to Tír [Kíz] about five days. From Kíz[3] to Kannazbún two days. Going from Kannazbún to Tíz, in Makrán, the road passes by Kíz. From Kannazbún to Darak three days. From Rásak to Fahalfahúh[4] three days. From thence to Asghafa[5] two days. From thence to Band one day. From Band to Bah[6] one day. From thence to Kasrkand[7] one day. From Kíz to Armábíl[8] six days. From Armábíl to Kambalí[9] two days. From thence to Debal four days. From Mansúra to Debal six days. From Mansúra to Multán twelve days. From Mansúra to Túrán fifteen days. From Mansúra to the nearest frontier of Budha five days. From Budha to Tíz about fifteen days. The length of Makrán from Tíz to Kasdán is about fifteen days. From Multán to the nearest border of the tongue (of land) known as Biyálas[10] about ten days. Here the Mihrán must be crossed to get into the land of Budha.

1 [فمریون Mordtmann reads "Firiun," but see note A in Appx.]

2 [The port of that name.]

3 [" Kedge" of the maps.]

4 [The other authorities agree in reading this Fahalfahara except the Marásidu-l Itt., which makes it "Fahafahrat," and calls it "a well known town in Makrán." See Idrísí.]

5 [Ibn Haukal and Idrísí have "Asfaka." The "Esfaka" of the maps north of Geh, in Makrán.]

6 [The modern Geh.]

7 [This is still a place of some note.]

8 [See note A in Appx.]

9 [This must have been on the coast of Lus. See Idrísí.]

10 [بيالس]

From Kandábíl to Mansúra eight days. From Kandábíl to Multán, by the desert, about ten days. Between Mansúra and Kámhal[1] eight days. From Kámhal to Kambáya four days. From Kambáya to the sea about two parasangs. From Kambáya to Súrabáya about four days, and Súrabáya is about half a parasang from the sea. Between Súrabáya and Sindán about five days. From Sindán to Saimúr five days. Between Saimúr and Sarandíb fifteen days. Between Multán and Basmand about two days. From Basmand to Al Rúz three days. From Al Rúz to Annarí four days. From Annarí to Kallarí two days. From thence to Mansúra one day. From Debal to Tíz four days. From thence to Manjábarí two days. From Kálwí[2] [Kállarí] to Maldán [Multán?] about four days. Baband[3] lies between Mansúra and Kámhal at one day's journey from Mansúra.

There is a river in Sind called the Mihrán.[4] It is said that it springs from the summit of a mountain from which many affluents of the Jíhún rise.[5] The Mihrán passes by the borders of Samand[6] and Al Rúr (Alor) to the neighbourhood of Multán; from thence to Mansúra, and onwards until it joins the sea to the east of Debal. Its water is very sweet. It is said that there are crocodiles in it as large as those of the Nile. It rises like as the Nile rises, and inundates the land, which on the subsidence of the water is sown in the manner we have described in the land of Egypt. The Sind Rúd is about three stages from Multán. Its water is very sweet, even before it joins the Mihrán. Makrán is mostly desert, and has very few rivers. Their waters flow into the Mihrán on both sides of Mansúra.

1 [The text has Káhal, but there can be no doubt that Kámhal is meant.]

2 [والوي.]

3 [بابسد in the text, which can only be rendered by guess. Ibn Haukal and Idrísí have "Bániya."]

4 [The Marásidu-l Ittilá' quotes this with some variations in the names.]

5 [بعض انهار جيحون.]

6 [Kazwíní in quoting this passage calls the place "Samandúr."]

V.

ASHKÁLU-L BILÁD

OR THE

KITÁBU-L MASÁLIK WA-L MAMÁLIK.

OF

IBN HAUKAL.

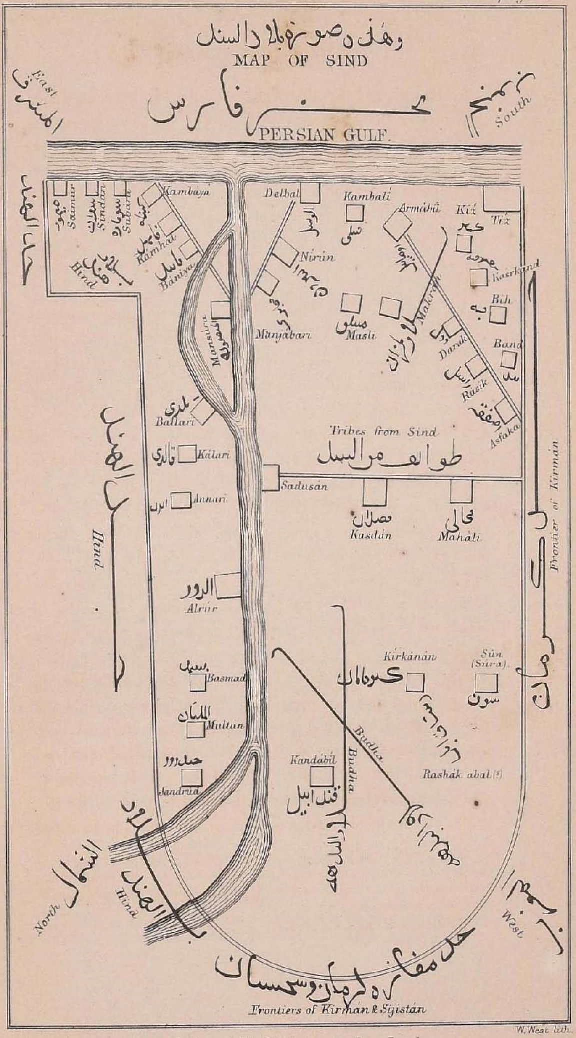
In one of the Royal Libraries of Lucknow there is a very old Arabic manuscript, written A.H. 589 (1193 A.D.). The title, "Ashkálu-l Bilád," Diagrams of the countries (of Islam), is given in the Postscript. It contains maps and a geographical description of several countries. The first leaf is wanting. It contained in folio *recto* in all probability the beginning of the preface, and in folio *verso* the map of the world; apparently the greater portion of the preface is preserved. The plan of the work is thus stated—"Then (after having given a map of the world) I have devoted a separate diagram to every country of Islám, in which I show its frontiers, the shape of the country, the principal towns, and in fact everything necessary to know. The diagrams are accompanied by a text. I have divided the dominions of Islám into twenty countries. I begin with Arabia, for this peninsula contains the Kábah and Mecca, which is unquestionably the most important city and the centre of the peninsula. After Mecca I describe the country of the Bedouins; then I proceed to the description of—2. the Persian Gulf, which surrounds the greater part of Arabia; 3. the Maghrib; 4. Egypt; 5. Syria; 6. The Mediterranean; 7. Mesopotamia; 8. 'Irák; 9. Khúzistán; 10. Fárs; 11. Kirmán;

12. Mansúra, and the adjacent countries,[1] which are Sind, India, and part of the Muhammadan territory; 13. Ázarbaiján; 14. the district of the Jibál; 15. Dailam: 16. the sea of the Khazar (*i.e.* the Caspian); 17. the steppes between Fárs and Khurásán; 18. Sijistán and the adjacent countries; 19. Khurásán; 20. Má wáráu-n nahr." Of every one of the above countries there seems to have been originally a map, but two have been lost (viz., Nos. 6 and 10), and some have been transposed (as well as several leaves of the text) by the bookbinder. It was copied in A.H. 589, as it is stated in the postscript, from a very correct copy, and with great care. The copyist has added in a few instances marginal notes, which prove that he took an interest in what he wrote, and that he was acquainted with the subject. On comparing this work with the "Book of Roads and Kingdoms" of Ibn Haukal, I find it almost verbatim the same, so much so, as to leave no doubt that it is a copy of Ibn Haukal's work under an unusual name. As there are only two copies in Europe, one of which is very bad, this MS. is of considerable value.[2] The following extract is translated from the Ashkálu-l Bilád, followed by a passage from Ibn Haukal, in the part where the Lucknow manuscript was deficient, or which probably the transcriber neglected to copy. [The map is from the Ashkálu-l Bilád, and is very similar to that of Istakhrí, as published by Moeller.]

[The real name of Ibn Haukal was Muhammad Abú-l Kásim, and he was a native of Baghdád. When he was a child the power of the Khalifs had greatly declined, and Baghdád itself had fallen into the hands of the Turks. On attaining manhood he found himself despoiled of his inheritance, so he resolved to gratify a natural taste, and to seek to mend his fortunes by travelling and trading in foreign countries. He left Baghdád in 331

[1] Here a space of about six inches square is left blank, and in the margin are the words "This space is for the map of the world, but it is not large enough, therefore the copyist has deviated from the original from which he transcribed, and it stands in the preceding page."

[2] [Uri Bodl. Codd. MSS., Cat., p. 209.]


MAP OF SIND
East
PERSIAN GULF.
South
Kambaya
Saimur
Sindan
Subara
Kamhal
Hind
Baniya
Delbal
Kambali
Armabil
Kiz
Tiz
Nirun
Kasrkand
Bih
Makran
Manjabari
Masli
Mansura
Darak
Band
Rasik
Asfaka
Ballari
Tribes from Sind
Kalari
Sadusan
Annari
Kasdan
Mahali
Hind
Frontier of Kirman
Alrur
Kirkanan
Sun (Sura)
Basmad
Multan
Budha
Budha
Kandabil
Jandrud
Rashak abad (?)
North
Hind
West
Frontiers of Kirman & Sijistan

W. West lith.

A.H. (943 A.D.), and after passing through the various lands under Musulmán rule, he returned to that city in 358 A.H. (968 A.D.). The following year he was in Africa, and he seems to have finished his work in 366 A.H. (976 A.D.). His book received the same title as that of Ibn Khúrdádba, or "Book of Roads and Kingdoms," and he says that his predecessor's work was his constant companion.[1] His obligations to Istakhrí have been already mentioned. M. Uylenbroek translated part of the work in his "Iracæ persicæ descriptio," and Gildemeister has given the "Descriptio Sindiæ" in his "Scriptorum Arabum de Rebus Indicis," etc. Part of the Ashkálu-l Bilád relating to Khurásán has been translated by Col. Anderson, and was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xxii.]

EXTRACTS.

From the sea to Tibet is four months' journey, and from the sea of Fárs to the country of Kanauj is three months' journey.

* * * *

I have placed the country of Sind and its dependencies in one map, which exhibits the entire country of Sind, part of Hind, and Túrán and Budha.[2] On the entire east of this tract there lies the sea of Fárs, and on the west, Kirmán and the desert of Sijistán, and the countries subject to it. To the north are the countries of Hind, and to the south is the desert lying between Makrán and Kufs,[3] beyond which is the sea of Fárs. This sea is to the east of the above-mentioned territories, and to the south of the said desert, for it extends from Saimúr on the east to Tíz,[4] of Makrán; it then bends round the desert, and encircles Kirmán and Fárs.

The chief cities of this tract are the following: In Makrán,—

[1] [Reinaud's Aboulfèda, Introd., p. lxxxii.]

[2] Gildemeister, in his edition of Ibn Haukal, reads this *Bodha*. See note A in the Appx.

[3] [Mountains in Kirmán, near the coast.]

[4] [This name is not to be found in Sir H. Elliot's text, but it was given in the translation, and it is also in Ibn Haukal, so that it is right without doubt.]

Tíz,[1] Kabar [Kíz], Kabryún [Kannazbún], Darak, Rásak the city of schismatics, Bih, Nand [Band], Kasrkand, Asfaka, Fahalfahara, Musli, Yusli [Kambali], Armáil [Armábíl]. In Túrán,—Mahálí Kaníkánán, Súra and Kasdár. In Budha,—Kandábíl. In Sind,—Mansúra, which, in the Sind language, is called Bámíwán,[2] Debal, Nirun,[3] Fálid [Kallari], Abri [Annari], Balzi [Ballari], Maswáhí, Harúj, Bánia, Manjábari, Sadúsán, Aldúr. In Hind,—Fámhal, Kambáya, Súrbárah, Sindán, Saimúr, Multán, Hadrawur [Jadráwar, or Jandrúd], and Basmat. These are the cities of these countries which are known to me.[4] From Kambáya to Saimúr is the land of the Balhará, and in it there are several Indian kings.[5] It is a land of infidels, but there are Musulmáns in its cities, and none but Musulmáns rule over them on the part of the Balhará. There are many mosques in these places, where Muhammadans assemble to pray. The city in which the Balhará resides is Mánkír, which has an extensive territory.[6]

Mansúra is about a mile long and a mile broad, and is surrounded by a branch of the Mihrán. It is like an island, and the inhabitants are Musulmáns. The king of the country is one of the tribe of

[1] Gildemeister's version of Ibn Haukal gives the names as follows:—"In Mekran there are Taiz, Kannazbúr, Darek, Rásek, Neh, Kasrfand, Adhafa, Fahalfahara, Mashká, Kambala, Armáíl. In Thúrán,—Majak, Kizkánán, Shura, Kazdár. In Bodha,—Kandábíl. In Sind,—Mansúra, Daibal, Birún, Valará, Ayará, Balrá, Masváhi, Fahraj, Bania, Manhatara, Sadústan, Rúz, Jandarúz. In Hind,—Kámuhul, Kambáya, Subára, Asávil, Hanávil, Sindán, Saimur, Báni Battan, Jandarúz, Sandarúz. (*De rebus Indicis*, p. 164.)—Ouseley gives them thus: Alis, Kusr, Fermoun, Derek, Rasek, Kesrbend, Kelaahereh, Meski, Meil, Armaiel, Mehali, Kibrkaman, Sureh, Kandábíl, Mansourah or Sindiah, Danbul, Meroui, Manoui, Airi, Baloui, Mesouahi, Beherje, Maseh, Meshari, Sedousan. (*Oriental Geography*, p. 147.)

[2] ["Mámíwan" in Sir H. Elliot's text, which is very badly printed.]

[3] In the Ashkálu-l Bilád this is plainly either Bírún, or Nírún, as suggested by M. Gildemeister. The original text which he has given of Ibn Haukal has no resemblance to either name.

[4] [Ibn Haukal adds that there are other more distant places such as Farzán and Kanauj in the deserts, to which only merchants go.]

[5] [Gildemeister's translation of Ibn Haukal here adds, "Cui fabularum liber scriptus est. Nomen habet a regno, eodem modo quo Ghána et Kaugha et alia regionis simul et regis nomina sunt." There is no mention of this in the Ashkálu-l Bilád.]

[6] There is nothing like this in Gildemeister's version, but the assertion corresponds with the statement of Mas'údí. [Instead of this passage Gildemeister says, "In iis omnibus preces fiunt, non omissa publica per solitas formulas indictione. Regnum hoc late patet."]

Kuraish, and is said to be a descendant of Hubád, the son of Aswad. He and his ancestors ruled over this country, but the Khutba is read in the name of the Khalífa. The climate is hot, and the date tree grows here; but there is neither grape, nor apple, nor ripe date (tamr), nor walnut in it. The sugar cane grows here. The land also produces a fruit of the size of the apple, which is called Laimún, and is exceedingly acid. The place also yields a fruit called Ambaj (mangoe), resembling the peach in appearance and flavour. It is plentiful and cheap.[1] Prices are low and there is an abundance of food.

The current coin of the country is stamped at Kandahár; one of the pieces is equivalent to five dirhams. The Tátarí coin also is current, each being in weight equal to a dirham and a third.[2] They likewise use dínárs. The dress of the people of the place is the same as that worn by the inhabitants of 'Irák, except that the dress of the sovereigns of the country resembles in the trousers[3] and tunic that worn by the kings of Hind.

Multán is about half the size of Mansúra, and is called "the boundary[4] of the house of gold." There is an idol there held in great veneration by the Hindús, and every year people from the most distant parts undertake pilgrimages to it, and bring vast sums of money, which they expend upon the temple and on those who lead there a life of devotion. Multán derives its name from this idol. The temple of the idol is a strong edifice, situated in the most populous part of the city, in the market of Multán, between the bazar of the ivory dealers and the shops of the coppersmiths. The idol is placed under a cupola in the centre of the building, and the ministers of the idol and those

1 [Here there must have been a line omitted from the text as printed by Sir H. Elliot.]

2 ["Drachmam cum octava parte valentes." Gildemeister.]

3 [السراويل والقراطق Gildemeister has "in crinibus et tunicis." See Reinaud, *Mem. sur l'Inde*, 237.]

4 The Ashkálu-l Bilád says "burj," or bastion, which at first sight would seem a more probable reading; but the reasons assigned for reading the word "farj" are so strong, as set forth by M. Hamaker, in his note to the *Descriptio Iracæ Persicæ* (p. 67), that we are not entitled to consider "burj" as the correct reading. [Quatremére concurs in reading "farj." *Jour. des Sav.* See also Ibn Khurdádba and the account given in the Chach-náma.]

devoted to its service dwell around the cupola. In Multán there are no men, either of Hind or of Sind, who worship idols, except those who worship this idol and in this temple. The idol has a human shape, and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture,[1] on a throne made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin like morocco leather, and nothing but its eyes are visible. Some believe that the body of the idol is made of wood; some deny this; but the body is not allowed to be uncovered to decide this point. The eyes of the idol are precious gems, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. The hands rest upon the knees, with the fingers all closed,[2] so that only four can be counted.[3] The sums collected from the offerings of the pilgrims at the shrine are taken by the Amír of Multán, and distributed amongst the servants of the temple. As often as the Indians make war upon them and endeavour to seize the idol, they[4] bring it out, pretending that they will break it and burn it. Upon which the assailants retire, otherwise they would destroy Multán. There is a strong fort in Multán. Prices are low, but Mansúra is more fertile and populous. The reason why Multán is designated "the boundary of the house of gold" is, that the Muhammadans, though poor at the time they conquered the place, enriched themselves by the gold which they found in it. About half a parasang from Multán are several edifices called Chandráwár,[5] the cantonment of the chief, who never enters Multán, except on Fridays, and then on the back of an elephant, in order to join in the prayers of that day. The Governor is of the tribe of Kuraish, of the sons of Samáh, the son of Lawí, who first occupied the place. He owes no allegiance to the chief of Mansúra. He, however, always reads the Khutba in the name of the Khalífa.

[1] [متربع.]

[2] Ibn Haukal says, "with expanded fingers." Zakaríyá Kazwíní, following Istakhrí, says "closed hands." The Ashkálu-l Bilád concurs with Ishtakhrí, as quoted by M. Kosegarten *De Mohammede Ibn Batuta*, p. 27. Idrísí speaks of four hands, instead of four fingers, and a very slight change in the original would authorize that reading. See *post*.

[3] [Sir H. Elliot's printed text terminates here, and so the remainder of the translation has not been revised.]

[4] [According to Kazwíní it is the Musulmáns who do this.]

[5] This most resembles the word in the Ashkálu-l Bilád. See Note A. in Appx.

Basmad is a small city, situated like Multán and Chandráwár, on the east of the river Mihrán. This river is at the distance of a parasang from each of the places mentioned. The inhabitants use well water for drink. Basmad has a fort.

The country [city] of Alrúr[1] is as extensive as Multán. It has two walls, is situated near the Mihrán, and is on the borders of Mansúra.

The city of Debal is to the west[2] of the Mihrán, towards the sea. It is a large mart, and the port not only of this but neighbouring regions. Debal is remarkable for the richness of its grain cultivation, but it is not over-abundant in large trees or the date tree. It is famous for the manufacture of swords.[3] The inhabitants generally maintain themselves by their commerce.

The country of Nírún is between Debal and Mansúra, but rather nearer to the latter. Manjábarí is to the west of the Mihrán, and there any one who proceeds from Debal to Mansúra will have to pass the river, the latter place being opposite to Manjábarí.

Maswáhí, Harj, and Sadúsán,[4] are also situated to the west of the Mihrán.[5]

On the road between Mansúra and Multán, and on the east of the Mihrán, but distant from it, are two places called Ibrí and Labí [Annarí and Kállarí].[6]

Máíldí [Ballarí] is also near the Mihrán, and on the western bank, near the branch which issues from the river and encircles Mansúra.

Bilha [Bánia] is a small city, the residence of 'Umar, the son of 'Abdu-l 'Aziz Habbári, of the tribe of Kuraish, and the ancestor of those who reduced Mansúra.

1 [Alor. See Note A. in Appx.]

2 Ibn Haukal says to the east. The text of the Ashkálu-l Bilád is plain on this point, and the Map also represents Debal to the west.

3 M. Gildemeister translates this "locus sterilis est," which is scarcely consistent with the previous assertion about the cultivation, in which also his copy does not concur—"Agros non habet irriguos."

4 [See Note A. in Appx.]

5 [Ibn Haukal adds, "These cities are about equal to each other."]

6 [Abú-l Fidá refers to this passage (p. 347 Text), in speaking of Annarí and Kállarí.

The city of Fámhal[1] is on the borders of Hind, towards Saimúr, and the country between those two places belongs to Hind. The countries between Fámhal and Makrán, and Budha, and beyond it as far as the borders of Multán, are all dependencies of Sind. The infidels who inhabit Sind are called Budha[2] and Mand. They reside in the tract between Túrán, Multán, and Mansúra, to the west of the Mihrán. They breed camels, which are sought after in Khurásán and elsewhere, for the purpose of having crosses from those of Bactria.

Tht city where the Budhites carry on their trade is Kandábíl, and they resemble men of the desert. They live in houses made of reeds and grass. The Mands dwell on the banks of the Mihrán, from the boundary of Multán to the sea, and in the desert between Makrán and Fámhal. They have many cattle sheds and pasturages, and form a large population.

There are Jám'a Masjids at Fámhal, Sindán, Saimúr, and Kambáya, all which are strong and great cities, and the Muhammadan precepts are openly observed. They produce mangoes, cocoa-nuts, lemons, and rice in great abundance, also great quantities of honey, but there are no date trees to be found in them.

The villages of Dahúk[3] and Kalwán are contiguous to each other, situated between Labí[4] and Armábíl. Kalwán is a dependency of Makrán, and Dahúk that of Mansúra. In these last mentioned places fruit is scarce, but crops grow without irrigation, and cattle are abundant.

Túrán[5] is a town.

Kasdár is a city with dependent towns and villages. The governor is Muín bin Ahmad, but the Khutba is read in the name

[1] [See Note A. in Appx.]

[2] The passage is difficult. Gildmeister says, "Gentiles, qui in Sindia degunt, sunt Bodhitæ, et gens quæ Mund vocatur. Bodha nomen est variarum tribuum," etc. (p. 172), where see also the note in which he adduces a passage from Ibn Haukal, showing that there was a class of Jats known by the name of Nodha, in the neighbourhood of Multán, and therefore the passage may be translated "Nodhites and Mands." [See Note A. in Appx.]

[3] [Ibn Haukal has "Rahuk," and Idrísí "Ráhún and Kalwán."]

[4] ["Kíz" in Ibn Haukal and Idrísí.]

[5] The printed text says. "Túrán is a valley, with a city of the same name, in the centre of which is a citadel."

of the Khalífa only, and the place of his residence is at the city of Kabá-Kánán.[1] This is a cheap place, where pomegranates, grapes, and other pleasant fruits are met with in abundance; but there are no date trees in this district.

[*Here ends the extract from the Ashkálu-l Bilád; that which follows is from Ibn Haukal, as translated into Latin by M. Gildemeister.*]

There is a desert between Bánia, Kámuhul, and Kambáya. From Kambáya to Saimúr the villages lie close to one another, and there is much land under cultivation. The Moslims and infidels in this tract wear the same dresses, and let their beards grow in the same fashion. They use fine muslin garments on account of the extreme heat. The men of Multán dress in the same way. The language of Mansúra, Multán, and those parts is Arabic and Sindian. In Makrán they use Persian and Makránic. All wear short tunics except the merchants, who wear shirts and cloaks of cotton, like the men of 'Irák and Persia.

* * * * * *

From Mansúra to Debal is six days' journey; from Mansúra to Multán, twelve; from Mansúra to Túrán, about fifteen; from Kasdár, the chief city of Túrán, to Multán, twenty; from Mansúra to the nearest boundary of Budha, fifteen. The whole length of the jurisdiction of Makrán, from Taiz to Kasdár, is about fifteen. From Multán to the nearest border of Túrán is about ten. He who travels from Mansúra to Budha must go along the banks of the Mihrán, as far as the city of Sadústán. From Kandábíl to Mansúra is about eight days' journey; from Kandábíl to Multán, by the desert, ten; from Mansúra to Kámuhul, eight; from Kámuhul to Kambáya, four. Kambáya is one parasang distant from the sea, and about four from Súbára, which is about half a parasang from the sea. From Súbára to Sindán, which is the same distance from the sea, is about ten[2] days' journey; from Sindán to Saimúr about five; from Saimúr to Sarandíp, about fifteen; from Multán to Basmad, two; from Basmad to Alrúz [Alor], three; from Alrúz to Ayara [Annarí],

1 ["Kízkánán," Gildemeister. See Note A. in Appx.]

2 [So according to Gildemeister; but "five" seems to be the right number. See Istakhrí and Idrísí.]

four; from Ayara [Annárí] to Valara [Ballarí], two; from Valara to Mansúra, one; from Debal to Kannazbúr, fourteen: from Debal to Manhátara [Manjábarí] two, and that is on the road from Debal to Kannazbúr; from Vallara [Ballarí] to Ayara [Annarí], four parasangs; Kámuhul from Mansúra is two days' journey,[1] and Bánia intervenes at one stage distance. The Mihrán is the chief river of those parts. Its source is in a mountain, from which also some of the feeders of the Jíhún flow. Many great rivers increase its volume, and it appears like the sea in the neighbourhood of Multán. It then flows by Basmad, Alrúz, and Mansúra, and falls into the sea, to the east of Debal. Its water is very sweet, and there are said to be crocodiles in it it like those of Egypt. It equals the Nile in volume and strength of current. It inundates the land during the summer rains, and on its subsidence the seed is sown, as in Egypt.

The river Sandarúz [Sind-rúd] is about three days' distant from Multán. Its waters are abundant and sweet. I was told that its confluence with the Mihrán is above Basmad, but below Multán.

Jandarúz [Jand-rúd] is also a great and sweet river, on whose bank is the city of Jandarúz.[2] It falls into the Mihrán below the Sandarúz [Sind-rúd] towards the country of Mansúra.

Makrán contains chiefly pasturages and fields, which cannot be irrigated on account of the deficiency of water. Between Mansúra and Makrán the waters from the Mihrán form lakes, and the inhabitants of the country are the Indian races called Zat. Those who are near the river dwell in houses formed of reeds, like the Berbers, and eat fish and aquatic birds. ° ° ° ° Another clan of them, who live remote from the banks, are like the Kurds, and feed on milk, cheese, and bread made of millet.

We have now reached the extreme eastern border of the dominions of Islám. The revenue of the kings and governors is small, and not more than to satisfy their actual needs. Some, no doubt, have less than they wish.

[1] He has just said, only a few lines before, that the distance between these two towns is eight days' journey; and that is, doubtless, the correct distance; otherwise, we should have only six days' journey between Mansúra and Kambáya, which is obviously incorrect. Abú-l Fidá, moreover, gives the distance as eight days' journey.

[2] [See Note in Appx.]

VI.

SU'RU-L BULDA'N.

THE "Oriental Geography" of Sir W. Ouseley is a translation of a Persian work called *Súru-l Buldán*, "Pictures of Countries," compiled from the works of Istakhrí and Ibn Haukal. It contains little or nothing that is not to be found in these writers. Ouseley's MS., moreover, was very faulty. The work is of small value now that its original sources are available, and it seems quite unnecessary to quote it here. The authorship of this work was at one time a subject of great dispute, but a passing allusion to the disscusion is all that is needed now that the question is set at rest.

VII.

JÁMI'U-T TAWÁRÍKH

OF

RASHÍDU-D DÍN.

The extract which follows is taken from the Jámi'u-t Tawáríkh of Rashídu-d Dín, which was completed in A.H. 710, or A.D. 1310. This date, but for another more cogent reason, would require the insertion of the extract in a later part of the book, or the entire omission of it, as beyond the scope of the present work. But though appearing in the history of Rashídu-d Dín, the passage is not his own; it is really and confessedly the work of the celebrated Abú Ríhán al Bírúní, who wrote about four centuries earlier, his life having extended from A.H. 360 to 430, or A.D. 970 to 1039. This chapter of Al Bírúní's work has been translated and published by M. Reinaud, in his "Fragments;" and a comparison of the two will show how very little has been added by Rashídu-d Dín. For all practical purposes it may be considered as presenting a picture of the Musulman knowledge of India at the end of the 10th century.

Copies of the work of Al Bírúní are exceedingly rare, for two only are known to be extant, and the portions published were translated from the single copy in the Imperial Library in Paris. The reproductions by Rashídu-d Dín are therefore of high value, and the importance of the following extract for a correct appreciation of the progress of the Muhammadan knowledge of India cannot be over-rated.

Extended notices of these two authors—Abú Ríhán and Rashídu-d Dín—with other extracts from their works, appeared in the volume published by Sir H. Elliot, and will again appear in the second volume of this work. It is here only necessary to state that the Jámi'u-t Tawáríkh was written in Persian, and is a rare work. There is a copy in the Library of the East India Office and another in the British Museum. Two distinct portions of the work have been found in India, and of these there are copies among Sir H. Elliot's MSS.[1] There is also in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society an incomplete Arabic translation.

The following translation differs considerably from that published in Sir H. Elliot's first edition, but every care has been taken to make it as accurate as possible. The MS. of the East India Library has been mainly relied upon; this will be referred to as MS. *A*. Occasional reference for doubtful passages and proper names has been made to the British Museum MS., referred to as MS. *B*. The Arabic version will be called MS. *C*.; and Sir H. Elliot's new copy of the Lucknow MS. *D*. MSS. *A*. and *B*. are not good copies. The scribes were careless and ignorant, and the texts abound with errors, particularly in the spelling of the names of persons and places. Nor are the errors confined to obscure and doubtful names. MS. *A*. almost always represents the name of the Ganges by كىل, with no dot to the second letter. The Arabic version *C* is well and boldly written. The dots are more frequently, though by no means invariably, supplied, and the proper names are generally more distinct. It differs occasionally from the Persian MSS., and has often been of service. Still it is not reliable authority for the proper names, as these occasionally present some curious proofs of the work having been translated from the Persian. Prepositions like *tá* and *ba*, and the Persian words of number, as *sih* (3) and *nuh* (9), have sometimes been taken as part of the names, and incorporated with them. Some instances will be pointed out in the Notes.

[1] [The Calcutta copy has been mislaid, and has not been used for this article.]

Extracts.

Section III.—*On the Hills and Rivers of Hindustán and Súdán* (sic), *which according to Abú Ríhán extend twelve thousand parasangs.*

Philosophers and Geometricians have divided the land of Hind into nine unequal[1] parts, giving to each part a separate name, as appears from the book called Bátankal.[2] Its shape resembles the back of a crab on the surface of the water.[3] The mountains and plains in these nine parts of India are extensive, and occur one after the other in successive order. The mountains appear to stand near each other, like the joints of the spine, and extend through the inhabited world from the east to the midst of the west, *i.e.*, from the beginning of China through Tibet, and the country of the Turks, to Kábul, Badakhshán, Tukháristán, Bámián, Ghúr, Khurásán, Gílán, Ázarbáíján, Armenia, Rúm, to the country of the Franks and Galicia on the west. In their course they spread out widely from the deserts and inhabited places of that part. Rivers flow at their base. One which comes from the south from India is very large and

[1] [The different MSS. are strangely discordant as to the division of India. The original translation from the Indian MS. made the division to be "three equal parts," and "three parts" are again mentioned at the beginning of the next section. The E. I. Library copy, in the first line of this section, says "three equal parts," but in the following line it refers "to these *nine* parts;" at the beginning of the next section it again says "*three* parts. The British Museum copy says, in this place, "*nine equal* parts," and in the next section it also says "nine parts." The Arabic version is also consistent in always giving "nine" as the number, but it differs in declaring them to be "unequal." *Nine* being the number most frequently used, and *unequal* being more probable than *equal*, I have used those words in the translation. Al Bírúní makes no mention of the division in the chapter translated by Reinaud, so that Rashídu-d Dín probably derived his knowledge of it from the translation of the book "Bátankal," to which he refers. The inconsistencies have most probably arisen from a confusion of the original Sanskrit authorities. Menu makes a threefold division of Upper India, "Brahmarsha, Brahmávartta and Madhyadesa," and this last portion is accurately defined by Al Bírúní and Rashídu-d Dín. The ninefold division is that of the "nava-dwípas," or nine portions, given in the Vishnu Purána, p. 175.]

[2] [Bátajal or Bâtanjal in the Arabic version. See a note upon this in the notice of Abú Ríhán, Vol. II.]

[3] [The Persian versions have the following sentence here از میان انجداب نموده بر این صورت که مشکل شده the application of which is not clear, but as a blank space is left in one MS. immediately after these words, they probably refer to the difficulty of representing the appearance in a picture.]

broad.[1] But in other places they have their sources to the north in the lofty mountains and in the deserts. Hind is surrounded on the east by Chín and Máchín,[2] on the west by Sind and Kábul, and on the south by the sea.[3] On the north lie Kashmír, the country of the Turks, and the mountain of Meru, which is extremely high, and stands opposite to the southern pole. The heavenly bodies perform their revolutions round it, rising and setting on each side of it. A day and a night of this place is each equal to six of our months.[4]

Opposite to this mountain stands another, not round in shape, and which is said to be composed of gold and silver. The Hima mountains lie on the north of Kanauj, and on account of snow and cold form the extreme point of the habitation of man. This range has Kashmír in its centre, and runs by Tibet, Turk, Khazar,[5] and Sakáliba,[6] to the sea of Jurján and Khwárasm. The rivers of the entire country of Hind, which flow from the northern mountains, amount to eleven. Those which flow from the eastern mountains amount to

[1] [The following passage from the Árâish-i Mahfil may perhaps throw some light upon this :—"Between Bhakar and Sewí there is a jungle over which the Simoom blows for three months in the hot season. When the river Indus, at intervals of some years, flows from the south to the north, the villages here are laid waste." See also *ante*, p. 24.]

[2] [This is generally written "Mahâchín" in MS. *C.*]

[3] In the original Arabic, Al Bírúní says: "India is bounded on all other sides by lofty mountains," and after this follows a curious passage omitted from the Jámi'u-t Tawáríkh. "If you examine the country of Hind, and consider well the round stones which are found below the soil, at whatever depth you may dig, you will find that they are large near the mountains where the current of water is impetuous, and smaller as you depart from the mountains, the strength of the current being also diminished, and that they become like sand, where the water is stagnant and in the vicinity of the sea. Hence you cannot but conclude that this country was once merely a sea, and that the continent has been formed by successive increments of alluvion brought down by the rivers." Strabo and Arrian have also expressed this opinion, and modern geologists are fond of indulging in the same speculation. A late writer on this subject observes: "Throughout the whole plain of India, from Bengal to the bottom of the deep wells in Jesselmere, and under the mica and hornblende schist of Ajmere, the same kind of very fine hard-grained blue granite is found in round and rolled masses." *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal,* No. clxxxviii. p. 140.

[4] Compare Strabo ii. 1-19. Plin. N. H. vi. 22, 6, and Solinus 52, 13.

[5] [The country of the Khazars or Khozars, a Turkish race, on the north of the Caspian sea, about the mouths of the *Itil* or Volga. The Caspian is called Bahru-l Khazar or Bahru-l Jurján.]

[6] [Slavonia.]

the same number. These run far to the east and the south till they fall into the ocean. Those, however, which rise in the south do not discharge themselves into the sea.

The northern mountains have connection with Mount Meru, which lies south of them. Besides this there is another lofty ridge of mountains intervening between Turkistán and Tibet and India, which is not exceeded in height by any of the mountains of Hindústán. Its ascent is eighty parasangs. From its summit India looks black through the mists beneath, and the mountains and rugged declivities below look like hillocks. Tibet and China appear red. The descent from its summit to Tibet is one parasang. This mountain is so high that Firdausí probably meant the following verse to apply to it:—"It is so low and so high, so soft and so hard, that you may see its belly from the fish (on which the earth rests), its back from the moon."

Some other mountains are called Harmakút,[1] in which the Ganges has its source. These are impassable from the side of the cold regions, and beyond them lies Máchín. To these mountains most of the rivers which lave the cities of India owe their origin. Besides these mountains there are others called Kalárchal.[2] They resemble crystal domes, and are always covered with snow, like those of Damáwand. They can be seen from Tákas and Laháwar.[3] Then there are the mountains of Bíllúr, in the direction of Turkistán, which are denominated Shamílán.[4] In two days' journey you arrive at Turkistán, where the Bhutáwariyas[5] dwell. Their king is called Bhut Sháh, and their countries (bilád) are Gilgit, Asúra, Salsás,[6] etc.,

[1] [Hemakúta, the range immediately to the north of the Himálayas.]

[2] [The mountains of Sirmor. See a passage in page 65. Reinaud reads the name "Kelardjek," which agrees with the MS. *D.* Ibn Batúta calls them "Karáchil" (vol iii. 325). The latter part of the name is probably the Sanskrit *áchal*, mountain.]

[3] [Tákashír (Taxila ?) and Lúháwar (Lahore) in MS. *C.*]

[4] [The Billúr-tágh, or "crystal mountains," running north through Badakhshán. Shamílán is probably the Arabic Shamíl, "north," with a plural termination—"Mountains of the North."]

[5] [MS. *A.* says "Maháromán."]

[6] The upper part of the Jhailam is called Bhat, and Kunáwar appears to be called "Budh mulk" (Lond. Geog. J., iv. 54). Gilgit retains its name to the present day; Asura is the same as the Astor, or Hasora, of our maps, and Salsas or Salsahí is, perhaps, Chelás on the Indus. M. Reinaud reads Schaltas (Vigne's Kashmír, i., 548, 382). [MS. *C.* has "Shalsás." See *Mem. sur l'Inde*, 279.]

and their language[1] is Turkí. The inhabitants of Kashmír suffer greatly from their encroachments and depredations. The mountains here mentioned are those described in the translation of Abú Ríhán, and they are as manifest as a tortoise displaying (itself) from the midst of the waters.

[2] There are rivers and large streams which have their sources in and issue from the mountains surrounding the kingdom of Kápish[3] or Kábul. One, called the Gharwarand,[4] mixes with the stream from the mountain of Ghúrak, and passes through the country of Barwán.[5] The waters of the Sharúhat and the Shála pass by Lamankán,[6] which is Lamghán, and uniting near the fort of Dirúna,[7] fall into the Núrokírát. The aggregate of these waters forms a large river opposite the city of Parsháwar,[8] which is called "al ma'bar," or "the ferry." This town is situated on the eastern side of these rivers.[9] All these rivers fall into the Sind near to the fort of

1 [The MS. *C.* adds, "of the majority."]

2 [Al Bírúní's original text of the following passage is given by M. Reinaud, with a translation, in the *Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 276.]

3 [See St. Martin, quoted in Jour. R.A.S., xvii. 186.]

4 [So in MS. *A.* *C.* has غرروند. Reinaud has "Ghorband," and that river must be the one intended.]

5 [نروان in *A.* بروان in *B.* نروان in *C.* Reinaud has "Bervánah." The modern Parwán or Ferwán. See Journ. R.A.S., ix. 297, and xvii. 186.]

6 [لسكان in *A.* لمنكا in *C.* "Lampaga" in Reinaud. Lamghán "in the hills of Ghazní" (Abú-l fidá). The "Lughman" of the Maps.—*Mem. sur l'Inde*, 353.]

7 [Reinaud (p. 114) suggests "Udyanapúr" or "Adínapúr," near Jelálabád, mentioned by Fa-hian, and in the Ayín Akbarí. See his note; also Foe-koue-ki, p. 46; Masson, i. 181, 182; Journ. As. Soc. Beng., June, 1848, p. 482.]

8 As some interesting speculations depend upon the mode of spelling the name of this town, it may be as well to remark that all ancient authorities, even down to the historians of the sixteenth century, concur in spelling it Parsháwar. In the Zubdatu-t Tawáríkh it is called "Fushúr." The Chinese divide the first syllable, and make Poo-loo-sha, the capital of the kingdom of Purusha. See the *Foe-koue-ki*, as well as the translation of *Ma-twan-lin*, by M. Rémusat.—*Nouv: Mélanges Asiat:* Tom. I. p. 196. *Mem. sur l'Inde*, 106.

9 [The following is the text of this passage:—

MS. *A.* says, وآن ديه منهاره [*B.* نهاده] است بر شرط شرقي

C. says, وهي قريه مهناده علي الطرف الشرقي من هذه الانهار]

Bitúrashít,[1] at the city of Kandahár,[2] which is Waihind.[3] After that, there comes from the west the river of Tibet, called the Jhailam. It and the waters of the Chandrá all combine about fifty miles above Jharáwar,[4] and the stream flows to the west of Múltán. The Bíah joins it from the east. It also receives the waters of the Iráwa (Rávi). Then the river Kaj falls into it after separating from the river Kúj, which flows from the hills of Bhátal.[5] They all combine with the Satlader (Sutlej) below Múltán, at a place called Panjnad, or "the junction of the five rivers." They form a very wide stream, which, at the time it attains its extreme breadth, extends ten parasangs, submerging trees of the forest, and leaving its spoils upon the trees like nests of birds. This stream, after passing Audar,[6] in the middle of Sind bears the name of Mihrán, and flows

1 Bírúní says "Bitúr below Kandahar."

2 The proper name is Gandhárá, almost always converted by Musulmán writers into Kandahár, but we must take care not to confound it with the more noted Kandahár of the west. The Gandhárás on the Indus are well known to the Sanskrit writers, and there is a learned note on them in Troyer's *Rája Tarangini*, Tom. II. pp. 316—321. It is not improbable that we have their descendants in the Gangarias of the Indus, one of the most turbulent tribes of the Hazára country. The name given to them by Dionysius, in his Periegesis, resembles this modern name more than the Sanskrit one. He says, *Διωνύσου θεράποντες Γαργαρίδαι ναίουσιν*. He places them more to the east, but Salmasius and M. Lassen consider that we should read Γανδαρίδαι. Herodotus calls them Γανδαριοι. The Γορύανδις of Nonnus, which M. Troyer thinks points to the abode of the Gandhárás, is probably to be looked for elsewhere. See also Mannert, *Geographie der Griechen und Romen*, Vol. V. pp. 5, 30, 107. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. Lassen, *De Pentap. Ind.* p. 15–17. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. IV. Pt. I. p. 453. *Ersch and Gruber's Encyc.*: Art. *Indien*, p. 2. *Mem. sur l'Inde*, 107. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, Sec. X. para. 4.

3 [The modern Ohind on the right bank of the Indus fourteen miles above Attok. Baihakí writes it وي هند, and the Sikhs call it Húnd. Abú-l Fida quotes Ibn Sa'íd to the effect that it was one of the cities founded by Alexander.]

4 [This must be the fort on the river in the vicinity of Multán, in which the governor dwelt. The correct name would seem to be Jand-rúd. See Note A. in Appx.]

5 There is some confusion here, which cannot be resolved by any interpretation of the original. [I have modified the translation, but the passage is still doubtful. The Arabic differs in some points. It makes no mention of the Chandrá; but as it speaks of the waters being "collected from many places," it would seem that the name *Chandrá* has been mistaken for the word *chand*, "several." It is ambiguous about the Kaj, but it appears to say as follows: "Then the river Laj (*sic*) separates from it distinctly from the river Kút (*sic*), which is collected from the waters of the mountains of Bhátal, and it joins it where it joins the Satladar (Sutlej) as it descends from Múltán." See *ante*, p. 22.]

6 *Alor* is no doubt the proper reading, though it assumes various forms. [The reading in the text is from MS. *A*. *B*. has اوور and *C*. اور. See Note A. in Appx.]

with a slower current, and widens, forming several islands, till it reaches Mansúra, which city is situated in the midst of the waters of this river. At this place the river divides into two streams, one empties itself into the sea in the neighbourhood of the city of Lúhárání,[1] and the other branches off to the east to the borders of Kach, and is known by the name of Sind Ságar, *i.e.*, Sea of Sind. In the same way as at this place they call the collected rivers Panj-nad, "five rivers," so the rivers flowing from the northern side of these same mountains, when they unite near Turmuz and form the river of Balkh,[2] are called "the seven rivers," and the fire-worshippers (*majús*) of Soghd make no distinction, but call them all the "Seven rivers."

The river Sarsut [Sarsutí] falls into the sea to the east of Somnát.

The Jumna falls into the Gangá below Kanauj, which city is situated on the west of the river. After uniting, they fall into the sea near Gangá Sáyar [Ságar.] There is a river which lies between the Sarsut and Ganges. It comes from the city of Turmuz[3] and the eastern hills; it has a south-westerly course, till it falls into the sea near Bahrúch,[4] about sixty yojanas to the east of Somnát. Afterwards the waters of the Gangá,[5] the Rahab, the Kúhí, and the Sarjú unite[6]

1 This is the Larry Bunder of Major Rennell (*Memoir*, p. 285), Lahariah of M. Kosegarten (*De Mahommede, Comment: Acad:*), and the Láhari of Ibn Batuta, who remarks of it, "It has a large harbour into which ships from Persia, Yemen, and other places put in. At the distance of a few miles from this city are the ruins of another, in which stones, the shapes of men and beasts almost innumerable, are to be found. The people of this place think that there was a city formerly in this place, the greater part of the inhabitants of which were so base, that God transformed them, their beasts, their herbs, even to the very seeds, into stones; and, indeed, stones in the shape of seeds are here almost innumerable." See Ibn Batuta: Lee, p. 102. [French version, iii. 112; *Mem. sur l'Inde*, 278.]

2 [The Jíhún or Oxus.]

3 [This is distinct both in the Persian and Arabic, saving only that in the former the last letter lacks the point.]

4 This is spelt by various authors Barúj, Barús, Bahrúj, Barúh and Bahrúch. It is the Broach of the present day, the Βαρύγαζα ἐμπόριον of Ptolemy and Arrian, and the Bhrigukachchha and Bharukachchha of the Sanskrit authorities See Ptol. *Geog.* Lib. VII. Cap. 1, Tab. 10. Mannert, *Geographie der Gr. and Rom.* Vol. V. p. 127. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Vol. IV. Pt. II. p. 626. Bohlen, *das alte Indien*, Vol. I. p. 18. Lassen, *Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I. p. 107.

5 [The MS. *A.* does not mention the Ganges.]

6 M. Reinaud (p. 100) gives the first as Rahab. A river of this name, or Rahet, is often mentioned by early Muhammadan authors, and appears generally to indicate the Rámgangá. The union of the Sarjú with the Gomatí, which M. Reinaud reads Kúbin, is a fable. There is no confluence of three rivers at Bárí, but not far off from

near the city of Bári. The Hindús believe that the Gangá has its source in paradise, and, descending to the earth, is divided into seven streams, the centre one being denominated the Gangá. The three eastern streams are the Balan, the Ládafí, and Nalin.[1] The three western streams are the Sít, the Jakash, and Sind.[2] When the Sít leaves the snowy mountains it flows through the countries[3] of Silk, Karsíb, Hír, Barbar, Híra, Sakarkalt, Mankalakúr, and Sakrít, and falls into the western ocean. On the south of it is the river

it the Jamnuárí and the Kathení unite with the Gomatí. The map of Oude which is given in the "Agra Guide," calls these rivers the Saraen and Perhí, names which conform pretty well with the رهب and سرو of M. Reinaud's manuscript. [General Cunningham says, "The second of these rivers is undoubtedly the *Gumti*, which in Sanskrit is the *Gomati*. The first is either the *Behta*, or else the *Rahrai* which joins the Behta; and the third is the *Sarain*, a good sized stream, which passes by Sitapur. Both the Behta and the Sarain join the *Gumti* near *Bári*, which still exists as a good sized village." *Arch. Rep.* for 1862-3 in *Jour. As. Soc. Ben.* page xvii.]

[1] [*A.* باوب. *C.* باوت. *D.* ياوت.]

[2] These are evidently the Sítá and Chakshu of Bháskara Ácharya. Mr. Colebrooke gives us the following passage from that astronomer:—"The holy stream which escapes from the foot of Vishnu descends on mount Meru, whence it divides into four currents, and passing through the air it reaches the lakes on the summit of the mountains which sustain them. Under the name of Sítá this river joins the Bhadraswa; as the Alakánandá it enters Bharatavarsha; as the Chakshu it proceeds to Retumala, and as the Bhadra it goes to the Kuru of the north." *Siddhánta Siromani; Bhavana Kosha*, 37 and 38. See also *Vishnu Purána*, p. 171. Professor Wilson observes, "The Hindús say that the Ganges falls from heaven on the summit of Meru, and thence descends in four currents; the southern branch is the Ganges of India; the northern branch, which flows into Turkey, is the Bhadrasomá; the eastern branch is the Sítá; and the western is the Chakshu or Oxus." *Sanskrit Dict.* Art. *Meru.* But the Rámáyana mentions seven streams, and from that work Bírúní evidently copied his statement. The true Sanskrit names were almost identical with those given in the text. The eastern streams are Hládaní, Pavaní and Naliní; the western are Sítá, Suchakshu, and Sindhu. In the centre flows the Bhágírathí. The Matsya and Padma Puránas give the same account. See *Rámáyana*, Lib. I. XLIV. 14, 16. Ed. Schlegel. [The three western rivers ought to be the Sír, Síhún, or Jaxartes; the Jíhún or Oxus; and the Indus. Jakash is probably a corrupt form of Chakshu, and bears a suspicious resemblance to the classic Jaxartes. Of all the countries mentioned in connection with the Sít and Jakash, Marv appears to be the only one that can be identified with any degree of probability.]

[3] [The names of these countries are so discrepant, that Sir H. Elliot omitted those of the Sind and Ganges as being "illegible," but he printed the text as it is found in the Calcutta and Lucknow copies. These, with the three copies in England, ought to afford sufficient means for settling the names with tolerable accuracy. To facilitate comparison, the various readings are set out below in

Jakash, which flows by the countries of Marw, Kálik, Dhúlak, Nijár,

juxtaposition. Where one reading only is given, the whole of the MSS. are sufficiently concurrent.]

RIVER SÍT.

1. E. I. Library.	2. Brit. Mus.	3. Calcutta.	4. Lucknow.	5. Arabic of R. A. S.
سلك				
کرسیب	بکرست.	کرسب	کبوشب	کرست
حیر	حمر	حین	حین	صین
بربر				
حیره	حمره	حبره	حبریه	حیرهو
بسکرکلت	لشکرکلت	لنگرکلب	بشکرکلت	بشکروکلت (two names?)
caret	caret	caret	منکلک کور	منکلي کو
سکریت	سکرست	سکرت	سنکونت	سنکونه

RIVER JAKASH.

کلش	حکس	کلش	جکش	جلش
دمرو	مرو	دمرو	مرو	مرو
کالک				
دهولک				
محار	لحارو	بحار	نجار	تحار
بربرکاج				
بکرونار	بکرهوبا	بکرنیونار	ثلقومار	بلهوبار
انجت				

RIVER SIND.

درد				
درید	رند	درندنند	رندنند	زندنند
کابرهار	کابرها	کابرهار	کاندهار	کایدها
دورس	رورس	روش	رورس	زورش
کرور				
سور	سیور	سنور	سیور	سیپور
اندر				

Barbarkáj, Bakrúbár, and Anjat, and waters the farms and fields of those places.[1]

The river of Sind crosses that country[2] in many places of its length and breadth, and bounds it in many others. Its well-known towns are Dard, Randanand, Kándahar, Rúras, Karúr, Siyúr, Indar, Marw, Siyát, Sind, Kand, Bahímrúr, Marmún, and Sakúrad.

The river Ganges passes over the central pillar of the moon to Barkandharat, Rásakín, Baládar,[3] Aurkán, and many other cities and towns; it then touches the defiles of Band, where there are many elephants, and passes on to the southern ocean.

Among the eastern streams is the Ládan which flows through seven kingdoms, whose inhabitants have lips like inverted ears. Thence it flows to three other countries, of which the people are exceedingly black, and have no colour or complexion. Then it runs through several other countries to Hast Áín, where it falls into the eastern sea.

RIVER SIND (*continued*).

1. E. I. Library.	2. Brit. Mus.	3. Calcutta.	4. Lucknow.	5. Arabic of R. A. S.
مرو	مرو	مرد	مرو	مرو
سات	ساق	سياب	بسات	نسات
سعيد	سد	سند	سيند	سيند
كند	كيت	كند	كت	كمت
بهمرور	ومنمرو	بهيمروز	بهيمروز	بهمرور
مرهور	مرمون	مرمون	مرمودز	مرموروب
سكورد	سكوردت	سكورد	سكورر	شكورر

RIVER GANGES.

1. E. I. Library.	2. Brit. Mus.	3. Calcutta.	4. Lucknow.	5. Arabic of R. A. S.
بركلدهرن	بركيدهر	بركلديرت	بركندهرت	مركنكهرت
راسكين	راسكن	راسكين	واكبش	راكشين
بلادرار	بلادر	بلاداد	برادر	بدادر
اوركان				

[1] [This last sentence is found only in the Arabic version.]

[2] [The words following down to the full stop are in the Arabic version only.]

[3] [These names are possibly intended for Bhágírathí, Rikhikesh (Rikkee Kasee of Thornton), and Hardwár. See the Variants.]

The river Máran[1] waters the land of Kit[2] and flows through deserts. It passes through several countries where the people wear the bark of trees and grass instead of clothes, and are friendly to the brahmans. Then it passes through the desert and flows into the sea of Ajáj.[3]

The river Bakan passes through Námrán,[4] and through several countries where the people have their habitations in the hills,—then it flows on to the Karans and the Barbarans,[5] *i.e.*, people whose ears hang down to their shoulders. Next it touches the country of the Ashmuks,[6] whose faces are like the faces of animals. Then it falls into the sea.

The Lashan-barán is a river with a wide bed. It falls into the sea.

SECTION IV.—*Relating to the Countries of Hind, the Cities, some Islands, and their Inhabitants.*

It has been mentioned in the beginning of this work that the country of Hind is divided into nine[7] parts. The Indians are of

1 [So in MS. *A.* MS. *C.* has ناون ; and Elliot had Máwan.]

2 [كسب in *A.* كست in *C.*]

3 [So in *A.* *C.* has احاج, and Elliot had Jáj.]

4 [So in Elliot, MS. *A.* may be read as "Mámrán." *C.* has نامراب.

5 These remind us of some of the tribes enumerated in the Rámáyana, the Karna-právaranas "those who wrap themselves up in their ears," Ashta-karnakas, "the eight-eared," or, as Wilson suggests, Oshtha-karnakas," "having lips extending to their ears." See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII. p. 456. Robertson, *Ancient India*, p. 34.

6 This is evidently meant for the Sanskrit word Aswa-mukha, the "horse-faced." They are noticed also in the sequel of the Periplus. They are the attendants of Indra and Kuvera. The tales of those demigods and other monsters, such as the Cynocephali of Ælian and Ctesias are all derived from native originals. See Ælian, *Nat: Animal.* IV. 46. *Ctesiæ Operum Reliquiæ*, ed: Bayer, p. 320. Wilson, *Notes on Ctesias*, p. 36. Plin: *Histor. Nat.* VII. 2. Vincent, *Comm. and Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. II. p. 524. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VIII. p. 338, and Vol. IX. p. 68. *Megasthenes*, 8, 64, 66, 69.

7 [The Arabic again says "nine," and the MS. *B.* agrees. MSS. *A.* and *D.* say "three." See note, page 44.]

opinion that each part[1] is nine times larger than Irán. It is situated in three Iklíms (climes), the western portion is in the third clime, and the eastern in the first, but the chief portion of Hind is included in the second climate. Its central territory is called Madades, which means "the middle land." The Persians call it Kanauj. It is called the Madades, because it lies between the seas and mountains, between the hot and cold countries, and between the two extremities of west and east. It was the capital of the great, haughty, and proud despots of India. Sind lies on the west of this territory. If any one wishes to come from Nímroz, *i.e.* the country of Sijistán, or Irán to this country, he will have to pass through Kábul. The city of Kanauj stands on the western bank of the Ganges.[2] It was formerly a most magnificent city, but in consequence of its being deserted by its ruler, it has now fallen into neglect and ruin, and Bárí, which is three days' journey from it on the eastern side of the Ganges is now the capital. Kanauj is as celebrated for the descendants of the Pándavas as Máhúra (Mattra) is on account of Básdeo (Krishna.) The river Jumna lies to the east of this city, and there is a distance of twenty-seven parasangs between the two rivers. The city of Thánesar is situated between the rivers, nearly seventy parasangs north of Kanauj, and fifty parasangs from Máhúra (Mattra). The Ganges issues from its source, called Gangdwár, and waters many of the cities of India.

Those who have not personally ascertained the relative distances of the cities of Hind from each other, must be dependent on the information derived from travellers.

In stating these distances we will begin from Kanauj. In going towards the south, between the rivers Jumna and Ganges, you arrive at a place called Jájmau,[3] at a distance of twelve parasangs, each parasang being equal to four miles; eight parasangs from that

[1] [The Arabic says "each part," and the Persian has a blank where these words should come in.

[2] [Binákití, who quotes portions of this chapter, adds—"which comes from the city of Turmuz, through the mountains of the east."]

[3] M. Reinaud reads *Haddjamava*. There can be little doubt that Jájmau, close to Kánhpúr, (Cawnpoor) is meant. It is a town of great antiquity.

is Karwa; from Karwa to Brahmashk, eight; thence to Ábhábúdi,[1] eight; thence to the tree[2] of Barágí (Prág,) twelve. This is at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges. From the confluence to the embouchure of the Ganges, is twelve[3] parasangs. From the above-mentioned tree, in directing your course towards the south, a road leads along the bank of the river to Arak Tírat,[4] which is distant twelve parasangs; to the country of Uríhár,[5] forty; to Urdabishak,[6] on the borders of the sea, fifty; from thence, still on the shore of the sea, on the east, there is a kingdom which is at present near Chún, and the beginning (*mabda'*) of that is Dar (or Dúr,)[7]

1 [Reinaud and Elliot read "Abhápúrí," but our MSS. have "búdí." The Arabic version translates "Ábhá," and says "waters of Búdí."]

2 The mention of the *tree* is important, as showing that at that time there was no city on the site of Allahábád, but merely a tree at the confluence; which is described in a subsequent passage as being of large dimensions, with two main boughs, one withered, the other flourishing, and as the Indians are represented as mounting on the tree to enable them to precipitate themselves into the Ganges, the river must have then flowed under it. The trunk of the tree still exists, and is as holy as ever, but is almost excluded from view by being enclosed in a subterraneous dwelling, called Patálpúrí, evidently of great antiquity, within the walls of the fort of Allahábád.

3 This accords with Al Bírúní's original Arabic, but there is some unaccountable error. [The Arabic version of Rashídu-d dín says simply "from hence to the Ganges," but this does not mend the matter.]

4 Perhaps the Island of Karan Tirat, now abreviated into Kantit, near Mirzápúr.

5 M. Reinaud reads *Oubarhar*. [The inital letters *Ur* are clear in all the copies, the third letter is *n*, in the E. I. Library M.S., and the final *r* is also wanting in that and in the B.M. MS. The true reading is probably given in the Lucknow copy which has Uríhár, meaning in all likelihood, Orissa.]

6 M. Reinaud reads Ourdabyschhau [but the final k is clear in all our copies]. See Lassen, *Ind: Alterthumskunde*, I. 186.

7 This is very obscure. [Our MSS. differ in several points—the text given is a literal translation of the Persian و از آن جا هم بر ساحل از جهت مشرق مملكتي است كه در اين وقت چون نزديك است و مبداء ان از در حهل وتا كانجي سي.—MS. *B.* reads حون for چون, adds ان after نزديك and for the last در it has دور. The reading of *C.* is و منها الي كانجي من جهة المشرق الي مملكه هرب من حور و مبداء ها درور اربعون فرسخا و منها الي كانجي ثلثون فرسخا.] M. Reinaud translates it thus: en suivant les bords de la mer et en se dirigeant vers l'Orient, à travers les provinces auxquelles confinent maintenant les états du roi Djour; la première de ces provinces est Dravida.

forty. From thence to Kánjí,[1] thirty; to Malia, forty; to Kúnak,[2] thirty; which is the remotest point.

If you go from Bárí, on the banks of the Ganges, in an easterly direction, you come to Ajodh, at the distance of twenty-five parasangs; thence to the great Benares,[3] about twenty. Then, turning, and taking a south-easterly course from that, you come, at the distance of thirty-five parasangs, to Sharúár;[4] thence to Pátaliputra,[5] twenty; thence to Mangírí, fifteen; thence to Champa,[6] thirty; thence to Dúkampúr, fifty; thence to the confluence of the Ganges with the sea at Gangá Ságar, thirty.

In going from Kanauj to the east you come to Málí Bárí,[7] at the distance of ten parasangs; thence to Dúkam, forty-five; thence to

[1] [Kánchí or Conjeveram.]

[2] [MSS. *A.* and *B.* apparently have "Karand;" but *C.* has Kútal. Reinaud has "Kounaka," and this is supported by MS. *D.*

[3] [*A.* has بيان سي, *B.* بانارسي, *C.* بباري.]

[4] [The first edition had Sarwára, but Reinaud has "Scharouar" which is doubtless right,—MSS. *A.* and *B.* say تا بشروار where the *ba* may or may not be a preposition. The Arabic makes it part of the name الي فالبشروار.] This may, perhaps, mean the country beyond the Sarjú, the name by which Gorakhpúr is now locally known to the people about Benares, and hence the name of one of the most populous tribes of Brahmans. Sarwár is an abbreviation of Sarjúpár, "the other side of the Sarjú." So Páradas is used in the Puranic lists to represent people who live *beyond* the Indus, just as τὰ πέρα is used in the Periplus of the Erythrean sea to signify the ports beyond the straits. In Plutarch (*Camillus*, C. 21,) an expression exactly equivalent occurs, παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν "the other side of the river."

[5] [So in the first edition. Reinaud has "Patalypotra." *A.* has باطل هر *B.* has بابا سلي, and *C.* تاتلي بتن. The last is probably intended for Pátalí-pattan.]

[6] [So in the first edition; Reinaud has "Djanbah;" *A.* and *B.* حمد, *C.* حينة.]

[7] This is the name by which Bári is called in this passage. As there are several other towns of the same name in the neighbourhood, this may have been a distinctive title given to the new capital. The combination is by no means improbable, for as Bárí means "a garden," and Málí "a gardener," the words are frequently coupled together. The two names occur in conjunction, in a common charm for the bite of a wasp. Reinaud has simply "Bary;" *A.* تل بارى, *B.* ملي باري, *C.* فالى باري.]

the kingdom of Silhet,[1] ten; thence to the city of Bhut,[2] twelve; thence for two hundred parasangs it is called Tilút, where the men are very black, and flat-nosed like the Turks. It extends to the mountains of Kámrú,[3] to the sea and to Nípál. Travellers in this direction report that going to the left hand towards the east, which is the country of Tibet, one arrives at Nípál at twenty parasangs distance, all on the ascent.[4]

From Nípál to Bhútesar[5] is thirty days' journey, which implies a distance of about eighty parasangs. There are many ascents and descents. There, on account of the steep and rugged roads, they carry burdens on the shoulders. Bridges are built in several places, and the rivers run in deep channels a hundred yards below the surface of the hills. They say that in those places there are stags with four eyes, and very beautiful.

Bhútesar is the first city on the borders of Tibet. There the language, costume, and appearance of the people are different. Thence to the top of the highest mountain, of which we spoke at the beginning, is a distance of twenty parasangs. From the top of it Tibet looks red and Hind black.

From Kanauj, in travelling south-east, on the western side of the Ganges, you come to Jajáhotí, at a distance of thirty parasangs, of which the capital is Kajuráha.[6] In that country are the two forts

[1] This may be the Silhet Sháhjahánpúr of the Gorákhpúr district, near the Gandak. In that case, Tilút would correspond with Tirhút.

[2] [So in MS. *D.*; Reinaud has Bhot; *A.* and *C.* agree in reading نهبت, *B.* has an entirely different name سررست.]

[3] [The MSS. *C.* and *D.* agree with Reinaud in reading Kámrú, for Kámrúp, which is no doubt right. *A.* and *B.* have كوه مرو, and the first edition had "Meru."]

[4] [This passage is not in *A.* nor in the old version from the Indian MSS.; but it is given by Reinaud.]

[5] M. Reinaud reads Yhoutyscher; the same reading occurs at p. 40.

[6] This is no doubt the Kajwará of Ibn Batuta, "at which there is a lake about a mile in length, and round this are temples in which there are idols" (p. 162). Its real name is Kajráí, on the banks of the Ken, between Chatterpúr and Panna, said to have been founded by the great parent of the Chandel race. The Kingdom of which it is the capital, is evidently the Chi-chi-to of the Chinese travellers. The ruined temples at Kajráí are of great antiquity and interest. They are described in the Mahoba Sama, and there said to have been built by Hamotí, upon the occasion of her having held a Banda jag, or penitential sacrifice. She had com-

of Gwáliár and Kálinjar.[1] Thence to Dhál,[2] of which the capital is Bitúri to the kingdom of Kankyú[3] and Kankara is twenty parasangs. Thence to Asúr; thence to Banawás[4] on the shore of the sea.

From Kanauj, in travelling south-west, you come to Ásí,[5] at the distance of eighteen parasangs; to Sahína,[6] seventeen; to Chandrá,[7] eighteen; to Rajauri,[8] fifteen; to Narána[9] the capital of

mitted a little *faux pas* with the moon in human shape, and as a self-imposed punishment for her indiscretion, held a Banda jag, a part of which ceremony consists in sculpturing indecent representations on the walls of temples, and holding up one's foibles to the disgust and ridicule of the world. Hamotí was the daughter of Hemráj, spiritual adviser to Indrají, Gaharwár Rájá of Benares.

[1] There have been lately some speculations hazarded about the fort of Kálinjar not being older that A.D. 1205. Bírúní's mention of its strong fort in his time makes it two hundred years older, and still leaves its origin indefinite. (See *Journal A. S. B.* No. 188. p. 172.)

[2] [*A.* and *B.* have Dhálí.]

[3] [Reinaud has, "On arrive aussi à Dhâl dont la capitale est Bitoura. Le prince de ce pays est maintenant Kankyou. On compte de lá au royaume de Kannakara, twenty parasangs." There is no mention of a prince in our manuscripts, the name may be either personal or local:—*A.* says بادهالي و قصبه آن سوري وتا مملكت كنكيو و لنكره بيست فرسنك. *B.* agrees, but gives the names بدري كنكو كنكى. *C.* has الى دهَال و بتوى الى مملك كنكنيو كمكرَه.]

[4] [Reinaud has "Oupsour" and "Banaouâs,"—the first edition had "Ilsúr" and "Bhawas." *A.* and *B.* have اسور مواس, *C.* has السور بنواس. Banavásí was the name of the capital of the Kadamba dynasty in the Dekhin. Wilson's Mack. Coll. Introd.]

[5] M. Reinaud says, without doubt this is the name of the town ordinarily written *Hasi.* If Hansi of Hariána, as it appears, is meant, it neither corresponds with the distance nor direction. The ruins of Así, or more correctly Asní, are on the banks of the Ganges. It is mentioned in the Táríkh-i Yamíní, and is the place to which the Rájá of Kanauj sent his treasure for security when he was attacked by the Ghorian General, Kutbu-d dín Ibak.

[6] [*C.* has Sahalainá.]

[7] This is evidently meant for Chanderí.

[8] [So in Reinaud and the first edition, *A.* has موري or هوري, *B.* اهوزي, *C.* اجوري.]

[9] [Elliot read the name "Naraya" and "Niraya". Reinaud has "Bazâna," but he adds—"le manuscrit porte en quelques endroits *Narána.*" MS. *A.* is tolerably consistent in reading Barána; *B.*, *C.*, and *D.* are generally without points, but *C.* has Narána in one place, and *D.* Tarána. Reinaud's translation differs,—It proceeds, "Cette ville est celle que nos compatriotes, appellent Narayana; comme elle a été detruite, les habitants se sont transportés dans un lieu plus reculé." Narána is probably a contraction of Náráyana and the right name. Sir H. Elliot considered it "one of the most interesting places in the North-Western provinces to identify in the pages of Bírúní, on account of its being so frequently mentioned" as a point of departure of several Itineraries. He thought it to be represented by the modern

Guzerát,[1] eighteen. When the capital of Guzerát was destroyed, the inhabitants removed to a town on the frontier.[2] The distance between Narána and Máhúra is the same as between Máhúra and Kanauj, that is twenty-eight parasangs.

In going from Máhúra to Újain, you pass through several neighbouring villages, at no greater distances from one another than five parasangs.[3] From Máhúra, at the distance of thirty-five parasangs, you come to a large town called Dúdhí; thence to Bás,húr,[4] seven; thence to Mahábalastán,[5] five. This is the name of the idol of that place. Thence to Újain[6] nine, the idol of which place is Mahákál. Thence to Dhár,[7] six parasangs.

Narwar, and entered into details to support this view, but he was unable to account for its being called the capital of Guzerát. General Cunningham takes another view, and says, "In my fourth Report I have identified Guzerát with Bairát, or the ancient Matsya. Bairát was the capital, but it was also used for the name of the country, as for instance by Hwen Tsang, who calls it *Po-li-ye-to-lo*. Firishta gives these two names as Kariát and Nárdin, which, he says, were two hilly tracts, overrun by Mahmúd of Ghazní. Now Guzerát and Kariát are only slight corruptions of Bairát, when written in Persian characters; and Nárdin and Narána are still slighter alterations of Nárâyana, which is the name of a town to the north-east of Bairát, about twelve miles. Mathura is said to be equidistant from Kanauj and from Narána, which agrees with this identification." General Cunningham proceeds: "*Asi* is on the Jumna below the junction of the Chumbul, and therefore a favourable point for crossing. *Sahina* I take to be Suhania, a very ancient town thirty miles to the north of Gwalior, and which is said to have been the capital of the country in former days. Its ruins cover several square miles. *Chandra* I take to be Hindou, and Rájáori is still known by the same name. It will be found between Hindou and Bairát, to the north of the Bán Ganga river."—Cunningham, MS. Note.]

1 [*A.* writes this کورات, *C.* کژرات.]

2 [*A.* and *B.* have شهر حدوده *C.* بلده حدوده, the first edition translated it, "a new town." The town of Hudúda. ?]

3 [So it stands in the first edition in accord with Al Bírúní, but there is an omission in *A.* and *C.*, the former makes the distance to Dúdhí five parasangs, and the latter, thirty parasangs.]

4 [So in *A.* Reinaud has "Bamhour;" the first edition had, "Bafhúr";" *B.* and *C.* have "Máhúra."]

5 ["Bhaylesan," in Reinaud; Mahabhalesán in first edition; Bahábalistán in *A.*, and *B.* has the same in the first instance, but in the second the first letter may be *m*; *C.* has Baháílasán here and Bahábalasán below. It says "Balasán" is the name of the idol (و بلسان اسم صنم هناك)—Mahábalastán has been selected as being probably intended for the Sanskrit *Mahábalasthán.*]

6 [The first edition had Újain, and so has MS. *C.* Reinaud has "Ardyn." *A.* has اوحيربو, and *B.* اوحمزر]

7 [So in Bírúní, in first edition, and in *B.*; *A.* has قادرهر, *C.* has بادهار, the Persian original of which was probably تا دهار.]

South from Narána at fifteen parasangs distance lies Mewar,[1] which has the lofty fortress of Chitor.[1] From the fortress to Dhár, the capital of Málwá, twenty. Ujain is to the east of Dhár, at the distance of nine parasangs. From Ujain to Mahábalastán,[2] which is in Málwá,[3] ten. From Dhár, going south, you come to Mahúmahra,[4] at the distance of twenty parasangs; thence to Kundakí,[5] twenty; thence to Namáwar on the banks of the Nerbadda,[6] ten; thence to Biswar,[7] twenty; thence to Matdakar,[8] on the banks of the Godavery, sixty parasangs.

From Dhár southwards to the river Nerbadda,[9] nine; thence to Mahrat-des (the country of the Mahrattas), eighteen; thence to Konkan, of which the capital is Tána, on the sea shore, twenty-five parasangs.

[1] This would appear to be the correct reading. M. Reinaud translates: "Mycar est le nom d'un royaume oú se trouve la fortresse de Djatraour." [This is a most doubtful name. *A.* has بلسعار, *B.* سلفار, *C.* منقار, *D.* ميعار. *A.* and *B.* omit the name of the fort, but *C.* has جترور, and *D.* حترو.]

[2] Perhaps Bhilsa is alluded to. There are many ruins in its neighbourhood well worth examination, as at Udegir, Sacheh, Kánch Kherí, and Piplea Bijolí. There are other places on the upper Betwa where extensive ruins are to be seen, as Erán Udípúr, Pathárí, anciently called Bírnagar, Gheárispúr and Bhojpúr.

[3] [This accords with Al Bírúní. There is some confusion in the MSS. *A.* reads:—

و از اوجين بهابلستان و او از ولايت مالوست دو (.B دە) فرسنگ

C. says, [ومنها الي اوجين بهابلسان وهي من حملة مالوا عشره فراسخ]

[4] [مهرمهره in *A.* and in first edition.] This may have some connection with the Matmayurpur, or Mattinagar, of the inscription found at Rannode, in which a prince is represented as "repopulating this long desolate city."—*Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, No. 183, p. 1086.

[5] [Reinaud has "Kondouhou."]

[6] [So the first edition, and so Reinaud; the latter adds, "Albyrouny à ecrit *Narmada* qui est la forme Sanskrite." The Nerbadda is no doubt intended, though our MSS. are very vague and discrepant: *A.* has نهر نوىدوه, *B.* has برسند, *C.* has ترمذ, and *D.* نرند.]

[7] [So in first edition; Reinaud has "Albospour;" *A.* and *B.* have بسور (Biswar), *C.* has نسبورُ.]

[8] [This reading accords with Reinaud's, and with MS. *C.* MS. *A.* has no points, *D.* has "Matdakar" or "Mandkar," and the first edition had "Mundgir."]

[9] [So in the first edition and probably right. Reinaud has "Nymyyah," *A.* and *B.* have وادي امنة, *C.* has وادي نممة, and *D.* وادي نمة.]

[Here follows the description of the Rhinoceros and Sarabha, which agrees with the original Arabic of Al Bírúní, and need not be translated in this place. The Rhinoceros is called Karkadan in the original, and appears to be the same as the καρτάζωνον *of Ælian,* Hist. An. *XVI.* 20, 21. *The Sarabha is called Shardawát in the Persian, and Sharaudát in the Arabic MS.]*

Abú Ríhán states that from Naràna, in a south-west direction, lies Anhalwára[1], at a distance of sixty parasangs; thence to Somnát, on the sea, fifty. From Anhalwára, towards the south, to Lárdes,[2] of which the capitals are Bahrúj and Dhanjúr,[3] forty-two. These are on the shore of the sea, to the east of Tána.

West from Narána[4] is Múltán, at the distance of fifty parasangs; thence to Bhátí,[5] fifteen. South-east from Bhátí is Arúr,[6] at a distance of fifteen parasangs. Bhátí is situated between two arms of the Indus. Thence to Bahmanú Mansúra, twenty; thence to Loharání, the embouchure of the river, thirty parasangs.

From Kanauj, going north, and turning a little to the west, you come to Sharasháraha,[7] fifty parasangs. Thence to Pinjor, eighteen parasangs. That place is on a lofty hill,[8] and opposite to it, in the

[1] [So read by Reinaud and Elliot. *A.* has نهلواره and الهوان, *B.* هلوازه, *C.* and *D.* نهلواره. Nahalwára is only another form of the name.]

[2] See Lassen, *Zeitschrift, f. d. K. d. Morgenl:* I. 227. [Láta-desa in Sanskrit and the *Larice* of Ptolemy. We have a copper-grant made by the Rája of this country in A.D. 812. See *Jour. Beng. A. S.*, April, 1839, *Jour. R. A. S.* viii. 16.]

[3] [Reinaud has "Rahanhour." *A.* and *B.* have دهمنكور, and *C.* has دهاكور. The letters *m* and *h* are liable to be confounded, so that Elliot's reading is probably right.]

[4] See note 9, page 58.

[5] [So read by Reinaud and Elliot. *A.* has نهاهي and بهاي, *B.* بهانى, *C.* نَهَاتي, *D.* بهاتي. The "Bánia," of the other geographers?]

[6] [*A.* has ارو, *B.* اودا, *D.* ارور. Alor?]

[7] [Elliot reads "Sirsáwah;" Reinaud "Schirscharhah;" *A.* has شارهه, *B.* شرشارهه, *C.* شرسَارهه, *D.* سرشار. "This is certainly Sirsáwah, an old and famous place where both Taimúr and Baber halted."—Cunningham.]

[8] This is not correct with reference to modern Pinjore, which is in a valley on the southern side of the Hills.

plains, is the city Thánesar;[1] thence to Dahmála,[2] the capital of Jálândhar, and at the base of a mountain, eighteen; thence to Baláwarda, one hundred;[3] thence towards the west, to Lidda, thirteen; thence to the fort of Rájgirí, eight; thence, towards the north, to Kashmír, twenty-five parasangs.

From Kanauj, towards the west, to Dyamau, is ten parasangs; thence to Gati,[4] ten; thence to Ahár,[5] ten; thence to Mírat, ten; thence, across the Jumna, to Pánípat, ten; thence to Kaithal,[6] ten; thence to Sanám, ten.

In going north-west from the latter place to Arat-húr,[7] nine parasangs; thence to Hajnír,[8] six; thence to Mandhúkúr,[9] the capital of Loháwar,[10] on the east of the river Iráwa, eight; thence to the river

[1] [So read by Reinaud and Elliot. *A.* باسر, *B.* بانسر, *C.* بايشر, *D.* تانسر.]

[2] This is doubtless Dehmárí, which, as we learn from several historians, was the ancient name of Núrpúr, before it was changed by Jahángír, in honour of Núr Jahán Begam. Núrpúr is beyond the Beás; but that would not affect the identification, for the author says merely Jálandhar, not the Doáb, or Interamnia, of Jálandhar. [So according to Reinaud and Elliot. *A.* has دهما, *B.* دهماكر, *C.* says الي بادهماله. Here the Persian preposition *tá* has probably been incorporated with the name as *bá*.]

[3] [The number "ten," is given by Reinaud, Elliot, and MS. *D.* *A.* says "100," *B.* has حد, probably intended for صد, *C.* omits the number.]

[4] [So read by Reinaud, and probably right. Elliot and MS. *D.* have Gahi. *A.* has كمي, *B.* and *C.* كني.] Perhaps Ráj Ghât may be meant. All the other places menioned in this paragraph are extant to this day.

[5] [The Arabic here adds the Persian numeral of the distance (*dah* = 10) to the name, making it اهازده.]

[6] [So read by Elliot. Reinaud has "Koutayl." *A.* and *B.* have كوسك, *C.* كوتيك, and *D.* كوتيد.]

[7] [The MSS. all agree in making two words, Arat-húr. The Arabic again adds the numeral of the distance (*nuh*=9) to the name—making it Arat-húznah ارت هوزنه.]

[8] [*A.* حرمر. *B.* حمر. *C.* حنير, *D.* حنبر]

[9] [Reinaud reads "Maydahoukour." The only difference in our MSS. is that *A.* substitutes *S.* for *M.* as the first letter.] The place is mentioned in Bírúní's Kánún and by Baihakí who calls it "Mandkakúr."

[10] [So according to Elliot. Reinaud has "Lauhaour (Lahor)." *A.* has لوهاءوور and لهاوور. *B.* لباوور. *C.* لوهارو and لهور.]

Chandráha (Chináb), twelve; thence to the Jailam, on the west of the Báyat,[1] eighteen; thence to Waihind, capital of Kandahár, west of the Sind, which the Moghals call Karájáng, twenty; thence to Parsháwar, fourteen; thence to Dambúr,[2] fifteen; thence to Kábul, twelve; thence to Ghaznin, seventeen.

Kashmír[3] is a valley surrounded by lofty inaccessible hills and broad deserts; on the east and south it is bordered by Hind; on the west by kings, of whom the nearest are Takúr Shah, then Shaknan Sháh, and Wakhán[4] Sháh, extending to the frontiers of Badakhshán; on the north, and partly on the east, by the Turks of Chín and Tibet.

From the mountain of Bhútesar to Kashmír, across the country of Tibet, is nearly 300 parasangs. The people of Kashmír do not ride on quadrupeds, but are carried on men's shoulders in a Katút, which resembles a throne. The servants of the Government are always on the alert, and watch the passes and strongholds of the country. They do not allow strangers to enter the country, except by ones and twos. This prohibition extends even to Jews and Hindús, how then can any one else gain admittance? The principal entrance is at Bíráhán,[5] half way between the Sind and Jailam. From that place to the bridge, at the confluence with the Jailam

1 [This is no doubt the Beyah. Reinaud had "Beyut," and Elliot "Behat." *A.* has either "Máyat" or Báyat," *C.* has "Máyat," and *D.* "Má-bayat."

2 ["Dinbour," Reinaud. "Dinur," Elliot. دهو in *A.* and *B.* دنبور in *C.*

3 Mention of Kashmír occurs in another part of the work, which contains little that is not noticed here. The author adds that in Kashmír there is a city called Dárabarka, in which there are 3,600,000 inhabitants, and that it was built 2,000 years ago. That the valley was formerly twelve hundred years under water; when, at the entreaties of Casip [Kasyapa], the waters found their way to the sea, and the valley became habitable.

4 [These names according to Reinaud and Elliot are "Bilor, Shaknán, and Dúkhan." MSS. *A.* and *B.* make the first distinctly "Tákúr," but *D.* has "Billúr." *B.* makes the second "Shakbán." The third is وحان in *A.* and *B.*, رحان in *C.*, and وخان in *D.* See Jaubert's Edrisi, pp. 479, 483, 490.]

5 ["Berberhan," Reinaud. "Barbhán," Elliot. *A.* and B. have پراهان or پرامان. *C.* says سرهاي. "Babar-khána, or 'tiger's house,' the name of the land on the north of the ancient Taxila, where Buddha gave his head to the starving tiger. It is on the high road to Kashmír."—Cunningham.]

of the Kusárí and Mámharí,[1] which flow from the mountains of Shamílán,[2] is eight parasangs. Thence you arrive, at a distance of five days' journey, at a defile through which the Jailam runs.

At the end of the defile lies Dawáru-l Marsad, on both sides of the river. There the Jailam enters the plains, and turns towards Adashtán,[3] the capital of Kashmír, which it reaches at a distance of two days' journey. The city of Kashmír is four parasangs from Adashtán. It is built on both banks of the Jailam, on which there are many bridges and boats. The source of the Jailam is in the mountains of Harmakut,[4] near the source of the Ganges. This mountain is impassable on account of the exceeding cold, for the snow never melts, even when the sun is in Cancer or Leo. On the other side of it lies Máhá Chín, *i.e.*, great Chín. After the Jailam has left the mountains, it reaches Adashtán in two days. Four parasangs from that, it expands into a lake, a parasang square, on the borders of which there is much cultivation, and a dense population. It then leaves the lake, and enters another defile near the city of Ushkárá.[5]

The Sind rises in the mountains of Ámak,[6] on the borders of the

[1] [So read by Elliot. Reinaud has "Kosâry et Nahry:" the first syllable of Mámhari was doubtless taken as meaning "water," a reading favoured by our Arabic MS. *C.*, which says ماكسناري وماآنهري. The MSS. *A.*, *B.*, and *D.* have كساوي ومامهري (كشاوي *B.*, كساري *D.*). The name must therefore be as Elliot reads it, unless Rashídu-d dín mistook Al Bírúní's text.]

[2] [Sílák in first edition. *A.* has سهلاك.]

[3] M. Reinaud reads Addashtan, and Capt. A. Cunningham identifies it with Pandritan, the local corrupt form of Puránádhisthána, the "old chief city." *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* No. CLXXXVII. p. 97.

[4] M. Reinaud has Hazmakout. Har-Mukut, meaning the cap of Har, or Mahá Deo, is a better reading. [Hema-kúta is the correct one. See *ante* p. 46, and Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, p. 168.]

[5] ["This must be Hushka-pura which still exists near Barámula—Hwen Tsang's 'Hushkara.'"—Cunningham.]

[6] [Umah in first edition, and Onannak according to Reinaud. All our MSS. agree in reading *ámak* or *amak*. "This is apparently the Tibetan or *Gya-nag*, pronounced *Ganak*, which means the 'Black Plains,' and is the name for Chinese Tartary where the Indus actually rises. Arrowsmith's map gives 'Guinnak, capital of Chinese Tartary.'"—Cunningham.]

Turkish country. Passing by the mountains of Bilúr[1] and Shamílán, it reaches in two days' journey the country of the Bhútawárí[2] Turks, from whose encroachments and depredations the Kashmírians suffer great distress. Whoever travels along the left bank of the river will find villages and towns which are close to one another on the south of the capital and as far as the mountain Lárjal,[3] which resembles Damáwand, between which and Kashmír[4] there is a distance of two parasangs. It can always be seen from the boundaries of Kashmír and Lohávar. The fort of Rájgirí is to the south of it, and Lahúr, than which there is no stronger fort, is to the west. At a distance of three parasangs[5] is Rájáwarí, where merchants carry on much traffic, and it forms one of the boundaries of Hind on the north. On the hills to the west of it is the tribe of Afgháns, who extend to the land of Sind.

On the south of that tribe is the sea, on the shore of which the first city is Tíz, the capital of Makrán. The coast trends to the south-east, till it reaches Debal, at the distance of forty parasangs. Between these two cities lies the gulf of Túrán.

* * * * * * *

After traversing the gulf you come to the small and big mouths of the Indus; then to the Bawárij, who are pirates, and are so called because they commit their depredations in boats called Baira.[6] Their cities are Kach and Somnát. From Debal to Túlíshar[7] is fifty para-

1 [*C.* جمال البلّور.]

2 ["Bhotyawárí" in first edition. "Bhatâouryan" Reinaud. *A.* has قهباوري, *B.* بهاروي, *C.* نهتاوتّه.]

3 ["Lárjik" in first edition and in MS. *D.* "Kelardjek" Reinaud. All the other MSS. read "Lárjal." The Kalárchal of p. 46.]

4 [Reinaud, Elliot, and MS. *C.* agree in reading Kashmír; but *A.* has ضحاک, and *B.* صحا.]

5 [*A.* says "a parasang; *B.* two or three parasangs. The others agree in reading "three."]

6 [*Barija*? see note on the word Barge in the Appendix.]

7 [Reinaud has "Touallyscher," and Elliot reads "Tálíshar." *A.* has بوليت, *B.* بولبشر, *C.* نوليشر, and *D.* توليشر.]

sangs; to Loharání, twelve; to Baka, twelve; to Kach, the country producing gum, and bárdrúd[1] (river Bhader), six; to Somnát, fourteen; to Kambáya, thirty; to Asáwal,[2] two days' journey; to Bahrúj, thirty; to Sindán, fifty: to Súfára, six; to Tána, five. There you enter the country of Lárán, where is Jaimúr,[3] then Malia,[4] then Kánjí, then Darúd,[5] where there is a great gulf, in which is Sinkaldíp, or the island of Sarandíp. In its neighbourhood is Tanjáwar, which is in ruins, and the king of that conntry has built another city on the shore, called Padmár;[6] then to Umalná,[7] ten; then to Rameshar, opposite to Sarandíp, from which it is distant by water twelve parasangs. From Tanjáwar to Rameshar is forty parasangs; from Rameshar to Set Bandháí, which means the bridge of the sea, is two parasangs—and that band, or embankment, was made by Rám, son of Dasrat, as a passage to the fort of Lank.[8] It consists of detached rock separated by the sea.

[1] [So translated by Elliot. Reinaud has "patrie du Mocl, et à Baraoua, six parasangs," and he adds a note upon the position of the "Chateau de Baraoua . . . . qui se trouvait à une portée de flèche seulement de Soumenát." The text, however, says that the distance of Somnát is fourteen parasangs. MSS. *A.*, *B.*, and *D.* have والي كبج التي هيَ. *C.* تا كبج معدن مقل وباوروي (باردوي *D.*, باورروي *A.*) مَعْدِنُ الفيَلة و باوروُي. The word Báwarúí must be taken with *mukal* (bdellium), and is evidently the name of some staple production. It occurs again in the next page in the observations on the trade of Guzerát. MS. *A.* says بادرود بلداي همه از سواحل گزرات. *B.* varies slightly, saying, جادرو بلدي. The Arabic version of *C.* is النصَافي و البَلدي من ساحل كوزرات. Bádrú, or balm, is perhaps intended.]

[2] [Ahmadábád.—Bird's *Guzerát*, 187.]

[3] [Saimúr appears to be the place intended. It is noticed by all the other geographers. See Kazwíní *post*, p. 97, and note A in Appendix.]

[4] [*A.* and *B.* بلمه, *C.* بكمه, *D.* بلبه.]

[5] [So in all the MSS. Reinaud says "Dravira," for which Darúd is probably intended.]

[6] [Elliot reads "Díárbas." Reinaud has "Pandnar." MSS. *A.* and *B.* have بدمان. *C.* has پدمَار, and *D.* بديار.]

[7] [So according to Elliot, but "Oumalnara," according to Reinaud. Neither give any distance, but MS. *A.* says, "ten." The words are تا از ملما دس, the *az* being evidently a blunder for *U*. The Arabic version varies a little, "Between this (*i.e.* Padmár) and the first (town) ten parasangs. After that is Umalnár."]

[8] [*A.* has كمل. *C.* and *D.* كنك, confounding it with the Ganges.]

Twelve parasangs from that place, in an eastern direction, lies Kahkand, which is the mountain of monkeys.[1]

[Here follows an account of these monkeys, of some of the eastern islands, and of the rainy season.]

Múltán[2] and Uch are subject to Dehli, and the son of the Súltán of Dehli is the governor. There is a road from hence by land as well as by the shore of the sea to Guzerát, which is a large country, within which are Kambáya, Somnát, Kankan, Tána, and several other cities and towns. It is said that Guzerát comprises 80,000 flourishing cities, villages, and hamlets. The inhabitants are rich and happy, and during the four seasons no less than seventy different sorts of roses blow in this country. The crops which grow in the cold season derive their vigour from the dew. When that dries, the hot season commences, and that is succeeded by the rainy season, which makes the earth moist and verdant. Grapes are produced twice during the year, and the strength of the soil is such, that cotton plants grow like willows and plane-trees, and yield produce ten years running. The people are idolaters, and have a king of their own. Somnát, which is the name of the idol of that place, is a temple and place of worship for the people of all parts of Hind, and Hindu idolaters come to it from great distances. Many of the more deluded devotees, in performance of their vows, pass the last stage crawling along the ground upon their sides, some approach walking upon their ancles and never touch the ground with the soles of their feet,[3] others go before the idol upon their heads. The men of Kambáya bring tribute from the chiefs of the island of Kís. Sugar from Malwa, bádru (balm),[4] and baladí are exported in ships from the coasts of Guzerát to all countries and cities. Beyond Guzerát are

1 ["Kahankand" in MS. *D.*] This appears to be the Kanhar of Dr. Lee, and its description as being a mountain of monkeys shows that his conjectures about the estuary of Búzúta is correct. *Ibn Batuta*, p. 187.

2 Rashídu-d Dín here evidently leaves Abú Ríhán, and writes from information obtained independently. [The remainder of this chapter is left out of MS. *D.*, which enters abruptly on another subject; the continuation of this being lost or misplaced.]

3 [This sentence is found in the Arabic version only.]

4 [Jádar in *B.* See note in p. 66.]

Kankan and Tána; beyond them the country of Malíbár, which from the boundary of Karoha[1] to Kúlam,[2] is 300 parasangs in length. The whole country produces the pán, in consequence of which Indians find it easy to live there, for they are ready to spend their whole wealth upon that leaf. There is much coined gold and silver there, which is not exported to any other place. Part of the territory is inland, and part on the sea shore. They speak a mixed language, like the men of Khabálik,[3] in the direction of Rúm, whom they resemble in many respects. The people are all Samanís (Buddhists), and worship idols. Of the cities on the shore the first is Sindábúr, then Faknúr, then the country of Manjarúr,[4] then the country of Hílí,[5] then the country of Sadarsá,[6] then Janglí, then Kúlam. The men of all these countries are Samanís. After these comes the country of Sawálak, which comprises 125,000 cities and villages. After that comes Málwála,[7] which means 1,893,000 in number. About forty years ago the king of Málwála died, and between his son and the minister a contest arose, and after several

1 [So in the first edition, and so in MS. *A.* MSS. *B.* and *C.* have کهور, and so has Binākití.]

2 "We next came into the country of Malabár, which is the country of black pepper. Its length is a journey of two months along the shore from the island of Sindábúr to Kúlam. The whole of the way by land lies under the shade of trees, and at the distance of every half mile there is a house made of wood, in which there are chambers fitted up for the reception of comers and goers, whether they be Moslems or infidels." *Ibn Batuta*, Lee, p. 166. French version, Vol. IV. p. 71.

3 [*A.* has, چنانك, an evident blunder. *C.* جانكث.]

4 [The French version of Ibn Batúta gives the names of Sindábúr, Fákanúr, Manjarúr, Hílí, Júr-fattan, Dih-fattan, and Budd-fattan (Vol. IV. p. 109). Fattan is evidently the Sanskrit *pattanam* (town), or as now written *patam* or *patnam.*] Abú-l Fida notices Sindabúr, Manjarúr, and Kúlam. Manjarúr is the Mangalore of the present day, and the Μαγγαρουθ of Cosmas Indicopleustes. (*Topograph. Chr.* p. 337.) Casiri quotes a manuscript in which it is called Mangalore as early as the beginning of the seventh century. See *Biblioth. Escurial.* Tom II. p. 6.

5 [This is the reading of the first edition of MSS. *B.* and *C.*, and of Binákití. MS. *A.*, however, reads ميبل, which may possibly refer to the Mapillas, as the Musulmans of Malabár are called.]

6 [Such is the reading of MSS. *A.* and *B.* *C.* has فندرسا, the first edition "Tadarsa," and Binákití قندز.]

7 [So in *A.* *B.* has مالوا, *C.* has مالوا as it stood in the first edition, and such appears to be the reading of Binákití.]

battles they ended with dividing the territory between them. The consequence is that their enemies obtained a footing, and are always making their incursions from different parts of Hind, and carrying off goods and viands, sugar, wine, cotton cloths, captives, and great booty.[1] But through the great wealth of that country, no serious injury is done.

M'abar,[2] from Kúlam to the country of Siláwar,[3] extends 300 parasangs along the shore. Its length is the same. It possesses many cities and villages, of which little is known. The king is called Dewar which means in the M'abar language, the "lord of wealth." Large ships, called in the language of China, "Junks," bring various sorts of choice merchandize and clothes from Chín and Máchín, and the countries of Hind and Sind. The merchants export from M'abar silken stuffs, aromatic roots; large pearls are brought up from the sea. The productions of this country are carried to 'Irák, Khurásán, Syria, Rum, and Europe. The country produces rubies, and aromatic grasses, and in the sea are plenty of pearls. M'abar is, as it were, the key of Hind. Within the few last years Sundar Bandi was Dewar, who, with his three brothers, obtained power in different directions, and Malik Takíu-d din bin 'Abdu-r rahmán bin Muhammadu-t Tíbí, brother of Shaikh Jamálu-d dín, was his minister and adviser, to whom he assigned the government of Fatan, Malí Fatan, and Báwal;[4] and because there are no horses in M'abar, or rather those which are there are weak, it was agreed that every year Jamálu-d dín Ibráhím should send to the Dewar 1400 strong Arab horses obtained from the island of Kís, and 10,000 horses from all the islands of Fárs, such as Katíf, Lahsa, Bahrein, Hurmúz, Kilahát, etc. Each horse is reckoned worth 220 dínárs of red gold current.

* * * * * * *

1 It is difficult to say what countries are here meant, but it is probable that allusion is made to the Lackadives and Maldives, the names being derived from numerals, and in both instances bearing a relation to these islands.

2 [The coast of Coromandel. See *Ibn Batouta*, Index.]

3 [*B.* has سداور, and Binákití بنداور.]

4 [So printed in the first edition from the Indian MS. *A.* says فرو ملي ورومابل. *B.* has فمن و ملي فمن و بانك. *C.* بعتن و ملي فين. Binákití reads فتن مملي فمن و قايل.]

In the year 692 A.H. (1293 A.D.) the Dewar died, and his wealth and possessions fell into the hands of his adversaries and opponents, and Shaikh Jamálu-d-dín who succeeded him, obtained, it is said, an accession of 7,000 bullock loads of jewels, gold, etc., and Takíu-d dín, according to previous agreement, became his lieutenant. * * *

The people of the country are very black by reason of their being near the equator. There is a large temple called Lútar.[1]

* * * * * * *

There are two courses, or roads, from this place: one leads by sea to Chín and Máchín, passing by the island of Sílán.[2] It is four parasangs long, and four wide. It is parallel to the equator.

Sarandíp is at the foot of the Júdí[3] mountain, and is called in the language of Hind Samkáda-díp (Sinhaladíp), *i.e.* the sleeping-place of the lion, because its appearance is like a lion in repose,[4] and as that etymology is not known to the common people, they call it Sarandíp. The whole of the country is exactly under the Line. Rubies and other precious stones are found there. In the forests there are wolves and elephants, and even the Rukh is said to be there. The men are all Buddhists, and bow to, and worship images.

The Island of Lámúrí,[5] which lies beyond it, is very large. It has a separate king.

Beyond it lies the country of Súmútra [Sumatra],[6] and beyond

[1] [So in first edition. *A.* has لوبرر, *B.* بوبور, *C.* بوترر, Binákití بوترر.]

[2] [*A.* سبلان, *B.* بهملان, *C.* ميلان, Binákití, سيلان.]

[3] [All the MSS. read Júdí. Sir H. Elliot thought this a mistake for Janúbí, "southern."]

[4] Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.* I. 201.

[5] According to the Shajrat Malayu and Marco Polo, Lambri is one of the districts of Sumatra, situated in the north-east coast—converted by the Arabs into Ramry. M. Gildemeister considers it to be the same as Ramnad (*de Reb. Ind.*, p. 59). M. Reinaud considers it to be Manar (*Fragments*, p. 123); M. Dulaurier gives several reasons why it can be no where else than in Sumatra (*Jour. Asiatique*, 4th Ser. T. VIII. 117, 200). It may be presumed that the Lámúrí of our author is the same place as is indicated by Lambri and Ramry. There is at the present day a large island, called Ramry, off the coast of Arracan, but that cannot well be the place indicated.

[6] This is distinctly called a country (*wiláyat*) in the Persian, *balad* in the Arabic. It is usually said that mediæval writers called the island of Sumatra by the name of Java, and that Sumatra was one of its towns. Java itself was called Múl Jáva. See *Journal Asiatique*, 4th Series, Tom. IX. pp. 119, 124, 244.

that Darband Nias,[1] which is a dependency of Jáva. In the mountains of Jáva scented woods grow. In those islands are several cities, of which the chief are Arú, Barlak, Dalmían, Jáva, and Barkúdoz.[2] The mountains of Jáva are very high. It is the custom of the people to puncture their hands and entire body with needles, and then rub in some black substance to colour it.

Opposite Lámúrí is the island of Lákwáram,[3] which produces plenty of red amber. Men and women go naked, except that the latter cover the pudenda with cocoanut leaves. They are all subject to the Ká-án [Emperor of China.]

Passing on from this you come to a continent called Jampa, also subject to the Ká-án. The people are red and white.

Beyond that is Haitam,[4] subject also to the Ká-án.

Beyond that is Máhá Chín,[5] then the harbour of Zaitún,[6] on the shore of China sea,[7] and an officer of the Ká-án, entitled

[1] [The Arabic version has Darband Manás.] This may be Pulu Nias, which M.M. Maury and Dulaurier, from independent observation, conceive to be the Al-Neyan of the early Geographers. See *Journal Asiatique*, 4th Series, Tom. VIII. 200, and *Bulletin de la Société de Geog.*, April, 1846.

[2] These cities, it will be observed, are not confined to one island. Parlah is no doubt Tanjung Parlah, or Diamond Point, on the north-east coast of Sumatra. Barúdoz [or Búkúdúr, as the Arabic MS. gives it], without any violent metathesis, may perhaps be read Bencoolen—the Wau-Kou-Leou of the Chinese. (*Nouv. J. A.* XI. 54.) Towards Papua is a large island called Aru, but that is no doubt too distant for our author. His city may be the metropolis of Java according to Ptolemy —ἔχειν τε μετρόπολιν ὄνομα Αργυρῆν ἐπι τοῖς δυσμικοῖς πέρασιν. *Geog.*, VII. 2, 29.

[3] As this might easily be read Nicobar, allusion may be made to the islands of that name. The early Arabian Geographers and Idrísí seem to designate this group by the term Lanjabálús.

[4] [So in the first edition, and so in MS. *A.* *B.* has حسمه, *C.* has جتم, and Binákití خشيم.]

[5] Idrísí calls this Síniatu-s Sín, situated at the extremity of the empire. "No city is equal to it, whether we consider its greatness, the number of the edifices, the importance of its commerce, the variety of its merchandize, or the number of merchants which visit it from different parts of India." Ibn al Wárdi says, "It is the extreme eastern part which is inhabited, and beyond which there is nothing but the ocean."

[6] A port in the province of Fo-Kièn. See Marsden's *Marco Polo*, p. 561. M. Klaproth, *Mem. rel. à l'Asie.* Tom. II. p. 208, and M. Reinaud, *Relation des voyages*, Tom., II. pp. 25, 26.

[7] [This reading of the first edition is supported by the Arabic MS. *C.*, which says, "After this is Chín the great" [الصين الاعلى] after that the harbour of Zaitun on the shore of the sea of Chíng. The Persian MS. *A.* and Binákití entirely omit the first sentence.]

Shak,[1] resides there. Beyond that is Khansáí, in which the market-place[2] is six parasangs broad, from which it may be judged how large the place is. It is subject to the deputies of the Ká-án, who are Moghals, Musulmáns, Khitáyans, and Ghuris. Khansáí[3] is the capital.

Forty days journey from it lies Khánbálik,[4] the capital of the Phœnix of the west—Káán, King of the earth.[5]

With respect to the other road which leads from M'abar by way of Khitáí, it commences at the city of Kábal, then proceeds to the city of Kúnjú and Sunjú, then to Kín, then to Mali Fatan,[6] then to Kardaráyá, then to Hawáríún,[7] then to Daklí,[8] then to Bijalár,[9] which, from of old, is subject to Dehli, and at this time one of the cousins of the Sultán of Dehli has conquered it, and established himself, having revolted against the Sultán. His army consists of Turks. Beyond that is the country of Ratbán, then Arman,[10] then Zar-dandán,[11] so called because the people cover their teeth with gold.

[1] [So in first edition, and so in MS. *A.* MS. *C.* and Binákití have "Sank."]

[2] [So in the first edition. MS. *A.* says بارو "a fort or tower." Binákití says دریاچه "a lake." The Arabic version says باوودم.]

[3] The original is Janksáí [in all the MSS. except Binákití, who has Khanṣáí], but there can be no doubt the correct word is Khansa, which Ibn Batuta declares to be the largest city he had seen. Marco Polo calls it Quinsai, and says it is without exception the most noble city in the world. It was the capital of southern China, or Mahá Chín. Its present name is Hang-tcheou-fou, capital of the province of Tche-Kiang. See M. Reinaud, *Relation des Voyages*, Tom. I. pp. CX., CXVIII., and M. Quatremére, *Histoire des Mongols*, pp. LXXVII., LXXXIX. *Ibn Batouta*, IV. 284.

[4] The Cambalu of Marco Polo, and the Pekin of the Chinese. See Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* Tom. III. p. 2, p. 512. [Jánbálík in *A.* and in Binákití.]

[5] See *Les Oiseaux et les Fleurs*, pp. 119, 220. *Dabistán*, v. III. p. 250.

[6] [The Arabic MS. has "from Kábal to Kín, and from thence to Mali-Katan." Binákití reads "from Kábal-fatan to Majli-fatan," and a marginal emendation says, "from Kábal (or Kámal) patan to Majli patan," *i.e.*, Masulipatam.]

[7] [Hawármún in *A.*]

[8] [MS. *A.* has "Dakal." The Arabic and Binákití both read "Dehli."]

[9] [So in the first edition. *A.* says بجالا Bajálá; but *C.* and Binákití have بنکالا Bengál.]

[10] [MSS. *A.*, *C.*, and Binákití agree in this. The first edition and MS. *B.* have "Uman."]

[11] This country is again noticed in our author's account of China, and Marco Polo speaks of it under the wrong name, Cardandon. M. Quatremère tries to fix its position. (*Hist. des Mongols*, p. XCVI.) "This island of Sumatra is the first island

They puncture their hands, and colour them with indigo. They eradicate their beards, so that they have not a sign of hair on their faces. They are all subject to the Ká-án. This country is bounded on one side by the sea, afterwards comes the country of Ráhán, the people of which eat carrion and the flesh of men,—they likewise are subject to the Ká-án.[1] Thence you arrive at the borders of Tibet, where they eat raw meat and worship images, and have no shame respecting their wives. The air is so impure that if they eat their dinner after noon they would all die. They boil tea and eat winnowed barley.

There is another country called Deogir, adjoining M'abar inland, the king of which is at constant enmity with the Dewar of M'abar. Its capital is Dúrú Samundúr [Dwára Samudra.]

Another large country is called Kandahár, which the Moghals call Karájáng. These people spring from Khitai and Hind. In the time[2] of Kúbilá Ká-án,[3] it was subdued by the Moghals. One of its borders adjoins Tibet, another adjoins Khitá, and another adjoins Hind.

Philosophers have said that there are three countries celebrated for certain peculiarities; Hind is celebrated for its armies, Kandahár for its elephants, and the Turks for their horses.

wherein we knew man's flesh to be eaten by certain people which live in the mountains, called Bacas, who use to gild their teeth." *Ant. Galvano's Disc. of the World in Hakluyt*, IV. 422. See also *Purchas His Pilgrimage* p. 457. *Marsden's M. Polo*, p. 429, 434.]

[1] [This passage was not in the first edition, and it is not in the MS. *A.*; but the other MSS. and Binákití have it.]

[2] [The Arabic says, "Towards the end of the reign."]

[3] This is also mentioned in the Mongol work called Bodimer. See Pallas, *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten*, T. I. p. 19.

The country of Karájáng and its borders are again noticed by our author in his account of China, and its position is laid down by M. Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, p. xciv.

VIII.

NUZHATU-L MUSHTAK

OF

AL IDRÍSÍ.

Abú 'Abdu-llah Muhammad was born at Ceuta, in Morocco, towards the end of the 11th century. He was member of a family which descended from an ancestor named Idrís, and so came to be known by the name of Al Idrísí. This family furnished a line of princes for Morocco in the 9th and 10th centuries, and the branch from which Idrísí sprung ruled over the city of Malaga. Idrísí travelled in Europe, and eventually settled in Sicily at the court of Roger II. It was at the instance of this prince that he wrote his book on geography. He cites in his preface the various authors whose works he had employed in the compilation of the book. Further information was derived from travellers, whose verbal statements he compared and tested; and M. Reinaud quotes the Biographical Dictionary of Khalílu-s Safadí to the effect that men of intelligence were specially commissioned to travel and collect information for his use. The full title of the work is, Nuzhatu-l Mushták fi Ikhtiráku-l Áfák, "The Delight of those who seek to wander through the regions of the world." A full translation of the whole work into French was published at Paris in 1836 and 1840 by M. Jaubert, and from this the following Extracts have been done into English. Idrísí's work met with very early attention. An abridgment of the text was published at Rome in 1592, and a Latin translation was printed at Paris in 1619, entitled "*Geographia Nubiensis, id est accuratissima totius orbis in septem climata divisi descriptio*

continens, præsertim exactam universæ Asiæ et Africæ, in Latinum versa a Gabriele Sionita et Joanne Hesronita." Hartmann in 1796 published at Gottingen, from the abridgement, "*Edrisii descriptio Africæ.*" The description of Spain was translated into Spanish by Conde in 1799, and the portions relating to Africa and Spain have just been published with a translation by M.M. Dozy and de Goeje. Zenker, in his Bibliotheca Orientalis, mentions translations of other detached portions.

M. Reinaud, in his Introduction to Aboulfeda, has remarked that in M. Jaubert's translation, "Beaucoup de noms de lieux sont altérés," and it is true that there are some variants, such as Túbarán for Túrán, and Bána for Tánna; but the old Latin translation presented generally the same differences; the variants therefore seemed to exist in the text, and not to be attributable to the translator. A cursory examination of the two MSS. in the Bodleian has confirmed this view, for Jaubert's translation was found to give a generally accurate reproduction of the names as they stand in these MSS. A careful comparison of the texts would, no doubt, lead to some corrections, and, indeed, a few will be noticed in the following pages; but the more important variants are fully supported by the Oxford MSS. The maps contained in Graves' MS. show some differences from the text; thus Túrán is found instead of Túbarán; but the maps are written in a more modern hand, quite different from the rest of the book. The text is continued on the backs of these maps in the ordinary hand, but it may nevertheless have been written long before the maps were filled in. At any rate the scribes were different men, and such differences as that noticed above leads to the conclusion that the maps were not derived from the text with which they are incorporated.

Extracts.

First Climate. *Section* X.—The greatest king of India is the Balhará, which signifies "king of kings." After him comes the

Makamkam, whose country is Sáj. Next the king of Sáfan or Tában, then the king of Jába, then the king of Juzr, and then the king of Kámrún, whose states touch China.

[1]The Indians are divided into seven castes. The first is that of the Sákriya, These are the most noble; from among them kings are chosen, and from no others. All the other castes pay homage to them, but they render homage to no one. Next come the Brahmans, who are the religious class. They dress in the skins of tigers and other animals. Sometimes one of them, taking a staff in his hand, will assemble a crowd around him, and will stand from morn till eve speaking to his auditors of the glory and power of God, and explaining to them the events which brought destruction upon the ancient people, that is, upon the Brahmans. They never drink wine nor fermented liquors. They worship idols (whom they consider to be) able to intercede with the Most High. The third caste is that of the Kastariya, who may drink as much as three ratls[2] of wine, but not more, lest they should lose their reason. This caste may marry Brahman women, but Brahmans cannot take their women to wife. Next comes the Shardúya, who are labourers and agriculturists; then the Basya, who are artizans and mechanics; then the Sabdáliya (or Sandaliya), who are singers, and whose women are noted for their beauty; and, lastly, the Zakya, who are jugglers, tumblers, and players of various instruments. Among the principal nations of India there are forty-two sects. Some recognize the existence of a Creator, but not of prophets; while others deny the existence of both. Some acknowledge the intercessory powers of graven stones, and others worship holy stones, on which butter and oil is poured. Some pay adoration to fire, and cast themselves into the flames. Others adore the sun, and consider it the creator and director of the world. Some worship trees; others pay adoration to serpents, which they keep in stables, and feed as well as they can, deeming this to be a meritorious work. Lastly, there are some who give themselves no trouble about any kind of devotion, and deny everything.

Second Climate. *Section* VII.—The towns described in this

[1] [What follows is mainly derived from from Ibn Khurdádba. See *ante*, page 17.]
[2] [*Ratl*, one pound Troy.]

seventh section[1] are Kia, Kír, Armáyil, Kasr-band, Fírabúz, Khúr, Kambalí, Manhábarí,[2] Debal, Nírún, Mansúra,[3] Wándán, Asfaka, Darak, Másúrján, Fardán, Kírkáyán, Kadírá, Basmak, Túbarán [Túrán], Multán, Jandúr, Sandúr, Dúr, Atrí,[4] Kálarí, Nírá, Maswám, Sharúsán,[5] Bánía, Mámhal, Kambáya, Súbára, Sabdán, and Saimúr.[6] In that part of the sea which is comprised in the present section, there are the isle of Sára, the two rocks of Kasair and 'Awair, that of Dardúr, the island of Debal, in which the town of Kaskihár, is situated; the isles of Aubkín, Mind, Kúlam-mali, and Sindán. All these countries are inhabited by people of different religions, customs, and manners. We will state all that we have ascertained for certain on this subject, confiding in Divine help.

The beginning of this section comprises, starting from the east, the shores of the Persian Gulf, and towards the south the town of Debal. This is a populous place, but its soil is not fertile, and it produces scarcely any trees except the date-palm. The highlands are arid and the plains sterile. Houses are built of clay and wood, but the place is inhabited only because it is a station for the vessels of Sind and other countries. Trade is carried on in a great variety of articles, and is conducted with much intelligence. Ships laden with the productions of 'Umán, and the vessels of China and India come to Debal. They bring stuffs and other goods from China, and the perfumes and aromatics of India. The inhabitants of Debal, who are generally rich, buy these goods in the bulk, and store them until the vessels are gone and they become scarce. Then they begin to sell, and go trading into the country, putting their money out on interest, or employing it as may seem best. Going towards the west there are

1 The Nubian Geographer's list is as follows :—Kia, Kir, Ermaiil, Band, Casr-band, Lízabur, Haur, Cámbele, Manhábere, Dabil, Nirun, Fairuza, Mansúra, Randan, Asfaca, Darec, Masurgian, Fardan, Kircaian, Cadira, Basmac, Tuberan, Moltan, Giandur, Sandur, Dur, Atre, Cálere, Bascera, Mesuam, Sadusan, Bania, Mámehel, Kambáia, Subára, Sandan, Saimur, Fahalfáhara, Rasec, Sarusan, Kusa, Kased, Sura, Nodha, Mehyac, Falon, Caliron, and Belin. (*Geographia Nubiensis*, pp. 56, 57).

2 ["Manjábarí," Bod. MS.]

3 [Generally spelt "Mansúria" by Idrísí.]

4 [This is the "Annarí" of the other geographers; and one of the Bod. MSS. affords some warrant for so reading it here.]

5 ["Sadúsán," Bod. MSS.]

6 [Here the Bod. MSS. add the following names—"Asáwal, Falkamín, Rásak, Asursán, and Losha (or Kosha)."]

six miles between the mouth of the great Mihrán and Debal. From Debal to Nírún, on the west of the Mihrán, three days' journey. Nírún is half way between Debal and Mansúra, and people going from one town to the other here cross the river.

Nírún is a town of little importance, but it is fortified, and its inhabitants are rich. Trees are rare. From hence to Mansúra rather more than three days.

Mansúra, the city last mentioned, is surrounded by a branch of the Mihrán, although it is at a distance from the river. It is on the west of the principal branch of the river which flows from its source to Kálarí, a town situated one days' journey from Mansúra. At Kálarí it divides—the principal branch runs towards Mansúra, the other flows northward as far as Sharúsán [Sadúsán], it then turns westwards and rejoins the chief stream, forming henceforward only one river. The junction takes place twelve miles below Mansúra. The Mihrán passes on to Nírún, and then flows into the sea. Mansúra occupies a space of a mile square. The climate is hot. The country produces dates and sugar-canes in abundance. There are hardly any other fruits, if we except one, a sort of fruit called laimún, as big as an apple and of a very sour taste, and another which resembles the peach both in shape and taste. Mansúra was built at the beginning of the reign of Al Mansúr, of the 'Abbáside family, This prince gave his name ("the victorious") to four different cities, as a good augury that they might stand for ever. The first was Baghdad in 'Irák; the second, Mansúra in Sind; the third, Al Masísa, on the Mediterranean; the fourth, that of Mesopotamia. That of which we are now speaking is great, populous, rich, and commercial. Its environs are fertile. The buildings are constructed of bricks, tiles, and plaster. It is a place of recreation and of pleasure. Trade flourishes. The bazars are filled with people, and well stocked with goods. The lower classes wear the Persian costume, but the princes wear tunics, and allow their hair to grow long like the princes of India. The money is silver and copper. The weight of the drachma (dínár) is five times that of the (ordinary) drachma. The Tátariya coins also are current here. Fish is plentiful, meat is cheap, and foreign and native fruits abound. The name of this city in Indian is Mírmán,

It is considered one of the dependencies of Sind, like Debal, Nírún, Bánía, Kálarí, Atri, Sharúsán, Jandaur, Manhábarí [Manjábarí], Basmak and Multán.

Bánía is a little town. The inhabitants are of mixed blood and are rich. Living here is cheap and agreeable. From Bánía to Mansúra, three days, to Mámhal six, to Debal two. From hence to Mámhal and Kambáya the country is nothing but a marine strand, without habitations and almost without water; consequently, it is impassable for travellers.

Mámhal is situated between Sind and India. Upon the confines of the desert just mentioned there dwells a hardy race called Mand [Med]. They graze their flocks to within a short distance of Mámhal. These people are numerous. They have many horses and camels, and they extend their incursions as far as Dur [Alor] upon the banks of the Mihrán, and sometimes they penetrate even as far as the frontiers of Makrán.

Dur [Alor] is situated on the banks of the Mihrán, which runs to the west of the town. It is a pleasant place, and worthy of comparison with Multán as regards size. From thence to Basmak, three days; to Atri [Annarí], four days; and from thence to Kálarí, two days.

Kálarí, upon the west bank of the Mihrán, is a pretty town, well fortified, and is a busy trading place. Near it the Mihrán separates into two branches; the largest runs towards the west as far as the vicinity of Mansúria, which is on the west bank; the other runs towards the north-west, then to the north, and then towards the west. Both again unite at the distance of about twelve miles below Mansúria. Although this town [Kálarí] is some distance out of the regular route, still it is much frequented in consequence of the profitable trade carried on with the inhabitants. From hence to Mansúra is a hard day's journey of forty miles. From Kálarí to Sharúsán, three days.

Sharúsán [Sadúsán] is remarkable for its size and for the number of its fountains and canals, for the abundance of its productions and for its rich commerce. It is much resorted to. From Sharúsán to Manhábarí [Manjábarí], a town placed in a hollow, well built, of a pleasant aspect, surrounded with gardens, fountains, and running

waters, the distance is three days. From the latter place to Fírabúz,[1] six days. From Manhábarí to Debal, two days. In going from Debal to Fírabúz the road passes by Manhábarí, and between these two places it runs through Khúr, a small but populous town.

Fírabúz[1] is a town of which the inhabitants are rich. They carry on a good trade, they are men of their word and enemies of fraud, and they are generous and charitable. It belongs to the province of Makrán, as do the towns of Kír, Darak, Rásik (inhabited by schismatics), Bah, Band, Kasr-band, Asfaka, Fahlafahra, Maskan, Tíz, and Balbak.

Makrán is a vast country, but the greater part of it is desert and poor. The largest of its towns is Kírúsí, which is nearly as large as Multán. Palm-trees are plentiful there; the land is cultivated, and and a good deal of trade is carried on. On the west of it lies Tíz, a small sea-port much frequented by the vessels of Fárs, as well as by those which come from the country of 'Umán and the isle of Kísh, which is situated in the Persian Gulf at a long day's sail distance. From Tíz to Kír [Kíz], five days. From Kír to Fírabúz, two long days' journey.

Between Kír [Kíz] and Armaïl there are two districts which touch each other; one called Ráhún depends on Mansúria, and the other named Kalwán is a dependency of Makrán. These two districts are tolerably fertile, and they produce a few dates, but the inhabitants rely mainly on their flocks. Whoever wishes to go from Fírabúz to Makrán must pass by Kír. From thence to Armáïl, a dependency of Makrán, two days' journey.

Armáïl is nearly as large as Fírabúz. It is well peopled, and its environs are pleasant. The inhabitants are rich. From Armáïl to Kanbalí, two days' journey. Kanbalí competes with Armáïl in respect of size, wealth, and population. It is about a mile and a half from the sea. Both these places are situated between Debal and Makrán.

Darak is a populous trading town, three days' journey from Fírabúz. South-west of Darak there is a high mountain, which is called the mountain of salt, because nearly all the water which runs from

[1] [Kannazbúr. See Note A. in Appx.]

it is saline. There are habitations here. From Darak to Rásak, three days' journey.

The inhabitants of Rásak are schismatics. Their territory is divided into two districts, one called Al Kharúj, the other Kír Káyán. The sugar-cane is much cultivated, and a considerable trade is carried on in a sweetmeat called fániz, which is made here. The cultivation of sugar and the manufacture of this sweetmeat are extensively pursued at Máskán and in the district of Kasrán. The people of Máskán, Jaurán, and Túbarán, are for the most part schismatics. The territory of Máskán joins that of Kirmán. The inhabitants have a great reputation for courage. They have date trees, camels, cereals, and the fruits of cold countries. The people of Makrán speak Persian and a dialect peculiar to the province. They wear the tunic, the gown with sleeves, the cloak, waistcloth, and the mantle embroidered with gold, like the inhabitants of 'Irák and Persia.

Fahlafahra, Asfaka, Band, and Kasri-band are dependencies of Makrán, which resemble each other very much in point of size, the nature and extent of their trade, and the state of their population. From Fahlafahra to Rasak, two days. From Fahlafahra to Asfaka, two days. From Asfaka to Band, one day towards the west. From Asfaka to Darak, three days. From Band to Kasri-band, one day. From Kasri-band to Kia, four days. From Mansúria to Túbarán, about fifteen days.

Túbarán [Túrán] is near Fahraj, which belongs to Kirmán. It is a well fortified town, and is situated on the banks of a river of the same name (Túbarán), which are cultivated and fertile. From hence to Fardán, a commercial town, the environs of which are well populated, four days. Kírkáyán lies to the west of Fardán, on the road to Túbarán. The country is well populated and is very fertile. The vine grows here and divers sorts of fruit trees, but palms are not to be found. From Túbarán to Mustah,[1] a town in the midst of the desert, where many camels and sheep are bred, three days. From Túbarán to Multán, on the borders of Sind, ten days.

Multán is close upon India; some authors, indeed, place it in that country. It equals Mansúra in size, and is called "the house of

1 ["Maska," Bod. MS.].

gold." There is an idol here, which is highly venerated by the Indians, who come on pilgrimages to visit it from the most distant parts of the country, and make offerings of valuables, ornaments, and immense quantities of perfumes. This idol is surrounded by its servants and slaves, who feed and dress upon the produce of these rich offerings. It is in the human form with four sides,[1] and is sitting upon a seat made of bricks and plaster. It is entirely covered with a skin like red morocco, so that the eyes only are visible. Some maintain that the interior is made of wood, but others deny this. However it may be, the body is entirely covered. The eyes are formed of precious stones, and upon its head there is a golden crown set with jewels. It is, as we have said, square, and its arms, below the elbows, seem to be four in number. The temple of this idol is situated in the middle of Multán, in the most frequented bazar. It is a dome-shaped building. The upper part of the dome is gilded, and the dome and the gates are of great solidity. The columns are very lofty and the walls coloured. Around the dome are the dwellings of the attendants of the idol, and of those who live upon the produce of that worship of which it is the object. There is no idol in India or in Sind which is more highly venerated. The people make it the object of a pious pilgrimage, and to obey it is a law. So far is this carried, that, when neighbouring princes make war against the country of Multán, either for the purpose of plunder or for carrying off the idol, the priests have only to meet, threaten the aggressors with its anger and predict their destruction, and the assailants at once renounce their design. Without this fear the town of Multán would be destroyed. It is not surprising, then, that the inhabitants adore the idol, exalt its power, and maintain that its presence secures divine protection. Being ignorant of the name of the man who set it up, they content themselves with saying that it is a wonder. Multán is a large city commanded by a citadel which has four gates and is surrounded by a moat. Provisions are abundant, and the taxes are light, so that the people are in easy circumstances. It bears the name of "the house of gold Farkh," because Muhammad bin Yúsuf, brother of Hajjáj, found forty bahárs of gold (a

[1] ["Elle est de forme humaine et à quatre côtés."—*Jaubert.*]

bahár weighs 333 minas[1]) concealed there in a house. Farkh and Bahár have the same signification. The environs of this city are watered by a little river which falls into the Mihrán of Sind.

At one mile from Multán is Jandúr [Jand-rúd]—a collection of forts strongly built, very high, and well supplied with fresh water. The governor passes the spring time and his holidays here. Ibn Haukal states that in his time the governor used to go every Friday from these castles to Multán mounted upon an elephant, according to an ancient usage. The greater part of the population is Musulmán, so also is the judicial authority and the civil administration.

Sandúr is situated three days' journey south of Multán. It is famous for its trade, wealth, sumptuous apparel, and the abundance which prevails on the tables of the inhabitants. It is considered to form part of India, and is situated on the banks of a river which falls into the Mihrán above Samand. Going from Multán towards the north there is a desert which extends as far as the eastern boundary of Túbarán. From Multán to the vicinity of Mansúra the country is occupied by a warlike race, called Nadha. It consists of a number of tribes scattered about between Túbarán Makrán, Multán, and Mansúra, like the Berber nomads. The Nadhas have peculiar dwellings, and marshes in which they take refuge, on the west of the Mihrán. They possess excellent camels, and, particularly, a sort which they breed, called Karah. This is held in high esteem in Khúrasán and the rest of Persia. It resembles the camel of Balkh and the female camel of Samarkand, for it is of good temper and has two humps; not like the camels of our countries, which have only one. From Mansúra to the confines of Nadha six days. From the confines of Nadha to the city of Kír [Kíz] about ten days. From Nadha to Tíz, at the extremity of Makrán, sixteen days. The town which the Nadhas most frequent for buying, selling, and other matters, is Kandáíl. Kír Káyán is a district known by the name of Aíl,[2] inhabited by Musulmans and other people dependant on the Nadhas of whom

[1] ["The mina is a weight of about two pounds. Our author in order to explain the meaning of farkh, employs the term bahár, the value of which it is unfortunately difficult to determine."—*Jaubert.*]

[2] ["Not Abil. Our two MSS. agree in the orthography of this name, which seems to be of Turkish origin."—*Jaubert.*]

we have just spoken. The country produces corn, raisins, fruits, camels, oxen, and sheep. It bears the name of Aïl, because a man of that name conquered it (in ancient times), and laid the foundation of its prosperity. From Kandáïl to Mansúra about ten days.

The towns of Khúr Kakhlia, Kúsa, and Kadírá belong to Sind. The last two are about equal in size, and carry on some trade with the Nadhas. On Túbarán there are dependent—Mahyak, Kír Káyán, Súra, Fardán, Kashrán, and Másúrján. Between Túbarán and Mansúra there are vast deserts, and on the north, towards Sijistán, there are countries which are equally barren, and which are difficult of access.

Masúrján is a well-peopled commercial town, surrounded with villages, and built upon the banks of the river of Túbarán, from which town it is forty-two miles distant. From Masúrján to Darak-yámúna, 141 miles is the computed distance. From Darak-yámúna to Fírabúz or Fírabús, 175 miles.

The countries of India which touch upon Sind are—Mámhal, Kambáya, Súbára, Khábírún, Sindán, Masúya, Saimúr, and the maritime isles of Aubkín, Mand, Kulam-Malí, and Sindán. The towns of India are very numerous; among them may be mentioned Mámhal, Kambáya, Súbara, Asáwal, Janáwal, Sindán, Saimúr, Jándúr, Sandúr, Rúmala; in the desert: Kalbata, Aughasht, Nahrwára, and Laháwar.

Mámhal is by some numbered among the cities of India; by others among those of Sind. It is situated at the extremity of the desert which stretches between Kambáya, Debal, and Bánía. It is a town of moderate importance on the route of travellers passing from Sind to India. But little trade is carried on here. The environs are peopled, and produce small quantities of fruit; but there are numerous flocks. From hence to Mansúra, through Bánía, is considered nine days. From Mámhal to Kambáya, five days.

Kambáya stands three miles from the sea, and is very pretty. It is well known as a naval station. Merchandise from every country is found here, and is sent on from hence to other countries. It ís placed at the extremity of a bay, where vessels can enter and cast anchor. It is well supplied with water, and there is a fine fortress erected by the government of India to prevent the inroads of the inhabitants of

the island of Kísh. From Kambáya to the isle of Aubkín, two-and-a-half days' sail. From Aubkin to Debal, two days. Kambáya is fertile in wheat and rice. Its mountains produce the Indian kaná. The inhabitants are idolaters (Buddhists). From hence to the island of Mand, the inhabitants of which are thieves, the passage is six miles. To Kúlí on the shore, also six miles; and to Súbára, about five days.

Súbára is situated one-and-a-half mile from the sea. It is a populous, busy town, and is considered one of the entrepôts of India. They fish for pearls here. It is in the vicinity of Bára, a small island, on which some cocoa-nut trees and the costus grow. From Súbára to Sindán is considered five days.

Sindán is a mile-and-a-half from the sea. It is populous, and the people are noted for their industry and intelligence. They are rich and of a warlike temper. The town is large, and has an extensive commerce both in exports and imports. East of Sindán there is an island bearing the same name and dependent on India. It is large and well cultivated, and the cocoa-nut palm, kaná, and rattan grow there.

Saimúr, five days from Sindán, is a large well-built town. Cocoa-nut trees grow here in abundance; henna also grows here, and the mountains produce many aromatic plants, which are exported.

Five miles by sea (from Kúlam Malí) lies the island of Malí, which is large and pretty. It is an elevated plateau, but not very hilly, and is covered with vegetation. The pepper vine grows in this island, as in Kandarína and Jirbatan, but it is found nowhere else but in these three places. It is a shrub, having a trunk like that of the vine; the leaf is like the convolvulus, but longer; it bears grapes like those of the Shabúka, each bunch of which is sheltered by a leaf which curls over when the fruit is ripe. White pepper is what is gathered as it begins to ripen, or even before. Ibn Khurdádba states that the leaves curl over the bunches to protect them from the rain, and that they return to their natural position when the rain is over—a surprising fact!

Kambáya, Súbára, Sindán, and Saimúr form part of India. The last named belongs to a country whose king is called Balhárá: his kingdom is vast, well-peopled, commercial, and fertile. It pays

heavy taxes, so that the king is immensely rich. Many aromatics and perfumes are produced in this country.

The name (or rather the title) of Balhárá means king of kings. It is hereditary here as in other parts of the country, where, when a king ascends a throne he takes the name of his predecessor and transmits it to his heir. This is a regular custom from which these people never depart. There is the same rule with the kings of Nubia, Zanj, Ghána, Persia, and in the Roman empire, in respect of the hereditary descent of names. The work of 'Ubaidu-llah Ibn Khurdádba contains a passage concerning this which is worth quotation:—"Kings," he says, "generally bear hereditary titles,—thus those of China have been called Bághbúgh (or Bághbún) for centuries, and the title descends in regular order. Among the kings of India there are the Balhárá, Jába, Táfir, Hazr [Juzr] 'Ábat, Dumi [Rahmí] and Kámrún. These names are taken only by the prince who reigns over the province or country, no other has any right to assume them, but whoever reigns takes the name. Among the Turks, the Tibetans, and the Khazars, the king is called Khákán, but among the Khizlij he takes the title of Khai Khúya which is hereditary. In the Ránah the kings are called Fanjab. In the Roman empire they take the title of Cæsar, which descends upon all those who wield the supreme power. Among the Aghzaz they are called Shái Shá, or king of kings, a title hereditary like the rest. Finally, among the Persians they are called Kásra [Chosroes]. Among the people who dwell in the Súdán the names of the kings are derived from their countries,—thus the ruler of Ghána is called Ghána, the king of Kaugha is called Kaugha. But enough upon this subject."

Among the towns of India comprised in the present section are Khábírún and Asáwal, both of them populous, commercial, rich, industrious, and productive of useful articles. At the time we write, the Musulmans have made their way into the greater part of these countries and have conquered them. Please God we will hereafter describe those which are on their frontiers and some others.

Eighth Section.—The present section contains a description of part of the coast of India, comprising Barúh [Barúch], Sindápúr, Bána [Tánna], Kandarína, Jirbatán, Kalkáyán, Lúluwá, Kanja, Samandirún,—and in the interior of the country, Dúlaka, Janáwal,

Nahrwárá, Kandahár, Rúmala, Kalbata and ʼAghushta, on the borders of the deserts; Kábul, Khawás, Hasak, Murídas, Mádiyár, Tatta, Dadah [Darh], Maníbár [Malabar], Malwa, Niyásat, Atrásá, Nija, Kashmír the Lower, Maidara, Kármút, Kashmír the Upper, Kanauj, Rástána, and the islands of the Indian Sea, Mallan, Balbak, Tarwáklij, Masnaha and Samandár. We shall describe all these countries without omitting anything remarkable or curious that they may afford.

Barúh [Barúch, Broach] is a large handsome town, well-built of bricks and plaster. The inhabitants are rich and engaged in trade, and they freely enter upon speculations and distant expeditions. It is a port for the vessels coming from China, as it is also for those of Sind. From hence to Saimúr is considered two days' journey, and to Nahrwára eight days through a flat country where they travel in carriages on wheels. In all Nahrwára and its environs there is no other mode of travelling except in chariots drawn by oxen under the control of a driver. These carriages are fitted with harness and traces, and are used for the carriage of goods.

Between Barúh and Nahrwára there are two towns, one called Hanáwal (or Janáwal), the other Dúlaka. They are about equal in size, and are somewhat less than a day's journey distant from each other. Dúlaka is on the banks of a river which flows into the sea, forming an estuary, on the west of which stands the town of Barúh, (the name of which is also pronounced Barús), Both these towns stand at the foot of a chain of mountains which lie to the north, and which are called Úndaran,[1] they are of a white colour approaching to yellow. The kaná grows here as well as a few cocoa nut trees. In the vicinity of Hanáwal (or Janáwal) stands the town of Asáwal,[2] which is very much like the other two both in size and in the condition of its population. A good trade is carried on in all three.

Nahrwára is governed by a great prince who bears the title of Balhará. He has troops and elephants; he worships the idol Buddha; wears a crown of gold upon his head, and dresses in rich stuffs. He rides a good deal on horseback, but especially once a week when he goes out attended only by women, one hundred in

[1] [Vindhya ?]
[2] "Yessáwal" is the old name of Ahmadabad. Bird's Guzerat, 187.

number, richly clad, wearing rings of gold and silver upon their feet and hands, and their hair in curls. They engage in various games and in sham fights, while their king marches at their head. The ministers and the commanders of the troops never accompany the king except when he marches against rebels, or to repulse encroachments made upon his territories by neighbouring kings. He has numerous elephants, and these constitute the chief strength of his army. His power is hereditary, so also is his title Balhará, which signifies *king of kings*. The town of Nahrwára is frequented by large numbers of Musulman traders who go there on business. They are honourably received by the king and his ministers, and find protection and safety.

The Indians are naturally inclined to justice, and never depart from it in their actions. Their good faith, honesty and fidelity to their engagements are well known, and they are so famous for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side; hence the country is flourishing and their condition prosperous. Among other characteristic marks of their love of truth and horror of vice, the following is related:—When a man has a right to demand anything of another, and he happens to meet him, he has only to draw a circular line upon the ground and to make his debtor enter it, which the latter never fails to do, and the debtor cannot leave this circle without satisfying his creditor, or obtaining the remission of the debt.

The inhabitants of Nahrwára live upon rice, peas, beans, haricots, lentils, másh, fish, and animals that have died a natural death, for they never kill winged or other animals. They have a great veneration for oxen, and by a privilege confined to the species, they inter them after death. When these animals are enfeebled by age, and are unable to work, they free them from all labour and provide them with food without exacting any return.

The people of India burn their dead and do not raise tombs for them. When the king dies they construct a vehicle of an appropriate size, and raised about two palms above the ground. On this they place the bier surmounted by the crown, and the corpse, clad in all its funeral ornaments, being laid upon the bier, it is dragged by slaves all round the city. The head is uncovered and the hair

drags upon the ground. This is done that every one may see (the corpse), and a herald goes before uttering, in the Indian language, words of which the following is the sense,—"People! behold your king, so and so by name, son of so and so. He lived happily and mightily for so many years. He is no more, and all that he possessed has escaped from his hands. Nothing now remains to him and he will feel no more pain. Remember, he has shown you the way which you must follow." This being said, when all the ceremonies are concluded, they take the corpse to the place where the bodies of kings are burnt, and commit it to the flames. These people do not grieve and lament very much on these occasions. In all the countries of Hind and Sind there are Musulmans and they bury their dead secretly by night in their houses, but like the Indians they do not give way to long lamentations.

In the country of the Balhará concubinage is permitted with all persons except married women. Thus a man may have intercourse with his daughter, his sister, or his aunts, provided they be unmarried.

Opposite the sea-port town of Barúh lies the island of Mullan, which produces pepper in large quantities, and is two days' journey from Sindán. From Sindán to Balbak is also two days. Balbak produces cocoa nuts, figs, bananas, and rice. It is here that vessels change their courses for the different islands of India. From hence to the place called *Great Abyss* they reckon two days. From the island of Balbak to that of Sarandíb is one day or more.

From the town of Barúh, along the coast, to Sindábúr four days. Sindábúr is situated on a great gulf where ships cast anchor. It is a commercial town, and contains fine buildings and rich bazars. From hence to Bána [Tánna] upon the coast four days.

Bána [Tánna] is a pretty town upon a great gulf where vessels anchor and from whence they set sail. In the neighbouring mountains the kaná and tabáshír grow. The roots of the kaná which are gathered here are transported to the east and to the west. The tabáshír is adulterated by mixing it with ivory cinders, but the real article is extracted from the roots of the reed called *sharkí*, as we have already said. From Bána [Tánna] to Fandarína[1] is four days'

1 ["Kandarína" in p. 86.]

journey. Fandarína is a town built at the mouth of a river which comes from Manibar [Malabar] where vessels from India and Sind cast anchor. The inhabitants are rich, the markets well supplied, and trade flourishing. North of this town there is a very high mountain covered with trees, villages, and flocks. The cardamom grows here, and forms the staple of a considerable trade. It grows like the grains of hemp, and the grains are enclosed in pods. From Fandarína to Jirbatan, a populous town on a little river, is five days. It is fertile in rice and grain, and supplies provisions to the markets of Sarandíb. Pepper grows in the neighbouring mountains. From Jirbatan to Sanji and Kaikasár two days. These are maritime towns near to each other; the neighbourhood produces rice and corn. From hence to Kilkáyán one day. From Kilkáyán to Lulu and to Kanja one day. The vicinity is fertile in rice and wheat, and produces sapan wood abundantly. The growth of this tree resembles that of the oleander. Cocoa nut trees abound. From Kanja to Samandár thirty miles.

Samandár is a large town, commercial, and rich, where there are good profits to be made. It is a port dependant upon Kanauj, king of this country. It stands upon a river which comes from the country of Kashmír. Rice and various grains, especially excellent wheat, are to be obtained here. Aloe wood is brought hither from the country of Kármút [Kamrúp ?] 15 days' distance, by a river of which the waters are sweet. The aloe wood which comes from this country is of a superior quality and of a delicious perfume. It grows in the mountains of Káran. One day's sail from this city there is a large island well peopled and frequented by merchants of all countries. It is four days distant from the island of Sarandíb. To the north, at seven days' distance from Samandár, is the city of Kashmír the inner, celebrated throughout India, which is under the rule of Kanauj. From Kashmír to Kármút four days. From Kashmír to Kanauj about seven days. This is a fine commercial city which gives its name to the king of the country. It is built upon the banks of a large river which falls into the Musala.[1]

This river Musala is called by the author of the Book of Marvels, the River of Perfumes. It rises in the mountains of Káran, washes

1 مسلي

the walls of the town of Asnánd, passes the foot of the mountain of Lúniya, then by the town of Kilkayán, and at length falls into the sea. Many aromatics are produced upon its banks, as its name indicates. Between Rasnánd and Kashmír the outer, there are four days journey. Kashmír is reckoned among the number of the most celebrated cities. Its inhabitants war with the infidel Turks, and they often suffer injury from the Khizilji Turks. Atrásá, which stands upon the banks of the Indian Ganges,[1] is four days journey from Kashmír the outer. It is large, well-built, well watered, and one of the strongest places of Kanauj, the limits of which extend as far as Kábul and Laháwar. The Kanauj is a king who has numerous armies under his command, a vast empire and a great number of elephants; no king in India has so many. His power and his wealth are great, and his armies formidable. From Atrásá to Yánásat [Benares ?], a large city, also on the bank of the Ganges, five days. From thence to Madiar on the Ganges seven days. This is a rich commercial town, populous, and surrounded by numerous villages. From thence to Nahrwára on the west bank of the Ganges, and of which we have already spoken, seven days. From Madiar to the city of Malwa five days.

Malwa is a pleasant town, and much frequented. It is surrounded with many villages, buildings, and farms. Among the number of its dependencies are Dadh (Darh) and Tata. From Malwa to Dadh four days. From Dadh to Tata two days. Lahor is a country which joins[2] the latter. From Morídas to Tata three days.

Morídas, a commercial town, is a very strong place, garrisoned by the troops of Kábul. It is situated on the declivity of a very high mountain, on which grow the kaná and khaizuran.

Kandahár is a city built in the mountains of which we have just spoken, eight days' journey from Morídas, and the road from one place to the other passes over the mountains. It is a considerable town, and well-peopled. The inhabitants are remarkable for the manner in which they allow their beards to grow. Their beards are large and very thick, and hang down to their knees. This has

1 [جنبسه الهند]

2 ["Translated conjecturally, for the word is wanting."—*Jaubert.*]

given rise to a proverbial saying. They are stout in person, and wear the Turkish costume. The country produces wheat, rice, various grains, sheep, and oxen. They eat sheep which have died a natural death, but not oxen, as we have already observed. From Kandahár to Nahrwára is five days' journey in carriages. The people of Kandahár are often at war with those of Kábul, which is an Indian city, large and well built, bordering upon Tukháristán. The mountains produce excellent aloe wood, and the neighbourhood supplies cocoa nuts and myrobolans, which grow in the hills, and of that sort which is called Kábuli, from this town. In the lowlands saffron is largely cultivated, and is the object of a large export trade. It is a hazardous crop, depending upon the state of the atmosphere. The city of Kandahár is defended by a very strong citadel built upon a scarped rock, and is accessible by one road only. It is inhabited by Musulmáns, and there is a quarter in which the infidel Jews dwell. No king can take the title of Sháh until he has been inaugurated at Kábul. According to an ancient law, the assumption of power must be made in that city, hence it is resorted to from foreign and very distant countries. In the fertile lands of Kábul a good deal of indigo is cultivated of the very best quality, it has a great repute, and is the object of a great trade. Cotton cloths are also made here, and are exported to China, Khurásán, and Sind. There are some well-known iron mines in the mountains of Kábul. The metal is of a grey colour, and veined—it becomes very sharp.

Arzalán, Khawás, and Khibar are dependencies of Kábul, with divers villages and fortified places. From Kábul to Khawás four days. From Khawás to Hasak five days. From Hasak to Kábul, through a tolerably level country, three days. From Kábul to Kalbata four days. Kalbata and Rúmala are on the borders of the desert which separates Multán from Sijistán. They are both towns of middling size, inhabited by Sindians, Indians, and a few natives of Sijistán. They produce wheat, rice, and fruits in small quantities. The drinking water is obtained from fountains and wells. Cotton cloths are made here, and sold in the country round. At the east of Multán is the town of Aughasht, four days' journey from Kandahár, and the same from Multán. A small quantity of

kaná grows in the environs. The inhabitants are few but rich. From Aughasht to Rúmala ten days. From Rúmala to Kalbata three days. From Aughasht to Sandúr three days.

This is the sum of what we had to say about the country comprised in the present Section. As to the maritime portion, what we have already said about the islands seems sufficient. Nevertheless, it is well to know that, starting from the island of Sarandíb, of which we have spoken under the first climate, with the intention of gaining the continent by the shortest course, Jirbátan[1] is the place to land at, for this is but little more than half a day's sail. If it is necessary to go towards the east, the landing must be made at Kaikasár, or at the foot of the mountain of Umri, which is very high, stretches towards the north, and forms a large reef in the sea. From this reef to Sarandíb is about four days. All this well-known mountain is covered with sapan wood, which is exported. The root of the sapan quickly soothes the pain caused by the bite of serpents.

[1] [This name is written "Jirbatán," and "Jirbatan" previously.]

IX.

ÁSÁRU-L BILÁD

OF

ZAKARÍYA AL KAZWÍNÍ.

Zakaríya son of Muhammad son of Mahmúd is surnamed Kazwíní, from the town of Kazwín or Kasbín in Persia, where he was born. He was not a traveller, but compiled his works from the writings of Istakhrí, Ibn Haukal, and others, whom he regularly cites as his authorities. His works were written just after the middle of the thirteenth century, about 661 A.H. (1263 A.D.) according to Casiri, or 674 (1275 A.D.) according to Haji Khalfa. He has been called the Pliny of the East. He was author of the work called *'Ajáibu-l Makhlúkát wa Gharáibu-l Maujudát*, "Wonders of things created, and marvels of things existing," also of the *Ásáru-l Bilád wa Akhbáru-l 'Ibád*, "Monuments of countries, and memoirs of men." A few extracts have been taken from the last work, containing matter derived from other sources than the books previously quoted.

M. Reinaud, in his introduction to Aboulfeda, ascribes to Kazwíní the authorship of the work called *'Ajáibu-l buldán*, "Wonders of Countries." He found the contents of this work to be in the main identical with those of the Asáru-l bilád, but containing more biographical notices. This opinion is confirmed by a short Persian account of a work called "Bahru-l buldán," which is among Sir H. Elliot's MSS., and seems to have been written expressly for him. There is no copy of the work itself among the MSS.,

though Sir H. Elliot must once have had one in his possession. The notice says, "The Bahru-l buldán is not a distinct work, but is a Persian translation of the Ásáru-l Bilád wa Akhbáru-l 'Ibád, well known in the world by the name 'Ajaibu-l buldán, written in Arabic by Zakaríya bin Muhammad Kazwíní." It is curious, however, that the 'Ajáibu-l buldán[1] is frequently quoted by Kazwíní in the Ásáru-l bilad, as being the work of Mis'ar bin Muhalhil,—a traveller who went to China and India about 331 A.H. (942 A.D.). Several instances of this will be found in the following extracts. It is hard to believe that Kazwíní thus quoted his own work, or that he would refer the authorship of his own book to another person. If then, Kazwíní is really the author of a work called 'Ajáibu-l buldán, it is only reasonable to conclude that he adopted the title of his predecessor's work. Mis'ar bin Muhalhil is quoted by Yákút in his great Dictionary, and the fragments which he and Kazwíní preserved have been selected and published with a Latin translation by M. Kurd de Schlœzer.[2] There is another Persian translation of the Ásáru-l bilád among Sir H. Elliot's MSS., bearing the title "Sairu-l bilád." This MS. is called an "abstract," and was copied, and perhaps "abstracted," expressly for Sir H. Elliot, from a copy in the possession of Mr. J. Bardoe Elliott. The articles relating to India are given in full, but the others are greatly abbreviated. This work is said to be very scarce.

EXTRACTS.

KÚLAM.—A large city in India. Mis'ar bin Muhalhil, who visited the place, says that he did not see either a temple or an idol there. When their king dies the people of the place choose another from China. There is no physician in India except in this city. The buildings are curious, for the pillars are (covered with) shells from

[1] The title is a favourite one. Mas'udi cites the work of Al Jáhiz, "Kitábu-l amsár wa 'Ajaibu-l buldán" (Book ix.) *ante* page 21.

[2] Reinaud: *Aboulfeda*, CXLIII. *Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 23.

the backs of fishes. The inhabitants do not eat fish, nor do they slaughter animals, but they eat carrion. They manufacture clay vessels, which are sold in our cities like those of China, but they are not the same, because the clay of China is harder than that of Kúlam, and bears the fire better. The vessels of Kúlam are blackish, but those of China are whiter than all others. There are places here where the teak tree grows to a very great height, exceeding even a hundred cubits. Brazil wood, ratans, and kaná also grow here in abundance. Rhubarb grows here, the leaves of which are the Sázaju-l Hindí, Indian leaf, and are held in high esteem as a medicine for the eyes. They bring here various sorts of aloe wood, camphor, and frankincense. Aloe wood is also brought hither from the islands beyond the equator, where no one has ever gone and seen the tree. Water comes into it from the north. There is a mine of yellow sulphur here, and a mine of copper, the condensed smoke of which makes excellent vitriol.

MULTÁN.—[*Kazwíní quotes Istakhrí at some length, but gives additional particulars from other writers.*] Mis'ar bin Muhalhil says that it is the last city of India bordering on China.[1] It is a large fortified and impregnable city, and is held in high esteem by the Hindus and Chinese, for it contains a temple which is for them a place of worship and pilgrimage, as Mecca is for the Muhammadans. The inhabitants are Musulmans and infidels, but the government is in the hands of the former. The infidels have a large temple there and a great idol (budd). The chief mosque is near this temple. Islám prevails there, and its orders and interdicts are obeyed. All this is related by Mis'ar bin Muhalhil * * * The same author says that the summit of the temple is 300 cubits [zará'], and the height of the idol is 20 cubits. The houses of the servants and devotees are around the temple, and there are no idol worshippers in Multán besides those who dwell in these precincts [kasr] * * * The ruler of Multán does not abolish this idol, because he takes the large offerings which are brought to it, and disburses certain sums

[1] [The translator in the Sairu-l bilád very rarely departs from his text, but he observes in this article that a good deal has been written in many books about Multán which is not accurate, and that Multán is not near China, unless there be some other than the well-known town of that name.]

to the attendants for their maintenance. When the Indians make an attack upon the town, the Musulmáns bring out the idol, and when the infidels see it (about to be) broken or burnt, they retire. Ibnu-l Fakíh says that an Indian came to this idol, and placed upon his head a crown of cotton, daubed with pitch; he did the same with his fingers, and having set fire to it he staid before the idol until it was burnt.

SAIMÚR.—A city of Hind near the confines of Sind. The people are very beautiful and handsome, from being born of Turk and Indian parents. There are Musulmáns, Christians, Jews, and Fire-worshippers there. The merchandize of the Turks is conveyed hither, and the aloes called Saimúrí are named from this place. The temple of Saimúr is an idol temple, on the summit of a high eminence, under the charge of keepers. There are idols in it of turquoise and baijádak,[1] which are highly venerated. In the city there are mosques, Christian churches, synagogues, and Fire temples. The infidels do not slaughter animals, nor do they eat flesh, fish, or eggs; but there are some who will eat animals that have fallen down precipices, or that have been gored to death, but they do not eat those that have died a natural death. This information has been derived from Mis'ar bin Muhalhil, author of the 'Ajáibu-l buldán, who travelled into various countries and recorded their wonders.

SOMNÁT.—A celebrated city of India, situated on the shore of the sea, and washed by its waves. Among the wonders of that place was the temple in which was placed the idol called Somnát. This idol was in the middle of the temple without anything to support it from below, or to suspend it from above. It was held in the highest honour among the Hindus, and whoever beheld it floating in the air was struck with amazement, whether he was a Musulman or an infidel. The Hindus used to go on pilgrimage to it whenever there was an eclipse of the moon, and would then assemble there to the number of more than a hundred thousand. They believed that the souls of men used to meet there after separation from the body, and that the idol used to incorporate them at its pleasure in other bodies, in accordance with their doctrine of transmigration. The ebb and

[1] [A stone like a ruby.]

flow of the tide was considered to be the worship paid to the idol by the sea. Everything of the most precious was brought there as offerings, and the temple was endowed with more than 10,000 villages. There is a river (the Ganges) which is held sacred, between which and Somnát the distance is 200 parasangs. They used to bring the water of this river to Somnát every day, and wash the temple with it. A thousand brahmans were employed in worshipping the idol and attending on the visitors, and 500 damsels sung and danced at the door—all these were maintained upon the endowments of the temple. The edifice was built upon fifty-six pillars of teak, covered with lead. The shrine of the idol was dark, but was lighted by jewelled chandeliers of great value. Near it was a chain of gold weighing 200 mans. When a portion (watch) of the night closed, this chain used to be shaken like bells to rouse a fresh lot of brahmans to perform worship. When the Sultán Yamínu-d Daula Mahmúd bin Subuktigín went to wage religious war against India, he made great efforts to capture and destroy Somnát, in the hope that the Hindus would then become Muhammadans. He arrived there in the middle of Zí-l k'ada, 416 A.H. (December, 1025 A.D.). The Indians made a desperate resistance. They would go weeping and crying for help into the temple, and then issue forth to battle and fight till all were killed. The number of the slain exceeded 50,000. The king looked upon the idol with wonder, and gave orders for the seizing of the spoil, and the appropriation of the treasures. There were many idols of gold and silver and vessels set with jewels, all of which had been sent there by the greatest personages in India. The value of the things found in the temples of the idols exceeded twenty thousand thousand dínárs.[1] When the king asked his companions what they had to say about the marvel of the idol, and of its staying in the air without prop or support, several maintained that it was upheld by some hidden support. The king directed a person to go and feel all around and above and below it with a spear, which he did, but met with no obstacle. One of the atten-

[1] [The words as given in Wüstenfeld's edition are اكثر من عشرين الف دينار, as translated in the Sairu-l Bilád زيادہ بر بيست هزار و هزار, and Gildemeister's Latin version has "vicies millena millia." The enormous treasures found at Somnát have been a theme of wonder for all who have written on that conquest.]

dants then stated his opinion that the canopy was made of loadstone, and the idol of iron, and that the ingenious builder had skilfully contrived that the magnet should not exercise a greater force on any one side—hence the idol was suspended in the middle. Some coincided, others differed. Permission was obtained from the Sultán to remove some stones from the top of the canopy to settle the point. When two stones were removed from the summit the idol swerved on one side, when more were taken away it inclined still further, until at last it rested on the ground.

Taifand.—An impregnable fortress upon the summit of a mountain in India, to which there is only one way of access. On the top of this mountain there is water, cultivated land, and all necessary food. Yamínu-d daula Mahmud bin Subuktigín in the year 414 A.H. (1023 A.D.) besieged it for a long time, but at length reduced its garrison to extremities. There were 500 elephants on the mountain. The garrison asked quarter, and it was granted, and the fortress was confirmed to its master on payment of tribute. The lord of the fortress presented many gifts to the Sultán, among which was a bird in the form of a dove. When food containing poison was presented to this bird, tears would fall from its eyes, and the tear drops were converted into stone, which stone being broken and placed upon a wound, it would heal up. This bird is found only in this place, and does not thrive elsewhere.

HISTORIANS OF SIND.

I.

MUJMALU-T TAWÁRÍKH.

[A portion of this most interesting unique work was published by M. Reinaud, in his *Fragments Arabes et Persans inedits relatif à l Inde*, from the MS. numbered 62 in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris. The MS. has been described in the Journal Asiatique at different times, by M. Quatremère and M. Mohl, and it had been previously drawn upon by Anquetil Duperron and Silvestre de Sacy.]

[The chapter published by M. Reinaud, with which we are here concerned, was not written by the author of the Mujmal himself, but was borrowed by him from an older work, of which he thus speaks,—" I have seen an ancient book of the Hindus which Abú Sálih bin Shu'aib bin Jámi' translated into Arabic from the Hindwání language (Sanskrit). This work was translated into Persian in 417 A.H. (1026 A.D.) by Abú-l Hasan 'Ali bin Muhammad al Jílí,[1] keeper of the library at Jurján for a chief of the Dílamites. The book I saw was in the handwriting of the author, and bore the date above given. It is the

[1] [Reinaud's printed text had " al Jabalti," but Quatremère, corrected it to "al Jílí," (*Jour. des Sav.*, Jan. 1851), that is native of Jílán or Gílan, S.W., of the Caspian. Júrján is to the east of the same sea.]

custom of the Hindu writers on philosophy to put speeches into the mouths of beasts and birds, as in the book Kalíla wa Dimna, and accordingly many such speeches are introduced into this book. I have here introduced the (account of the) origin of the kings and a short history of them, and I have copied it because it is not to be found anywhere else—but God knows."]

[The date of the original Arabic translation does not appear; it may or may not have been written before the work of Biládurí, but the "extracts" relate to an ancient period, and more especially to Sind, so that they come in most appropriately here at the beginning of the historical writings. The date of the Persian translation, and still more that of the *Mujmal*, would carry them onward to a later and less suitable position.]

M. Reinaud is of opinion that the translated Sanskrit work was composed about the commencement of the Christian era, certainly long previous to the Rája Tarangini, and probably to the Mahá-bhárata; and that the subsequent reputation of that poem threw the translated work into the shade. If so, it would go far to show that the Mahá-bhárata is, as Wolfe and Heyne say of the Iliad, a collection of older poems already current; for there are many passages in Mujmalu-t Tawáríkh which are almost verbatim the same as they are at present preserved in the Mahá-bhárata. Indeed, it might be said that the Mahá-bhárata was itself the work translated by the Arab, had not animals been represented as the speakers.

The learned Editor also thinks he has discovered in this extract indications of the Bráhmanical influence being established over the Kshatriyas, at an epoch subsequent to the war between the Pándavas and Kauravas. The inference, however, rests upon very questionable grounds, so questionable, indeed, that we are tempted to exclaim, as the pious Persian translator does at the end of each Indian fable recorded by him, "God only knows the truth!"

The author of the "Mujmalu-t Tawáríkh," says that his

father was the compiler of an historical work, and that he himself had written a history of the Barmekides from their origin to their extinction. M. Quatremère and M. Mohl say that his name is unknown, and give his pedigree as grandson of Muhallib bin Muhammad bin Shádí. He was a traveller; for he tells us that he had visited the tombs of Daniel, Ezekiel, and Jonas, and certain ancient buildings in Persia and Babylonia. He informs us that he commenced his book A.H. 520 (A.D. 1126), during the reign of Sanjar, son of Malik Sháh, Sultán of the Saljúkís, but he must have lived long after this, for he records an event of A.H. 589 (A.D. 1193.)

His work is a chronological abridgment of universal history to the sixth century of the Hijrí. He quotes several rare authorities and makes a critical use of them. The topic on which he appears to have exercised most of his researches is the history of Persia, on which subject he promises to write hereafter a more detailed account. He gives many curious and circumstantial details on geography, derived not only from books, but from his own personal observation.

The Persian translation, which he quotes from Abú-l Hasan, is badly executed, being much too literal, and without any pretensions to style; and the same neglect of the most ordinary grace and embellishment has been observed in the author's own composition, in the portions which are original.

The authorities he quotes are the history of Tabarí, the Sháhnáma, Garshasp-náma, Farámarz-náma, Bahman-náma, Kúshpíl-dandán, Abú-l Muayyid Balkhí, Hamza Isfahání, and some others. He says that he quotes these in original, although they will be found to agree but little with one another, in order that his readers may know all that has been said upon the subjects he discusses; that he abridges their prolixities, and discards their quotations in verse; that if ever he quotes poetry, it is on account of its intrinsic excellence, or its peculiar adaptation to the subject he had to illustrate.

"The transactions of the kings of Persia," he continues, "are

the only ones which I propose to recount at length, because that country is placed in the centre of the universe, because it forms one quarter of the habitable globe, because it is the cradle of the human race, because it is the residence of the kings of the fourth climate, because other portions of the globe, such as China, India, Zanj, Arabia, Greece, and Turkistán are not to be compared to Írán, nor is any other country, whether east, west, north, or south,—because, moreover, in reading the history of Persia, any one can at the same time instruct himself respecting the state, position, peculiarities and marvels of other countries."

This work, therefore, as far as it goes, may be considered an introduction to the History of Persia, and that the author completed the entire work cannot be doubted, because he constantly alludes to the details which he has given in the subsequent part. The discovery of the complete work would be a matter of congratulation. It was at one time the intention of M.M. Saint Martin and J. Mohl to publish the Mujmal with a commentary, and there is great cause to regret that the death of the former interrupted the project.

The work, as at present preserved, consists of twenty-five chapters, of which many comprise merely chronological tables, such as those of the Prophets, kings of Rúm, Arabs, Sámánides, Buwaihides, Ghaznivides, Saljúkians, and Greeks, but enters into more particulars respecting the Hindú kings of India, the ancient kings of Persia, Muhammad, and the Khalifs, celebrated tombs, and Muhammadan cities. Without the last chapter, which is missing, the Manuscript contains 305 folios.[1]

EXTRACTS.

HISTORY OF THE JATS AND MEDS.—As an account of the Jats and Meds is given in the first part of the original work, I shall commence mine by making them the subject of it.

[1] See *Journal Asiatique*, trois. sér. Tom. VII. pp. 246-285. Tom. XI. pp. 136-178, 258-301, 320-361. *Le Livre des Rois*, Tom. I. pp. 1.-lx. Anquetil du Perron, *Zendavesta*, Tom. II. pp. 352, et seq. Reinaud's *Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 14. Quatremère, *in Jour. des Savants*, Jan. 1851.

The Jats and Meds[1] are, it is said, descendants of Ham. They dwelt in Sind and (on the banks of) the river which is called Bahar. By the Arabs the Hindús are called Jats. The Meds held the ascendancy over the Jats, and put them to great distress, which compelled them to take refuge on the other side of the river Pahan, but being accustomed to the use of boats, they used to cross the river and make attacks on the Meds, who were owners of sheep. It so came to pass that the Jats enfeebled the Meds, killed many of them, and plundered their country. The Meds then became subject to the Jats.

One of the Jat chiefs (seeing the sad state to which the Meds were reduced) made the people of his tribe understand that success was not constant; that there was a time when the Meds attacked the Jats, and harassed them, and that the Jats had in their turn done the same with the Meds. He impressed upon their minds the utility of both tribes living in peace, and then advised the Jats and Meds to send a few chiefs to wait on king Dajúshan [Duryodhana], son of Dahrát [Dhritaráshtra], and beg of him to appoint a king, to whose authority both tribes might submit. The result of this was satisfactory, and his proposition was adopted. After some discussion they agreed to act upon it, and the emperor Dajúshan nominated his sister Dassál [Duhsalá], wife of king Jandrát [Jayadratha], a powerful prince, to rule over the Jats and Meds. Dassal went and took charge of the country and cities, the particulars of which and of the wisdom of the princess, are detailed in the original work. But for all its greatness, and riches and dignity, there was no bráhman or wise man in the country. She therefore wrote a long letter to her brother for assistance, who collected 30,000 bráhmans from all Hindústán, and sent them, with all their goods and dependents, to his sister. There are several discussions and stories about these bráhmans in the original work.

A long time passed before Sind became flourishing. The original work gives a long description of the country, its rivers and wonders, and mentions the foundation of cities. The city which the queen made the capital, is called Askaland.[2] A small portion of the

[1] [See note in Appendix on "the Meds."]

[2] This is no doubt the Ashkandra of Pottinger and others. See note in Appendix.

country she made over to the Jats, and appointed one of them as their chief; his name was Júdrat. Similar arrangements were also made for the Meds. This government continued for twenty and some[1] years, after which the Bhárats lost possession of the country.

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Account of the Fall of the Pándavas and History of Brahmín.[2]—Injustice was the cause of the fall of the dynasty of the Pándavas. Fortune had grown indifferent towards them, and they ended by becoming tyrants. One day they carried off the cow of a brahman, and were about to kill him, when the brahman warned them, and said, "I have read in books that the prosperity of the Pándavas will fall when they shall kill a brahman for the sake of a cow—do not kill me." They did not heed him, but killed both him and the cow. That brahman had a son named Brahmín, a strong and tall man, who dwelt upon a mountain. When he heard of this nefarious business he arose, and said to himself, I will go and take away the sovereignty from the Pándavas, for they have killed a cow, (and) a brahman: the words of the sages cannot prove false, so the time of the fall of their dominion is come. Men laughed at him, but a party assembled round him. He took a city, and his power increased day by day, until he had a large army; and he went on capturing cities until at length he reached the city of Hatná,[3] which was the capital. Kúyáhúrat marched out to the battle, but was slain, and Brahmín assumed the sovereignty. Wherever he found any one of the race of the Pándavas he slew him. But a few escaped, who concealed their extraction, and employed themselves as butchers and bakers, or in similar crafts. Brahmín acquired the whole of Hindústán. They say that a daughter of Bol [Nakula], son of Pandu, went to him, and gave him such counsels as induced him to desist from slaying the Pándavas. But he put them all in prison until a large number was collected, when as a condition of

1 ["بیست واند سال." An *and* is a period of 15,000 years, or any number between three and ten.]

2 [This history is explained by the legend of Parasuráma, son of Jamadagni, called here Brahmín. Kúyáhúrat is Kártavírya; Fásaf, Kasyapa; Sunágh, the Muni Sunaka; and the cow, Kámadhenu.—*Reinaud.*]

3 [Hastinapur.]

their deliverance[1] he made them follow certain trades, so that no one would give their daughters to them, or take theirs, or associate with them. He proclaimed this throughout his dominions. Their position was lowered to such a degree, that they took to the occupation of musicians. It is said that the Hindu lute players belong to this family; but God knows.

History of Sunágh.—They say that Brahmín felt remorse for the slaughter of so many persons, and said, I substitute worship on the summit of a mountain for the slaughter of men. One day a brahman named Fásaf [Kasyapa] came to him and admonished him. Brahmín said, It is even so; I myself repent, and I will now give this kingdom to thee. Fásaf said, It is no business of mine; but Brahmín replied, Do thou receive it from me, and appoint some one over it by thy own authority. There was a servant named Sunágh, and him Fásaf seated on the throne. Brahmín then returned to the scene of his devotions. Sunágh practised justice and equity, and pursued a worthy course. The sovereignty remained in his family until fifteen kings had sat upon the throne. Then they became tyrants, and the sovereignty departed from them. This was in the reign of Gustásf, king of Persia. It is said that in the life-time of this Gustásf, Bahman led an army to Hindústán and took a portion of it; as to the other parts every one (that could) seized a corner. No one of the family (of Sunágh) retained any power. Bahman founded a city between the confines of the Hindús and the Turks, to which he gave the name of Kandábíl, and in another place, which they call Budha, he founded a city which he called Bahman-ábád. According to one account this is Mansúra; but God knows. At this time he returned to Persia, when he received the news of the death of Gustásf, and assumed the crown. This account I found in this book, but I have not read it elsewhere. The mother of Bahman is said to have been of Turk extraction; but God knows.

History of the Kingdom of Kashmír and Hál.—It is said that Hál was the descendant of Sanjwára, son of Jandrat and of the

[1] [I have generally followed M. Quatremère in his ingenious and critical emendations of the version published by Reinaud, but it hardly seems necessary to change the verb *jastan* to *zístan*, as he proposed in this passage. His version is "Il leur assigna, pour vivre, différents métiers."—*Jour. des Sav.*, Jan. 1851.]

daughter of King Dahrát. He inherited in Hindústán the dominion which had been occupied by Jandrat and Dassal and their descendants. He became a very important personage, and built a fine capital and several cities. His country was remarkable for the superior quality of the cloth that was manufactured there. The exportation of this fabric, without the stamp of the king, was prohibited. This stamp was an impression of his foot with saffron.[1]

It happened that the wife of the king of Kashmír bought some of that cloth, and having made up a dress of the same, she appeared before her husband, who at the sight of the stamp got jealous, and asked her whence she got the cloth, and what stamp was on it. His wife replied that she had bought it from a merchant. The merchant was sent for, and the king made enquiries about it. The merchant said that the stamp on the cloth was an impression of king Hál's foot.[2] On hearing this the king of Kashmír swore he would go and cut off the foot of king Hál. His Wazír observed,—"that place is the land of the brahmans, you will gain no victory there." The king of Kashmír did not heed this advice, but marched out with his army. When Hál heard of the king of Kashmír's intentions, he was alarmed; he sent information to the bráhmans and told them the king of Kashmír's threat, and said it behoved them therefore to throw obstacles in his way. The bráhmans offered up their prayers, and counselled him to have an elephant made of clay, and to have it placed in front of the battle-field. Hál did so, and when the king of Kashmír's soldiers advanced under their commander-in-chief, flames burst from the elephant and burnt many of them.

The king of Kashmír was then compelled to sue for peace, (at the conclusion of which,) Hál sent many presents to him. And the king of Kashmír, in order to fulfil his oath, cut off the leg of an image made of wax, and returned by the river.[3] He was advised

[1] Vigne's *Kashmir*, I. 134.

[2] This is the same legend as that of Mihirakula in the Râja Tarangini (II. 32); and the foot plays an important part in several other Indian stories. See Sprenger's *Mas'údí*, p. 318. Edwarde's *Panjab*, I. 394. Reinaud's *Mem.* 62. *Ind. Alterth.* II. 853.

[3] Todd, II. 239, 264. Irving's *Successors of Mahomet*, 61. [The word translated "river" is *darya*, which Quatremère says ought to be read "sea." It bears both

not to proceed by water on account of its turbulence. In compliance with this advice he travelled along the bank (sáhil) until he reached a stage some parasangs distant from the country of Kashmír, when the waters subsided.[1] In that place he built many houses and villages. The sea in Hindí is called Sávandar[2] (Samudra). Hence that place was called Sávandí, and it exists to this day. He also built temples and superb cities in many places. At length, intelligence of an enemy came to him from Kashmír, he then returned to his country, and suppressed his foes. The Government remained for a length of time in the hands of his descendants, and all the Hindús were obedient to them. In the country of Sind there were three kings, until at length the territory of the Hindús came under the authority of King Kafand, after he had by his valour subdued them. A bráhman had blessed him and said that the whole sovereignty should devolve upon him.

History of King Kafand.[3]—This Kafand was not a Hindú, but through his kindly disposition and equity all became obedient to him. He made fine speeches and praised the Hindús and their country. He raised their hopes by his virtues, and realised them by his deeds. He was cotemporary[4] with Alexander the Greek. He had visions, of which he asked the interpretation from a brahman, and he sought peace from Alexander, to whom he sent his daughter, a skilful physician, a philosopher, and a glass vase.[5] In the Sháhnáma he is called Kaid the Hindú. This story will also be related

meanings, and the latter view is supported by the use of the word *sáhil*, coast; but it is difficult to conceive that the author supposed it possible to return to Kashmír by sea.]

[1] [Sir H. Elliot introduced some slight emendations into the the text of this passage, which seem preferable to the words printed by Reinaud, and have been followed in the translation. The original words are بر ساحل بیامد هرمنزلي اب کمتر گشت چند فرسنگ از عرض و ملک کشمیر آنجایگاه عمارتها کرد و دیهها. Elliot reads برمنزلي که آب کمتر گشت.]

[2] This appears to be an allusion to the Sumundúr, mentioned in the 'Ajáibu-l Makhlúkát, fol. 197, v. Mihrán. [See Biláduri and Chach-náma, *post*.]

[3] [See Thomas in *Jour. R.A.S.*, 1865. Vol. I. p. 453.]

[4] [Quatremère's emendation of بعهد for بعد is essential.]

[5] [See Mas'udi. Chap. xxvi.]

in the life of Alexander. When the information of the brahman reached the Hindús,[1] Kafand sent a person to Sámíd, his brother, directing him to go to Mansúra with the brahman, and expel Mahra[2] the Persian from those places which Bahman had conquered, and to erect idol temples in place of fire-temples. Sámíd called (to his assistance) Hál, king of Hindústán, and they marched against Mahra the Persian, and warred with him until he fled into the city. For three years Mahra remained in the fortress, but when no prospect of success was left he ordered a tunnel to be dug, and they carried this (subterraneous passage) to a place called Kiyátasa. He then ordered posts to be fixed in the ground on the top of the fortress, and arms and helmets to be placed upon them, so that they looked like sentries. He then retired with the whole of his force through the tunnel, and marched towards the Turks, whose king gave him refuge. After some days crows perched upon the helmets, and the soldiers of Sámíd perceiving this the truth was made known. The gates were then opened, and the people of the city described the departure of Mahra the Persian. So after the lapse of some years Sámíd returned victorious to his own country. Alexander came to India after this transaction.

After Kafand had departed his son Ayand ascended the throne, and he divided the country of Sind into four parts. One king he established at 'Askalandúsa.[3] Upon another he bestowed the country of Zor to which Anj [Uch ?] is attached. Three other countries of the kingdom of Sáníd [Sámíd] he bestowed upon another.[4] Fourthly,

[1] [چون خبر برهمن بهندوان رسید. Should not brahman be read Bahman ? "When intelligence of (the conquests of) Bahman reached the Hindús."]

[2] [According to the Sháh-náma the name of the bráhman, who interpreted Kaid's dream, was "Máhran."—*Reinaud.*]

[3] [ملکي را بعسقلندوسه بنشاند. I have followed Reinaud in reading "'Askalandúsa," but the name is generally accepted as "'Askaland," or "'Askalandra," and the termination *úsa* has not been found elsewhere. May not the passage be read, "He established one king at 'Askaland *and Sah ?*" or may not even the last word signify "*and three*" (dependencies).]

[4] [The whole of this passage is ambiguous. The word سدیگرولایت, which is here rendered "three other countries," is rendered as "un troisième principauté" by Reinaud.]

he consigned the countries of Hindústán, Nadama, and Lohána separately upon another. This was after the time of Hál.[1] When the life of Ayand reached its limit, his son Rásal became king. He reigned for some time, until one rose up against him and expelled him from the kingdom. Rásal (then) went southwards, and established himself there. He had two sons, one named Rawwál, and the younger Barkamárís.

HISTORY OF RAWWÁL AND BARKAMÁRÍS.—When Rásal died his eldest son Rawwál assumed the sovereignty. It happened that a certain king had a daughter of great intelligence. Wise and learned men had declared that the man who should marry this girl should become king of the four climes.[2] All the kings and princes of the Hindus sought her, but no one pleased her except Barkamárís, who was very handsome. When Barkamárís brought her home his brother said, as she pleased you so does she please me. Then he took the girl with her handmaids. Barkamárís said to himself "The damsel chose me for my wisdom and there is nothing better than wisdom." So he gave himself up to study, and associated with the learned and the brahmans, till he reached such perfection that he had no equal.

When the rebel who had expelled their father (Rásal) heard the story of the damsel, he said "Can they who do such things occupy such a position?" So he led an army and put Rawwál to flight. Rawwál with his brothers and nobles all went to the top of a mountain where a strong fortress had been built. Then they set guards on the summit and felt secure. But the enemy got possession of the mountain by stratagem, and besieged the fort, and was near upon taking it. Rawwál then sent to sue for peace, and his enemy said—"Send me the girl, and let every one of your chiefs send a girl. I will give these girls to my officers,—then I will withdraw." Rawwál was dejected, but he had a wazír, blind of both eyes, named Safar, of whom he enquired what was to be done. He advised him to give up the women and save his life. He might then take measures against his enemy, but if he lost his life what would be the good of

[1] [See the account of the division of Sind into four kingdoms as described in the first chapter of the Chach-náma, *post.*]

[2] [The four quarters of the world.]

children and wife, and riches. They resolved upon this course, but just at this juncture, Barkamárís came in, and after making his salutation, said, "I and the king are sons of the same father; if he will acquaint me with his opinion, it may be that I may be able to suggest something,—do not take my youth into consideration." So they informed him of the facts. He then said, "It seems proper that I should stake my life for the king: let an order be given for me to be dressed like a woman, and let all the officers dress their sons in like manner as damsels, and let us each conceal a knife in our hair, and carry a trumpet also concealed; then send us to the king. When we are brought before the king they will tell him that I am the damsel, he will keep me for himself and give the others to his officers. When the king retires with me I will rip up his belly with the knife and sound the trumpet. When the other youths hear this they will know that I have done my work, and they must also do theirs. All the officers of the army will thus be slain. You must be prepared, and when you hear the trumpet, you must sally forth with your soldiers and we will exterminate the foe." Rawwál was delighted and did as was proposed. It succeeded, not one of the enemy's horsemen escaped, all were slain and cast down from the mountain. Rawwál's power increased.

[*The Wazír excites the king's suspicions against Barkamárís, who feigns madness.*]

One day in the hot season, Barkamárís was wandering barefoot about the city, and came to the gate of the king's palace. Meeting no hindrance he entered, and found his brother and the damsel sitting on a throne sucking sugar cane. When Rawwál saw him he observed that there could be no porters at the gate, otherwise the poor mendicant would never have got in. Taking pity on him, he gave him a bit of sugar cane. The mendicant took it, and picked up a piece of the shell of the cane to scrape and clean it with. When the king saw that he wanted to clean the cane, he told the damsel to give him a knife. She rose and gave the knife to Barkamárís, who cleaned the sugar cane with it, and craftily watched until the king was off his guard. Then he sprung upon him, and plunging the knife into his navel, ripped him up. After that he seized his feet

and dragged him from the throne. He next called the wazír and the people, and seated himself on the throne amid the plaudits of the people. He burnt the body of the king, took back the damsel and married her, and restored order.

Then he called the wazír and said "I know that it was you who counselled my brother in his dealings with me, but this was no fault nor is it blameable. It was God's will that I should be king, so continue to govern the kingdom as you did for my brother." Safar replied, "You have spoken the truth, all that I did was for the good and advantage of your brother, not out of enmity to you. But I have now resolved upon burning myself, and cannot do as you desire. I was with your brother in life, and I will be with him in death." Barkamárís told him that he wanted him to write a book on the duties of kings, on government and justice. Safar consented, and wrote the book, which is called "*Adabu-l Mulúk*," "Instruction of Kings." I have[1] transcribed it in this book, for I have written an abstract of it. When it was finished he took it to Barkamárís and read it, and all the nobles admired and praised it. Then he burnt himself. The power of Barkamárís and his kingdom spread, until at length all India submitted to him. Such was Barkamárís. I have related all the facts just as I found them.

[1] [Quatremère reasonably proposes to insert a negative here.]

II.

FUTÚHU-L BULDÁN

OF

AHMAD IBN YAHYA IBN JÁBIR

AL BILÁDURÍ.

This work is in the Leyden University Library, and has been described by Hamaker, at pp. 7 and 239 of his "*Specimen Catalogi, Codd MSS. Orientalium,*" An abstract of it is given in an appendix contained in the third volume of Dr. Gustave Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen,* and the entire chapter on the conquest of Sind, has been edited by M. Reinaud in the Journal Asiatique for February 1845, reprinted with additional notes in his valuable "*Fragments Arabes et Persans inedits relatifs a l' Inde.* [There is also a copy in the British Museum. The complete text has lately been admirably printed at Leyden, under the editorship of M. de Goeje.]

The author is Ahmad bin Yahya, bin Jábir, surnamed also Abú Ja'far and Abú-l Hasan, but more usually known as Biláduri, who lived towards the middle of the ninth century of our era, at the court of the Khalif Al Mutawakkal, where he was engaged as instructor to one of the princes of his family. He died A.H. 279, A.D. 892-3 This is according to Reinaud's statement—Pascual de Gayangos while he gives the same year of his death, on the authority of Abú-l Mahásin, says he lived at Baghdád in the Khalifat of Al-Mu'tamad. He left a large as well as a small edition of the Futúhu-l Buldán.

This work contains as its name implies, an account of the first conquests of the Arabs in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia, Armenia, Transoxiana, Africa, Spain and Sind. It is one of the earliest Arabic chronicles; for Tabarí, though he wrote at Baghdád, and did not compose his work till afterwards, was evidently not acquainted with this author, since he omits much that Biláduri has mentioned. It brings down the history of events to the close of the reign of Mu'tasim, A.H. 227, A.D. 842. Wákidí, who is quoted by Biláduri, also wrote a book of "Conquests," and amongst them a "Conquest of Sind," which Dr. Sprenger mentions that he has seen quoted by Nuwairí at folio 103 of the large copy of Leyden. Copies of his other *Futúh* are very common; and much passes under his name which was never written by him, as in the instance of the work translated by Ockley; but his *Futúhu-s Sind* is rare. Nuwairí mentions also another author of Indian history, folio 795,—Al Husain bin Yazíd us Siráfí. We find also other authors on Sindian invasions quoted as existing at the early period of the Arabian conquests.

Biláduri does not himself appear to have visited Sind, but quotes the authors on whom he relied for information. Thus we have mention of Abú-l Hassan 'Ali bin Muhammad Al Madaíní, with whom he had verbal communication. This author, who died A.H. 840 (1436 A.D.), at the advanced age of ninety-three, composed, amongst other works, Al Mughází wau-s Siyár, "Wars and Marches," which contained a detailed account of the expeditions of the Musulmáns in Khurásán and on the Indus. Mansúr bin Hátim is also mentioned as an author on Sindian History, with whom, as well as with Al Madáiní, Biláduri had held personal intercourse. Another author quoted by Biláduri is Ibnu-l Kalbí.

Besides the *Futúhu-l buldán*, our author wrote another work on cosmography, with a description of the inhabited earth entitled *Kitábu-l buldán*, the "Book of Countries," which is in the Library of the British Museum. (*Bibl. Rich.* No. 7496). He

also wrote a work on the genealogy of the Arabian tribes, the title of which is not known, and he translated several works from the Persian. He also has the credit of being a good poet. He is cited frequently by Ibn Haukal, Al-Mas'údí, and other ancient geographers, but his history is rarely quoted. Kudáma, who wrote at Baghdád, towards the end of the ninth century, gives an extract from it, and Ibn Asír also quotes it under the years 89 and 95 H.

He was called Biláduri or Bilázurí, from his addiction to the use of an intoxicating electuary made from the Balázar, or Malacca bean, which, from its resemblance in shape and colour to a heart, is called anacardium.[1] [The name is written optionally with either د or ذ. Goeje transcribes the name as "Beládsorí." The author, however, is better known as Biláduri or Beladori, and that form has therefore been retained. The Leyden MS., like other old MSS., prefers the ذ to the د, even when the latter is manifestly correct—thus it gives Brahmanábáz for Brahmanábád, and Rúzbár for Rúdbár.[2]]

Extracts.

Conquests of Sind.

'Alí, son of Muhammad, son of 'Abdu-llah, son of Abú Saif, has related that the Khalif 'Umar, son of Al Khattáb appointed 'Usman, son of Abú-l 'Así of the tribe of Sakíf to Bahrain and 'Umán in the year 15 H. (636 A.D.) 'Usmán sent his brother Hakam to Bahrain, and he himself went to 'Umán, and despatched an army to Tána. When the army returned he wrote to the Khalif 'Umar to inform

[1] F. R. Dietz, *Analecta Medica*, p. 101. Compare Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. III. Anhang, Vol. I. p. i-x. *Journal des Savants*, April, 1847. *Journal Asiatique*, IV Serie, Vol. VIII. Hamaker, *Specimen Catalogi*, pp. 7, 12, 239. A. Sprenger's *Meadows of Gold*, pp. 15, 16. Fraehn, *Indications Bibliographiques*, No. 39. Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, pp. xviii., xix. *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 16. *Aboulféda* II. 57. *Biographical Dict.* L. U. K., "Ahmed al-Beládhorí." Uylenbroek *Iracæ Persicæ Descriptio*, p. 67.

[2] Morley's *Catalogue*, p. 20. Müller's *Essai sur la Langue Pehlivi.* Lumsden's *Grammar.* *Borhan-i Káti*, p. 4. *Dubeux Tabari*, XXX. Spiegel, *Parsi Grammar.*

him of it. 'Umar wrote in reply—"O brother of Sakíf, thou has placed the worm in the wood, but I swear by God, that if our men had been killed I would have taken (slain) an equal number from your tribe." Hakam despatched a force to Barauz [Broach]; he also sent to the bay of Debal his brother Mughíra, who met and defeated the enemy.

When 'Usmán, son of 'Akkán became Khalif, he appointed 'Abdu -llah son of 'Ámar, son of Kuraiz, to (the government of) 'Irák, and wrote to him an order to send a person to the confines of Hind in order to acquire knowledge and bring back information. He accordingly deputed Hakím, son of Jaballa al 'Abdí. When this man returned he was sent on to the Khalif, who questioned him about the state of those regions. He replied that he knew them because he had examined them. The Khalif then told him to describe them. He said "Water is scarce, the fruits are poor, and the robbers are bold; if few troops are sent there they will be slain, if many, they will starve." 'Usmán asked him whether he spoke accurately or hyperbolically [*Lit.* in rhyme]. He said that he spoke according to his knowlege, The Khalif abstained from sending any expedition there.

At the end of the year 38, or the beginning of the year 39 H. (659 A.D.) in the Khalifat of 'Alí son of Abú Sálib, Haras the son of Marra-l 'Abdí went with the sanction of the Khalif to the same frontier, as a volunteer. He was victorious, got plunder, made captives, and distributed in one day a thousand heads. He and those who were with him, saving a few, were slain in the land of Kíkán[1] in the year 42 H. (662 A.D.) Kíkán is in Sind near the frontiers of Khurásán.

In the year 44 H. (664 A.D.), and in the days of the Khalif Mu'áwiya, Muhallab son of Abú Safra made war upon the same frontier, and advanced as far as Banna and Alahwár,[2] which lie between Multán and Kábul. The enemy opposed him and killed him and his followers. In the land of Kíkán, Muhallab encountered eighteen Turkí horsemen, riding crop-tailed horses. They fought well but were all slain. Múhallab said, "How much more

[1] [قیقان] [2] [Lahore.]

active than we those barbarians were." So he docked the tails of his horses, and was the first among the Musulmáns who did so.

In the reign of Mu'áwiya, son of Abú Sufain, the Amír 'Abdu-llah, son of 'Ámir, or according to some, Mu'áwiya himself sent 'Abdu-llah, son of Suar al 'Abdi, to the frontier of Hind. He fought in Kíkán and captured booty. Then he came to Mu'áwiya and presented to him some Kíkán horses. He staid near the Khalif some time and then returned to Kíkán, when the Turks called their forces together and slew him.

* * * * * * *

In the reign of the same Mu'áwiya, the Chief Ziyád, son of Abú Sufian, appointed Sinán, son of Salama, son of al Muhabbik the Huzailí (to the command). He was a good and godly man, and was the first who made his troops take an oath of divorce. He proceeded to the frontier and having subdued Makrán and its cities by force, he staid there and established his power in the country. According to Ibn al Kalbí, it was Hakím bin Jabala al 'Abdí who conquered Makrán.

Ziyád then appointed Ráshid son of 'Umrú-l Judaidí of the tribe of Azd, to the frontier. He proceeded to Makrán and was victorious in warring against Kíkán, but he was slain fighting against the Meds. Sinán, son of Salama, then succeeded to the command and was confirmed therein by Ziyád. He remained there two years.

'Abbád, son of Ziyád, then made war on the frontier of Hind by way of Sijistán, He went to Sanárúz, from whence he proceeded by way of Kház to Ruzbár[1] in Sijistán on the banks of the Hindmand. Then he descended to Kish, and crossing the desert came to Kandahár.[2] He fought the inhabitants, routed them, put them to flight and subdued the country; but many Musulmáns perished. 'Abbád observed the high caps of the people of that country, and had some made like them, which he called 'Abbádíya.

Ziyád next appointed Al Manzar, son of Al Jarúd al 'Abdí, to the frontiers of India. He was known by the name of Abú-l Ash'as. He attacked and conquered Núkán[3] and Kíkán. The Musulmáns

1 [Rúdbár on the Helmand.]

2 ["Kunduhár" in the text.]

3 [The original has simply بوقان.]

obtained great plunder, and their forces spread over all the country. He captured Kusdár and took prisoners there. Sinán had previously taken it, but its inhabitants had been guilty of defection. He died there (in Kuzdár).

The governor 'Ubaidu-llah, son of Ziyád, then appointed Ibn Harrí al Báhalí. God, by his hands, subdued these countries, for he waged fierce war in them and conquered and plundered them. Some writers say that it was Sinán, son of Salama, who was appointed to the (chief) command by 'Ubaidu-llah and that Harrí led the forces.

The people of Núkán are now Muhammadans. 'Amrán, son of Músa, son of Yahya, son of Khálid the Barmakide, built a city there in the Khalifat of M'utasim bi-llah which he called Al Baizá (the white). When al Hajjáj, son of Yúsuf, son of al Hakim, son of Abú 'Akail al Sakifí, was governor of Irak, Sa'íd, son of Aslam, son of Zura'a al Kalábí was appointed to Makrán and its frontiers. He was opposed and slain there by Mu'áwiya and Muhammad, sons of al Haras al 'Aláfí. * * * * *
Hajjáj then appointed Mujjá', son of S'ir al Tamímí to the frontier. He made war upon, plundered and defeated the tribes about Kandábíl, and this conquest was subsequently completed by Muhammad, son of al Kásim. Mujjá' died in Makrán after being there a year.

After the death of Mujjá', Hajjáj appointed in his place Muhammad, son of Hárún, son of Zará' al Namarí. Under the government of Muhammad, the king of the Isle of Rubies[1] sent as a present to Hajjáj, certain Muhammadan girls who had been born in his country, the orphan daughters of merchants who had died there. The king hoped by this measure to ingratiate himself with Hajjáj; but the ship in which he had embarked these girls was attacked and taken by some barks (*bawárij*) belonging to the Meds of Debal. One of the women of the tribe of Yarbú' exclaimed, "Oh Hajjáj!" When this news reached Hajjáj, he replied, "I am here."[2] He

[1] [Ceylon.]

[2] Mir Ma'súm differs from the *Futúhu-l buldán* and the *Chach-náma* and *Firishta*. He says that the Khalif 'Abdu-l malik sent some people to buy female slaves and other things of Hindustán, and were joined on the road by some Syrian merchants. Having completed their purchases, they were preparing to return by the sea route, when they were assailed by robbers at Debal, plundered, and slain, with the exception of a few who escaped to tell the Khalif of the outrage.—*Tarikh-i Sind*, p. 5.

then sent an ambassador to Dáhir to demand their release, but Dáhir replied, "They are pirates who have captured these women, and over them I have no authority." Then Hajjáj sent 'Ubaidu-llah, son of Nabhán, against Debal. 'Ubaidu-llah being killed, Hajjáj wrote to Budail, son of Tahfa, of the tribe of Bajalí, who was at 'Umán, directing him to proceed to Debal. When he arrived there his horse took fright (and threw him), and the enemy surrounded him and killed him. Some authors say he was killed by the Jats of Budha.

The Isle of Rubies is so denominated because of the beauty of the women.

Afterwards, Hajjáj, during the Khiláfat of Walíd, son of 'Abdu-l malik, appointed Muhammad, son of Kásim, son of Muhammad, son of Hakim, son of Abú 'Ukail to command on the Sindian frontier. Muhammad was in Fárs when the order arrived, and had previously received instructions to go to Rai.[1] Abú-l Aswad Jahm, son of Zahru-l Ju'fí, was at the head of the advanced guard, and he was ordered to return to Muhammad, and he joined him on the borders of Sind. Hajjáj ordered six thousand Syrian warriors to attend Muhammad, and others besides. He was provided with all he could require, without omitting even thread and needles. He had leave to remain at Shíráz until all the men who were to accompany him had assembled, and all the preparations had been duly made. Hajjáj had some dressed cotton saturated with strong vinegar, and then dried it in the shade, and said, "When you arrive in Sind, if you find the vinegar scarce, soak the cotton in water, and with the water you can cook your food and season your dishes as you wish." Some authors say, that when Muhammad arrived on the frontiers, he wrote to complain of the scarcity of vinegar, and this was the reason which induced Hajjáj to send cotton soaked in vinegar.

Then Muhammad, son of Kásim went to Makrán, and remained there some time. He then went to Kannazbúr and took it, and then to Armáíl, which he also took. Muhammad, son of Hárún, son of Zará', went to meet him, and joined him, but he died near Armáíl at Kásim's side, and was buried at Kambal.[2]

[1] [South of the Caspian sea.]

[2] [Kambalí (?) قسل.]

Conquest of Debal.

Muhammad, son of Kásim, left Armáíl, accompanied by Jahm, the son of Zahru-l Ju'fí, and arrived at Debal on Friday, where ships brought to him a supply of men, arms, and warlike machines. He dug an entrenchment which he defended with spearmen, and unfurled his standards; each body of warriors was arrayed under its own banner, and he fixed the manjaník, which was called "the bride," and required five hundred men to work it. There was at Debal a lofty temple (*budd*) surmounted by a long pole, and on the pole was fixed a red flag, which when the breeze blew was unfurled over the city. The budd is a high steeple, below which the idol or idols are deposited, as in this instance. The Indians give in general the name of budd to anything connected with their worship or which forms the object of their veneration. So, an idol is called budd.

In the correspondence which ensued, Muhammad informed Hajjáj of what he had done, and solicited advice respecting the future. Letters were written every three days. One day a reply was received to this effect:—"Fix the manjaník and shorten its foot, and place it on the east; you will then call the manjaník-master, and tell him to aim at the flag-staff, of which you have given a description." So he brought down the flagstaff, and it was broken; at which the infidels were sore afflicted. The idolaters advanced to the combat, but were put to flight; ladders were then brought and the Musulmáns escaladed the wall. The first who gained the summit was a man of Kúfa, of the tribe of Murád. The town was thus taken by assault, and the carnage endured for three days. The governor of the town, appointed by Dáhir, fled, and the priests of the temple were massacred. Muhammad marked out a place for the Musulmáns to dwell in, built a mosque, and left four thousand Musulmáns to garrison the place.

Muhammad, son of Yahya, says that Mansúr, the son of Hátim, the grammarian, a freeman of the family of Khálid, son of Assaid, relates that he had seen the pole broken into fragments which had been placed on the steeple of the temple. 'Ambissa son of Ishak Az Zabbí, the governor of Sind, in the Khalífat of Mu'tasim billah,

knocked down the upper part of the minaret of the temple and converted it into a prison. At the same time he began to repair the ruined town with the stones of the minaret; but before he had completed his labours, he was deprived of his employment, and was succeeded by Hárún, son of Abí Khálid-al Marúrúzí, and he was slain there.

Muhammad, son of Kásim then went to Nírún,[1] the inhabitants of which place had already sent two Samanís, or priests, of their town to Hajjáj to treat for peace. They furnished Muhammad with supplies, and admitting him to enter the town, they were allowed to capitulate. Muhammad conquered all the towns successively which he met on his route, until he had crossed a river which runs on this side of the Mihrán [Indus]. He then saw approaching towards him Sarbídas, the Samaní, who came to demand peace in the name of the inhabitants. Muhammad imposed tribute upon them, and then went towards Sahbán, and took it. Then he went to the banks of the Mihrán, and there remained. When this news reached Dáhir, he prepared for battle. Muhammad, son of Kásim, had sent Muhammad, son of Mus'ab, son of 'Abdu-r Rahmán as Sakifí, to Sadúsán, with men mounted on horses and asses, at whose approach the inhabitants solicited quarter and peace, the terms of which were negociated by the Samaní. Muhammad granted them peace, but he imposed tribute on the place, and took pledges from them, and then returned to his master. He brought with him four thousand Jats, and left at Sadúsán an officer in command.

Muhammad sought the means of crossing the Mihrán, and effected the passage in a place which adjoined the dominions of Rásil, chief of Kassa, in Hind, upon a bridge which he had caused to be constructed. Dáhir had neglected every precaution, not believing that the Musulmáns would dare to advance so far. Muhammad and his Musulmáns encountered Dáhir mounted on his elephant, and surrounded by many of these animals, and his Takákaras [Thákurs] were near his person. A dreadful conflict ensued, such as had never been heard of. Dáhir dismounted and fought valiantly, but he was killed towards the evening, when the idolaters fled, and the

[1] [Goeje's text has "Bírún," but he says the MS. had بسرون.]

Musulmáns glutted themselves with massacre, According to Al Madáiní, the slayer of Dáhir was a man of the tribe of Kaláb, who composed some verses upon the occasion. * * * * Various authors concur in saying that Muhammad took the village of Ráwar[1] by assault, in which city there was a wife of Dáhir, who, afraid of being captured, burned herself along with her handmaids and all that she possessed.

Then Muhammad, son of Kásim, went to old Brahmanábád, two parasangs from Mansúra, which town indeed did not then exist, its site being a forest. The remnant of the army of Dáhir rallied at Brahmanábád and resistance being made, Muhammad was obliged to resort to force, when eight, or as some say, twenty-six thousand men were put to the sword. He left a prefect there. The place is now in ruins.

Muhammad then marched towards Alrúr[2] and Baghrúr. The people of Sáwandarí came out to meet him and sued for peace, which was granted them, on the condition that they should entertain the Muhammadans and furnish guides. At this time they profess the Muhammadan creed. After that he went to Basmad, where the inhabitants obtained peace on the same terms as those accorded to the Sáwandrians. At last he reached Alrúr, one of the cities of Sind. It is situated on a hill. Muhammad besieged it for several months, and compelled it to surrender promising to spare the lives of the inhabitants and not touch the temples (*budd*). "The temples," he said, "shall be unto us, like as the churches of the Christians, the synagogues of the Jews, and the fire temples of the Magians." He imposed, however, the tribute upon the inhabitants, and built a mosque in the city.

Muhammad advanced to Alsaka,[3] a town on this side of the Biyás, which was captured by him, and is now in ruins. He then crossed the Biyás, and went towards Multán, where, in the action which ensued, Záida, the son of 'Umur, of the tribe of Táí, covered himself with glory. The infidels retreated in disorder into the town, and Muhammad commenced the siege, but the provisions being exhausted, the Musulmáns were reduced to eat asses. Then came there

[1] [See Elphinstone, I. p. 506.]

[2] [Alrúd in one MS. Alor is the place intended.]

[3] [السكة.]

forward a man who sued for quarter, and pointed out to them an aqueduct, by which the inhabitants were supplied with drinking water from the river of Basmad. It flowed within the city into a reservoir like a well, which they call *taláh*.[1] Muhammad destroyed the water-course; upon which the inhabitants, oppressed with thirst, surrendered at discretion. He massacred the men capable of bearing arms, but the children were taken captive, as well as the ministers of the temple, to the number of six thousand. The Musulmáns found there much gold in a chamber ten cubits long by eight broad, and there was an aperture above, through which the gold was poured into the chamber. Hence they call Multán "the Frontier of the House of Gold," for *farj* means "a frontier."[2] The temple (*budd*) of Multán received rich presents and offerings, and to it the people of Sind resorted as a place of pilgrimage. They circumambulated it, and shaved their heads and beards. They conceived that the image was that of the prophet Job,—God's peace be on him!

We are told that Hajjáj caused a calculation to be made of the sums expended in fitting out this expedition of Muhammad Kásim, and the riches which resulted from it. He had spent sixty millions (of dirhams) and that which had been sent to him amounted to one hundred and twenty millions. He said:—"We have appeased our anger, and avenged our injuries, and we have gained sixty millions of dirhams, as well as the head of Dáhir. Hajjáj then died.[3] Upon learning this, Muhammad left Multán and returned to Alrúr and Baghrúr, which had been previously captured. He made donations to his men, and sent an army towards al-Bailamán, the inhabitants of which place surrendered without any resistance. He made peace with the inhabitants of Surast, with whom the men of Basea[4] are

[1] M. Reinaud observes that the pronoun does not indicate whether this native word applies to the canal or the reservoir. He conjectures, with some probability, that the word may be *nálá*, "stream," but that word is not so pronounced at Multán. I prefer, therefore, *táláb*, *táláo*, "a tank, or reservoir." [In Goeje's edition the word is بلاح.]

[2] When the Musulmáns arms extended to the mountains parallel with the course of the Indus, the kingdoms of Kábul and Sind were called Farján "the two frontiers" —Uylenbroek, *Iracæ Persieæ Descriptio*, p. 67.

[3] [In the year 95 H., 714 A.D.]

[4] [Budha.]

now at war. They are Meds, seafarers, and pirates. Then he went against the town of Kíraj. Dúhar advanced to oppose him, but the enemy was put to flight. Dúhar fled, but some say he was killed. The inhabitants surrendered. Muhammad slew (all those capable of bearing arms) and reduced the rest to slavery. * * *

Meanwhile, Walíd, son of 'Abdu-l malik, died, and was succeeded by (his brother) Sulaimán, who appointed Sálih, son of 'Abdu-r-Rahmán, to collect the tribute of 'Irák. Yazíd, son of Abú kabsha as-Saksakí, was made governor of Sind, and Muhammad, son of Kásim, was sent back a prisoner with Mu'áwiya, son of Muhallab. The people of Hind wept for Muhammad, and preserved his likeness at Kíraj. He was imprisoned by Sálih at Wásit. Sálih put him to torture, together with other persons of the family of Abú 'Ukail, until they expired: for Hajjáj[1] (Muhammad's cousin) had put to death Adam, Sálih's brother, who professed the creed of the Khárijís. Hamza, the son of Baiz Hanafí, says :—

"Verily, courage, and generosity, and liberality,
Belonged to Muhammad, son of Kásim, son of Muhammad,
He led armies at the age of seventeen years,
He seemed destined for command from the day of his birth."

Yazíd, son of Abú Kabsha, died eighteen days after his arrival in Sind. Sulaimán then appointed Habíb, son of al Muhallab, to carry on the war in Sind, and he departed for that purpose. Meanwhile the princes of Hind had returned to their states, and Jaishiya,[2] son of Dáhir, had come back to Brahmanábád. Habíb proceeded to the banks of the Mihrán, where the people of Alrúr made their submission; but he warred against a certain tribe and reduced them.

When the Khalif Sulaimán, son of 'Abdu-l Malik, died, he was succeeded by 'Umar son of 'Abdu-l 'Azíz.[3] He wrote to the princes (of Hind) inviting them to become Musulmáns and submit to his authority, upon which they would be treated like all other Musul-

[1] That sanguinary wretch is said to have slaughtered by his arbitrary mandates 120,000 persons, and after his death there were found in his different prisons, 30,000 men and 20,000 women. This is drawn from Persian sources. The Sunní writers represent him as just and impartial, notwithstanding his unflinching severity.—Pascual de Gayangos, *Biographical Dictionary*, Art. "Al Hajjáj."

[2] [This reading is from Kudáma, and is confirmed by the Chach-náma. Our text is doubtful حشبه Reinaud gives "Hullysah" *Mem. sur l'Inde.* 191. The true name was Jai Sinha. See *Chach-náma, post.*]

[3] [717 A.D.]

máns. These princes had already heard of his promises, character, and creed, so Jaishiya and other princes turned Musulmáns, and took Arab names. 'Amrú, son of Muslim al Bahálí was lieutenant of 'Umar on this frontier. He invaded several places in Hind and subdued them.

In the days of Yazíd, son of 'Abdu-l Malik,[1] the sons of Al Muhallib fled to Sind, and Hilál, son of Ahwaz al Tamímí was sent after them. He fell in with them and killed Mudrak, son of Muhallab, at Kandábíl. He also slew Mufazzal, 'Abdu-l Malik, Ziyád, Marún, and Mu'áwiya, sons of Muhallab; last of all he killed Mu'áwiya, son of Yazíd.

Junaid, son of 'Abdu-r Rahmán al Marrí was appointed to the frontier of Sind, under the authority of 'Umar, son of Hubaira al Fazárí, and was confirmed in the government by (the Khalif) Hashám, son of 'Abdu-l Malik.[2] When Khálid, son of 'Abdu-llah Al Kasrí was sent to 'Irák (as governor) Hashám wrote to Junaid directing him to keep up a correspondence with Khálid. Junaid went to Debal and from thence to the banks of the Mihrán, but Jaishiya (son of Dáhir) forbade him to cross, and sent to him, saying, "I have become a Musulmán, and an excellent man confirmed me in my states, but I have no faith in thee." But (Junaid) gave him pledges and took pledges from him, together with the tribute due from his territories. They thus exchanged guarantees, but Jaishiya acted like an infidel and took up arms. But some say, on the contrary, that he did not begin the attack, but that Junaid dealt unjustly with him. Jaishiya assembled his troops, fitted out ships and prepared for war. Junaid proceeded against him in ships and they fought in the lake of Ash Sharkí. Jaishiya's ship was destroyed, and he himself was taken prisoner and slain. Sasa[3] son of Dáhir fled and proceeded towards 'Irák to complain of the the treachery of Junaid, but the latter did not cease to conciliate him until they had shaken hands, and then he slew him. Junaid made war against Kíraj, the people of which had rebelled. He made use of battering-rams, and battered the walls of the town with them until they were breached, and then he stormed the place, slaying, plundering, and making

1 [Yazíd II. reigned 720 to 724 A.D.]

2 [Began to reign 724 A.D.]

3 [صصه]

captives. He then sent his officers to Marmad Mandal, Dahnaj, and Barús [Broach]. Junaid used to say, "It is better to die with bravado than with resignation." He sent a force against Uzain[1] and he also sent Habíd, son of Marra, with an army against the country of Máliba.[2] They made incursions against Uzain, and they attacked Baharímad[3] and burnt its suburbs. Junaid conquered al Bailamán and Jurz,[4] and he received at his abode, in addition to what his visitors presented to him, forty millions, and he himself carried off a similar sum.

The successor of Junaid was Tamím, son of Zaid al 'Utbí. He was feeble and imbecile, and died near Debal in a water called the "Buffalo-water." This water was so called because buffalos took refuge there from the bears which infested the banks of the Mihrán. Tamím was one of the most generous of Arabs, he found in the treasury of Sind eighteen million Tátaríya dirhams, which he soon spent. * * * * * In the days of Tamím, the Musulmáns retired from several parts of India and left some of their positions, nor have they up to the present time advanced so far as in days gone by.

Hakim, son of 'Awána al Kalbí, succeeded Tamím. The people of India had returned to idolatry excepting those of Kassa, and the Musulmáns had no place of security in which they could take refuge, so he built a town on the other side of the lake facing India, and called it Al Mahfúza, "the secure," and this he made a place of refuge and security for them, and their chief town. He asked the elders of the tribe of Kalb, who were of Syrian descent, what name he should give the town. Some said Dimashk [Damascus], others, Hims [Emessa], and others Tadmúr [Palmyra]. Hakim said (to the latter), "May God destroy[5] you, O fool." He gave it the name of Al Mahfúza, and dwelt there.

'Amrú, son of Muhammad son of Kásim was with Hakim, and the latter advised with him, trusted him with many important matters, and sent him out of Al Mahfúza on a warlike expedition. He was victorious in his commission, and was made an amír. He founded

[1] [Ujjain.] [2] [Málwa or Malabar.] [3] [بهرمد.]
[4] [Guzerat. See Note A in Appendix.]
[5] [There is a pun here on the root of the word Tadmúr.]

a city on this side of the lake, which he called Mansúra, in which city the governors now dwell. Hakim recovered from the hands of the enemy those places which they had subjugated, and gave satisfaction to the people in his country. Khálid said, "It is very surprising,—I gave the charge of the country to the most generous of Arabs, that is, to Tamím, and they were disgusted. I gave it to the most niggardly of men and they were satisfied." Hakim was killed there.

The governors who succeeded continued to kill the enemy, taking whatever they could acquire and subduing the people who rebelled. When the fortunate dynasty (that of the 'Abbásides) was established, Abú Muslim appointed 'Abdu-r Rahmán, son of Abú Muslim Mughallisá-l 'Abdí, to the frontier of Sind. 'Abdu-r Rahmán went by way of Tukháristán, and proceeded against Mansúr, son of Jamhúr al Kalbí, who was in Sind. But he was met by Mansúr and slain, and his forces were put to flight. When Muslim heard this he appointed Músa, son of Ka'bu-t Tamímí, and sent him to Sind. When he arrived, the river Mihrán lay between him and Mansúr, son of Jamhúr.[1] Still he came up with Mansúr, put him and his forces to flight, and slew his brother Manzúr. Mansúr fled in wretched plight to the sands, where he died of thirst. Músa ruled in Sind, repaired the city of Mansúra, and enlarged its mosque. He was victorious in his campaigns.

The Khalif al Mansúr sent to Sind Hashám, son of 'Amrú al Taghlabí, and he reduced those places which still held out. He sent 'Amrú, son of Jamal, in boats to Nárand.[2] He also sent (a force) to the territories of Hind, subdued Kashmír, and took many prisoners and slaves. Multán was reduced, and he overpowered a body of Arabs who were in Kandábíl, and drove them out. He then went to Kandahár in boats, and conquered it. He destroyed the *budd* there, and built in its place a mosque. There was abundance in the country under his rule, and the people blessed him—he extended the frontier, and enforced his decrees.

'Umar, son of Hafs, son of 'Usmán Hazármard, was then appointed

[1] [Coins of this Mansúr and of other Sind rulers have been found in the ruins of a city supposed to be Brahmanábád.—Thomas' *Prinsep*, II., 119.]

[2] [بارند.]

governor of Sind, and after him Dáúd, son of Yazíd, son of Hátim. There was with him Abú-l Samma, who had been a slave of the tribe of Kanda, and who is now governor. The affairs of the frontier went on prosperously until Bashar, son of Dáúd, was appointed under the Khalifat of Mámún.[1] He rebelled, and set up in opposition. Ghassán, son of 'Abbad, who was a native of the neighbourhood of Kúfa, was sent against him. Bashar proceeded to meet Ghassán under a safe conduct, and they both proceeded to the Muhammadan capital (Baghdád). Ghassán deputed Músa, son of Yahya, son of Khálid, son of Barmak, to the charge of the frontier. Músa killed Bála, king of Ash-sharkí, although the latter had given him five hundred thousand dirhams to preserve his life. Bála was faithful to Ghassán, and wrote to him in the presence of his army, through the princes who were with him, but his request was rejected. Músa died in 221[2] A.H. (836 A.D.), leaving a high reputation, and he appointed his son 'Amrán as his successor. The Khalif M'utasim bi-llah wrote to him confirming him in the government of the frontier. He marched to Kíkán against the Jats, whom he defeated and subjugated. He built a city there, which he called Al Baizá, "the white,"[3] and he posted a military force there. Then he proceeded to Multán, and from thence to Kandábíl, which city stands upon a hill. Muhammad, son of Khalíl, was reigning there, but 'Amrán slew him, conquered the town, and carried away its inhabitants to Kusdár. Then he made war upon the Meds, and killed three thousand of them. There he constructed a *band*, which is called "Sakru-l Med," *Band of the Meds.* He encamped on the river at Alrúr.[4] There he summoned the Jats, who came to his presence, when he sealed[5] their hands, took from them the *jizya* (capitation tax), and he ordered that every man of them should bring a dog with him when he came to wait upon him,—hence the price of a dog rose to fifty dirhams. He again attacked the Meds, having with him the chief men of the Jats. He dug a canal from the sea to their tank, so their water became salt; and he sent out several marauding expeditions against them.

1 [Began to reign in 813 A.D.]

2 [The text says 21, but this is a manifest error.]

3 [See *ante*, p. 118.]

4 [علي نهرالرور *lit.* "On the river of Rúr.]

5 [ختم ايديهم.]

Dissensions then arose between the Nizárians[1] and Yamánians, and 'Amrán joined with the latter. 'Umar, son of 'Abu-l Azíz al Habbári, consequently went to him and killed him unawares. The ancestor of this 'Umar had come into Sind with Hakim, son of 'Awána al Kalbí.[2]

Mansúr, son of Hatím, related to me that Fazl, son of Máhán, formerly a slave of the sons of Sáma, got into Sindán and subdued it. He then sent an elephant to the Khalif Mámún, and wrote to him and offered up prayers for him in the Jámi' masjid, which he built there. When he died he was succeeded by Muhammad son of Fazl son of Máhán. He proceeded with sixty vessels against the Meds of Hind. He killed a great number of them, captured Kállarí[3] (?) and then returned towards Sindán. But his brother, named Máhán, had made himself master of Sindán, and wrote to the Khalif Mu'tasim bi-llah, and had sent to him as a present the largest and longest *sáj*,[4] that had been seen. But the Indians were under the control of his brother whom they liked, so they slew Máhán and crucified him. The Indians afterwards made themselves masters of Sindán, but they spared the mosque, and the Muhammadans used to meet in it on the Friday and pray for the Khalif.

Abú Bakr, who had been a slave of the Karízís, related to me that the country called Al 'Usaifán between Kashmír and Multán and Kábul, was governed by a wise king. The people of this country worshipped an idol for which they had built a temple. The son of the king fell sick, and he desired the ministers of the temple to pray to the idol for the recovery of his son. They retired for a short time, and then returned and said, "We have prayed and our supplications have been accepted." But no long time passed before the youth died. Then the king attacked the temple, destroyed and broke in pieces the idol, and slew its ministers. He afterwards invited a

1 [The Nizárians are the descendants of Nizár, an ancestor of Muhammad, and the Yamánians are the tribes of Yaman (Yemen). See note in Reinaud's *Fragments*, also his *Invasions des Sarrasins en France*, p. 72, *et seq.*]

2 See a note upon the Amírs Músa and Amran, in Reinaud's *Fragments*, p. 215.]

3 [The text has قالى.]

4 [*Sáj*, a green or black sash rolled round the head and hanging down behind. It is also the name of the teak tree.]

party of Muhammadan traders who made known to him the unity of God. Hereupon he believed in the unity and became a Musulmán. This happened in the Khalifat of Mu'tasim bi-llah,—may God have mercy on him.

CHACH-NÁMA,

OR

TARÍKH-I HIND WA SIND.

Chach-náma is the name now universally given to the work which details the usurpation of the Brahman Chach and the Arab conquest of Sind; but the history itself gives us no authority for this name, on the contrary it is spoken of in the preface and conclusion merely as Fath-náma, "a despatch announcing victory." It is sometimes styled, as by Elphinstone, Táríkh-i Hind o Sind. It is quoted by Núru-l Hakk in the Zubdatu-t Tawáríkh, and by Nízámu-d dín Ahmad in the Tabakát-i Akbarí, as the Minháju-l Masálik, which the latter tells us is more commonly known as the Chach-náma.

This work was translated from the Arabic by Muhammad 'Alí bin Hámid bin Abú Bakr Kúfí, in the time of Násiru-d dín Kabácha, who is styled, amongst many other titles, Amíru-l Múminín Abú-l Fath Kabáchau-s Salátín,[1] "the tents of whose glory were pitched with the ropes of his authority, and with the mallet of the strictness of his commands." He is said to adorn the throne lately occupied by the blessed martyr Abú-l Muzaffar Muhammad bin Sám Násir Amíru-l Múminín.

The translator informs us that, after having spent much of his life in the enjoyment of great comfort and happiness, he was reduced to distress, and compelled by the vicissitudes of the time to leave his native land and take up his abode in Úch. He says that

[1] This is a new mode of using the term in combination, and would show that some meaning must be ascribed to Kabácha. The dictionaries translate it only as a "small tunic." [It is frequently written "Kabája," but the Nágarí legends on the coins make it "Kubáchahá." See Thomas' *Prinsep.*, I. 305. Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, Plate XX., No. 19.]

in the 58th year of his age, and the 613th of the Hijrí (1216 A.D.), he withdrew his hand from all the concerns which had previously occupied his mind, and made a few delightful books his sole companions. He considered within himself that learned persons of every age had, by the assistance of their masters and patrons, compiled histories and books, and established a reputation for themselves by their literary attainments; that, for instance, the conquests of Khurásán, 'Irák, Persia, Rúm, and Shám had been celebrated at large in poetry and prose by authors of past ages; and that a victory had been achieved, and the country of Hindústán conquered, by Muhammad Kásim and other nobles of Arabia and Syria, and mosques and pulpits had been raised throughout the country, from the sea-shore to the boundaries of Kashmír and Kanauj, and Ráí Dáhir, son of Chach, the king of Alor, had been slain by the great noble, the best man of the State and Religion, Muhammad bin Kásim bin 'Akíl Sakifí, may God's mercy be on him! and the Ráí's territory with all its dependencies had been taken possession of by that conqueror. The translator, therefore, wished to be acquainted with an account of the country and its inhabitants, and also with the history of Dáhir's defeat and death, in order that he might be able to compile a book upon that interesting subject.

In the endeavour to obtain this information, he left the sacred city of U'ch, and went to Alor and Bhakar, the Imáms of which places were the descendants of the Arab conquerors. On his arrival there, he met with the Maulána Kází, Isma'íl bin 'Alí bin Muhammad bin Músá bin Táí bin Ya'kúb bin Táí bin Músá bin Muhammad bin Shaibán bin 'Usmán Sakifí. He was a mine of learning and the soul of wisdom, and there was no one equal to him in science, piety, and eloquence. On being consulted on the subject of the Arabian conquest, he informed the translator that an account of it was written by one of his ancestors, in a book composed in the Arabic language, which had descended from one generation to the other, till it reached his hands by course of inheritance. But as it was dressed in the language of

Hijáz, it had obtained no currency among the people, to whom that language was foreign.

When the translator read the book, he found it adorned with jewels of wisdom and pearls of precepts. It related various feats of chivalry and heroism on the part of the Arabs and Syrians. It treated of the capture of those forts which had never before been taken, and showed the morning of the night of infidelity and barbarism. It recounted what places in those days were honoured by the arrival of the Muhammadans, and having been conquered by them, were adorned by religious edifices, and exalted by being the residence of devotees and saints. Up to this day, the translator continues, the country is improving in Islám faith and knowledge, and at all periods since the conquest the throne of royalty has been occupied by one of the slaves of the house of Muhammad, who removed the rust of Paganism from the face of Islám.

He proceeds to tell us that he dedicates his translation to the minister of Násiru-d dín Kabácha, whom he designates among other titles, the Defender of the State and Religion, the greatest of all Wazírs, the master of the sword and pen, Sadr-i Jahán Dastúr-i Sáhib-Kirán 'Ainu-l Mulk Husain bin Abí Bakr bin Muhammad al Asha'rí.

He states as his reason for the dedication, that not only might he advance his own interests by the minister's favour and influence, but that the selection was peculiarly appropriate in consequence of the minister's ancestors, Abú Músá al Asha'rí, having obtained many victories in Khurásán and 'Ajam. To him therefore might be most fitly dedicated an account of the early conquest of Sind.

At the close of the work, he again says that as the work was written in the Hijází (Arabic) language, and was not clothed in a Pehlví garb, it was little known to the inhabitants of 'Ajam (foreign countries or Persia), and repeats the name of the person to whom it was dedicated, as 'Ainu-l Mulk.

There can, therefore, be little doubt that this is the same minister to whom Muhammad Aufí has dedicated his Lubbu-l Lubáb, respecting whose identity some doubt has been entertained, in consequence of the title 'Ainu-l Mulk not being commonly ascribed to any minister of that period. The repetition of the name by the translator of the Chach-náma leaves no doubt that Husain bin Abí Bakr bin Muhammad al Asha'rí is the person indicated.

As this translation was made at so early a period of the Muhammadan dominion in India, it is greatly to be regretted that the translator did not attempt to identify the many unknown places of which mention is made in the course of the narrative. As he had himself visited U'ch, Alor, and Bhakar, and probably other places lower down the Indus, he might have cleared up the many doubts which our ignorance of the localities entails upon us.

It is difficult to fix the precise period of the composition of the original Arabic. It is not said to have been *composed* by an ancestor of the person from whom the translator obtained it at Bhakar, but merely to have been written in the handwriting (*khat*) of one of his ancestors. This may be applied either to composition or transcription, but the use of the term renders the precise meaning doubtful—most probably composition is referred to. In either case, we have a guarantee for the authenticity of the narrative, in the fact that the ancestor of Isma'íl, the possessor of the manuscript, was himself a participator in the scenes and the advantages of the conquest; for we find it distinctly mentioned, that the Kází appointed by Muhammad Kásim, after the conquest of Alor, was Músá bin Ya'kúb bin Tái bin Muhammad bin Shaibán bin 'Usmán. Now if we look at the name of the person from whom the translator obtained the Arabic original, we shall find it mentioned as Isma'íl bin 'Alí bin Muhammad bin Músá bin Tái bin Ya'kúb bin Tái bin Músá bin Muhammad bin Shaibán bin 'Usman. In both in-

stances 'Usmán is mentioned as Sakifi, that is, of the same tribe as the conqueror himself.[1] The genealogies do not tally in every respect, and it is evident that in the later one some intermediate generations, as is frequently the case, are omitted; but still there is quite sufficient similarity to show descent from the same ancestor. The titles also of ancestor and descendant resemble each other most closely. The first Kází appointed to Alor is called Sadr al Imámia al Ajall al 'Álim Burhánu-l Millat wau-d dín. The contemporary of the translation is called Mauláná Kází al Imám al Ajall al 'Álim al Bári' Kamálu-l Millat wau-d dín. It is very strange that the translator takes no notice of this identity of pedigree, by which the value and authenticity of the work are so much increased; but it is probable that it did not occur to him, or such a circumstance could scarcely have escaped mention.

Notwithstanding that Elphinstone uses the expression "professes to be a translation," which would imply a suspicion of the fact, there is no reason to doubt that the work is a translation of a genuine Arab history, written not very long after the conquest. There appears in it very little modern interpolation, and it is probable that those passages which contain anachronisms were the work of the original writer, and not of the translator. The placing a sentence of the Kurán in Ládí's mouth—the Bismillah at the beginning of the letters of Sindian princes, the praises of Islám ascribed to Hindús, the use of the foreign names of Brahmanábád, which is explained to be a version of the native Bámanwáh, are all evidently the work of the original author.

It is to be regretted that there is no hope of recovering the Arabic work; for although the very meagre accounts of this important conquest by Abú-l Fida, Abú-l Faraj, Ibn Kutaiba, and Almakín lead us to expect little information from Arabic authorities; yet it might possibly contain other interesting matter

[1] The Sakif tribes (Thakif) were of great importance. They had their head quarters at Tayif, and were the guardians of the upper road to Yemen.—Sprenger's *Life of Muhammad*, p. 7.

respecting the communication between Arabia and Sind, which the translator did not think worthy of special notice.

An air of truth pervades the whole, and though it reads more like a romance than a history, yet this is occasioned more by the intrinsic interest of the subject, than by any fictions proceeding from the imagination of the author. The two stories which appear the most fictitious, are the accusation of Jaisiya by the sister of Darohar, and the revenge of the two daughters of Dáhir upon Muhammad Kásim. The former is evidently manufactured on the model of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, a story familiar throughout the East; but the latter is novel, and not beyond the bounds of probability, when we consider the blind obedience which at that time was paid to the mandates of the Prophet's successor, of which, at a later period, we have so many instances in the history of the Assassins, all inspired by the same feeling, and executed in the same hope.

The narrative is unambitious, and tropes and figures are rarely indulged in, except in describing the approach of night and morning; [but the construction is often involved, and the language is occasionally ungrammatical. Besides these defects, the events recorded do not always appear to follow in their proper chronological sequence.]

The antiquity of the original Arabic work is manifest, not only from the internal evidence of the narrative, but from some omissions which are remarkable, such as the name of Mansúra, which must have been mentioned had it been in existence at that time. Now Mansúra was built in the beginning of the reign of the Khalif Al Mansúr, who succeeded in 136 A.H. (A.D. 753). It is evident that the work must have been written before that time. Then, again, we have nowhere any mention of Maswáhí, Manjábarí, Annarí, or Al-Baiza, all important towns noticed by Biládurí and Ibn Haukal, and other early writers on Sind, and the work must therefore have been composed before their time. Again, it is plain that the mass of the people were Buddhists, which no author, especially a foreign one, would have

described them as being, had he lived after the extinction of that religion in India. We read of Samanís, monks, and a royal white elephant, which are no longer heard of at the later invasion of Mahmúd of Ghazní. Again, some portions of the history are derived from oral testimony received at second, third, or fourth hand, from those who were participators in the transactions recorded, just in the same way as Tabarí, who wrote in the third century of the Hijrí, probably later than our author, traces all his traditions to eye or ear-witnesses.

Elphinstone's estimate of the work is that, "though loaded with tedious speeches, and letters ascribed to the principal actors, it contains a minute and consistent account of the transactions during Muhammad Kásim's invasion, and some of the preceding Hindú reigns. It is full of names of places, and would throw much light on the geography of that period, if examined by any person capable of ascertaining the ancient Sanskrit names, so as to remove the corruptions of the original Arab writer and the translator, besides the innumerable errors of the copyist." He states that he did not see this work until his narrative of Kásim's military transactions had been completed.

The Chach-náma is the original from which Nizámu-d dín Ahmad, Núru-l Hakk, Firishta, Mír Ma'súm, and others, have drawn their account of the conquest of Sind. They have, however, left much interesting matter unnoticed, and even the later professed translations by Lieutenant Postans, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. LXXIV., 1838, and No. CXI., 1841) give merely an abridged account of the transactions, which is moreover unfortunately disfigured by many misprints.

The headings of the sections throughout the work have been translated, in order to show the connection of the whole; those only being omitted which are inappropriate or evidently misplaced: and nearly every passage has been translated which can be useful for the illustration of the geography, religion, and manners of the time. The Chach-náma is common in India. There is a copy in the E. I. Library, and the Bibliothèque Impériale has two.

Extracts.

[The MS. referred to as *A.* is Sir H. M. Elliot's copy. *B.* is that belonging to the East India Library, which has been referred to in obscure passages and for doubtful names.]

Commencement of the book upon the history of Rai Dáhir, son of Chach, son of Siláij, and of his death at the hands of Muhammad Kásim Sakifí.

Chroniclers and historians have related that the city of Alor, the capital of Hind and Sind, was a large city adorned with all kinds of palaces and villas, gardens and groves, reservoirs and streams, parterres and flowers. It was situated on the banks of the Síhún, which they call Mihrán. This delightful city had a king, whose name was Síharas, son of Sáhasí Ráí Sháhí.[1] He possessed great wealth and treasures. His justice was diffused over the earth, and his generosity was renowned in the world. The boundaries of his dominions extended on the east to Kashmír, on the west to Makrán, on the south to the shores of the ocean and to Debal, and on the north to the mountains of Kardán[2] and to Kaikánán.[3] He had established four maliks, or governors, in his territories. The first at Brahmanábád and the forts of Nírún, Debal, Lohána, Lakha, and Samma, down to the sea (daryá), were placed in his charge. The second at the town of Siwistán: under him were placed Búdhpúr,[4] Jankán, and the skirts of the hills of Rújhán to the borders of Makrán.[5] The third at the fort of Askalanda and Pábiya,[6] which are called Talwára and Chachpúr; under him were placed their dependencies to the frontier of Búdhpúr.

[1] [This is an error—Sáhasi was son of Síharas—his father was called Diwáij. See *post* page 140.]

[2] [Or "Karwán."]

[3] [واز شمالي تا کوه کردان واز کیکانان ودر ممالک خود چهار ملک را etc., etc.]

[4] [This is the reading of MS. *A.*, but *B.* generally has "Búdhiya:" two different forms of the same name.]

[5] [This is a doubtful passage,
MS. *A.* says بودهپور و جنکان و کوه پایه روجهان تا حدّ مکران
B has بودهیه جنکال و کوه بایه دونجان تا خد مکران]

[6] [مایبر in *A.* and بابیه in *B.* This name is written Páya and Báya, Bábiya and Pábiya: the last seems the preferable form.]

The fourth at the great city of Multán and Sikka, and Brahmapúr[1] and Karúr, and Ashahár and Kumba, as far as the borders of Kashmír, were under his government. He (the king) himself dwelt at the capital, Alor, and kept under his own rule Kardán,[2] and Kaikánán and Banarhás.[3] He enjoined upon every one of his princes the necessity of being prepared for war, by keeping the implements of warfare, arms, and horses ready. He also ordered them to attend to the security of the country, the conciliation of the subjects, and the reparation of the buildings, so that they might keep their districts and dependencies safe. Throughout his dominions there was no disaffected person who could make any pretensions against the specification of his frontiers. Suddenly, by the decree of God, the army of the king of Nímroz marched from Fárs to Makrán.[4] When Síharas heard this he went forth from the fort of Alor,[5] haughty in mind and careless in heart, with the main part of his army to encounter him. They joined battle, and when many brave men and tried warriors, on both sides, had been slain, the Persian army, placing their whole trust in the Almighty, made an assault, and broke and put to flight the army of Ráí Síharas. He himself stood firm, fighting for his name and honour, until he was killed. The king of Fárs then returned to Nímroz, and Ráí Sáhasí, son of Síharas, sat upon the throne of his father. He established his authority in the country, and the four princes who had been appointed by his father submitted and assented to him, exhibiting every mark of obedience, placing their wealth at his disposal, and supporting him with honesty and energy. The whole country was thus safely secured in the power of Ráí Sáhasí; and the people lived happily under his just and equitable rule. He had a chamberlain named Rám, son of Abi (?), a man of science and wisdom.[6] This man had full and general authority over all parts of the dominions of Ráí Sáhasí; no person could enter or leave the king's service but through him. The duties of chief secretary were entrusted to him, and Ráí Sáhasí had faith in his eloquent pen, and never doubted his rectitude.

1 [So in MS. *B*, but Budhpúr in *A*.]

2 [Or Karwán.]

3 [Or Barhás.]

4 [The Text adds برسم تلاوت تازي in Arab fashion?]

5 [MS. *B*. says "Ráwar."]

6 [Some words including the name are omitted in MS. *A*.]

Chach, son of Siláij, goes to the Chamberlain Rám.

The office of Chamberlain is conferred on Chach, son of Siláij.

The Rání falls in love with Chach, and Chach refuses compliance.

Sáhasí Rái dies and goes to hell.

Chach ascends the throne of Malik Sáhasí Rái.

Chach fights with Mahrat (Chief of Jaipúr[1]) and kills him by stratagem.

Chach marries Rání Súbhan Deo.

Chach sends for his brother Chandar and establishes him in Alor.

Chach issues orders appointing Chandar his deputy.

Chach asks Budhiman, the minister, questions concerning the government.

* * * * *

Budhíman, the minister, bowed his head to the ground, and said, "May Rái Chach live for ever, and may it be known to him, that this government was under the dominion of a sole king, and his chiefs were always obedient to him. When the country was ruled by Síharas, son of Díwáíj, and when he was conquered by the army of Fárs, Sáhasí succeeded to the empire. He similarly appointed all the four rulers to their territories, expecting them to exert themselves in the collection of the revenue and the protection of the country.

* * * * * * *

Chach proceeds to visit and mark the boundaries of Alor.

When Chach heard these words from Budhíman, the minister, they made an impression upon him. He was very happy. He praised the minister very much, and took it as a good omen. He sent farmáns to the authorities in all parts of the kingdom and called (for aid from) the governors of the different divisions. He then prepared an army declaring that he would go to the boundary of Hindústán which adjoined the (kingdom of the) Turk. The astrologers fixed an auspicious time, at which he departed, and after he had gone many marches he reached the fort of Pábiya, on the southern bank of the Biás. The Chief of the place gave battle, but after great fighting

[1] [Both MSS. here agree in reading *Jitúr*, but the explanation in page 169 shows that the name must be *Jaipúr*. Mír Ma'súm couples it with Jodhpur and writes the name "*Chitúr*," or "*Japúr*." The Tuhfatu-l Kirám has "*Chitúr*."]

and bloodshed, the king of Pábiya fled and entered the fort. Ráí Chach was victorious, and encamped in the field of battle for a time. When the store of provisions was exhausted, and grass, and wood, and fuel, were all consumed, the enemy being in distress left the fort at the time when the world had covered itself with the blanket of darkness, and the king of the stars concealed himself in the gloom of night. He fled towards the fort of Askalanda and encamped in the vicinity of that city. This fort was stronger than the first, and when he reached the fields of this city he sent his spies to obtain information, and when they came back they reported that Chach had entered the fort of Pábiya, and was staying there.

Chach proceeds to the fort of Askalanda.[1]

When Chach was informed that the enemy had gone to Askalanda, he placed one of his officers in charge of the fort (of Pábiya) and proceeded to that city. He pitched his tents in its vicinity. There was a great and brave man in the fort of Askalanda, who was in the interest of Chach, and had influence over the people in the fort. All the chief inhabitants always took his advice and never acted contrary to his opinion. Chach sent a man to him and promised to make him governor of that fort. He also ordered a farmán to be prepared, granting him the governorship of the fort, on the condition that he would kill Chatera,[2] the chief (malik) of Pábiya, or take him prisoner. Pábiya was also to be made over to him. He agreed to these terms and conditions. He sent his son to Chach, and by occasionally visiting Chatera, gained his confidence, so that he was never prevented from going into his Court either by day or by night. When he found an opportunity, he suddenly killed Chatera and sent his head to Chach. Ráí Chach showed him great favour and honour, granted him a reward in token of his pleasure, and made him the independent chief of that fort. The great and noble men of the city attended on him, and made him presents. He treated them all with honour and respect, and kept them faithful to their

[1] [MS. *B.* writes the name "Asal-Kanda."]

[2] [This name is written thus, and also as "Chatar," in MS. *A.* MS. *B.* makes it "Jatrá."]

allegiance. Chach gave him some prohibitions and admonitions, so that he continued faithful in obedience and never disobeyed his orders.

Chach marches towards Sikka and Multán.

Having completed the expedition to Askalanda, Chach proceeded towards Sikka and Multán. In Multán there was a chief (malik) whose name was Bajhrá. He was a relation of Sáhasí. When he received the news of the arrival of Chach, he came to the banks of the Rávi. He had large dominions and possessed great abilities. Suhewal, his nephew, governed the fort of Sikka opposite Multán, towards the east, and along with Ajín, the cousin of Bajhrá came with a large force to meet him[1] (Chach), and he[1] (Chach) encamped at a ford on the Biás[2] for three months. When the water decreased, they selected a place at a village a little above the encampment, where the water did not prevent a passage, and he (Chach) crossed over. He came to Sikka, and fought a battle with Suhewal. He besieged the fort for some days, and the enemy was much pressed. Some men were slain on Chach's side, and on the side of the infidels many were despatched to hell. Suhewal then fled, and went to the fort of Multán. They entered the fort, and stood on the banks of the Rávi[3] prepared with all the implements of war. Chach then took possession of the fort of Sikka, and killed five thousand soldiers, and made the inhabitants slaves and prisoners of war. Chach placed Amír 'Alíu-d Daula in the fort of Sikka, and himself passed over to Multán. Both armies confronted each other. Malik Bajhrá, with a formidable army, fighting elephants, and men of war, came out and opposed Chach. Sharp encounters ensued, with great slaughter on both sides. Bajhrá took refuge in the fort, and wrote letters to the ruler of Kashmír stating that Chach, son of Siláíj, a Brahman, had become chief of Alor, the capital. He had come with

[1] [The text is ambiguous; and the appropriation of the personal pronoun is a matter of inference.]

[2] [برگذر بیاس بنشست] "Biás" may possibly here be the name of the ford, but the old bed of the Bias is still traceable between Multán and the Ghárá to where it joined the Chináb thirty miles S.W. of Multán.]

[3] ["The Rávi formerly surrounded the fortress of Multán, and its bed is still traceable. In seasons of heavy rain the waters flow to Multán. This agrees with the statement that Alexander circumnavigated the fortress."—Cunningham.]

a numerous army, and had conquered all the strongholds, great and small, and fortified them. That he (Bajhrá) was not able to cope with him, and no chief was victorious over him in battle. He had reached Multán, and it was expedient that the Chief of Kashmír should assist him (Bajhrá) and send reinforcements.

The unsuccessful return of the messenger from Kashmír.

Before the messenger reached Kashmír, the Ráí of that place had died, and his son, who was only a boy, had succeeded him. The ministers, counsellors, attendants, and guards, as well as the nobles and chief men of the state, consulted with each other and answered the letter in a proper manner. They stated that the Ráí of Kashmír had departed to the next world, and his son was a mere boy of tender age. The different divisions of the army had raised their heads in rebellion and revolt. It was necessary that the affairs of these parts should be set straight, and therefore it was not at this time in their power to provide the means of assistance, and that Bajhrá must rely upon his own resources. When the messengers came back and communicated this, Bajhrá, despairing of assistance from the king of Kashmír, sued Ráí Chach for peace, and made promises and assurances. He said he would leave the fort if assured of his safety, in writing, and that nobody should molest him until he reached a place of security with all his followers and dependants. Chach agreed to these terms, and promised him protection. He came out of the fort, and, with his people, went towards the mountains of Kashmír. Chach entered the fort, and the province was brought under his dominion.

Chach leaves his deputy in the fort of Multán and proceeds onward.

When he took the fort of Multán he appointed there a thákur as his deputy. He went into the temple, prostrated himself before the idols, and offered sacrifices. He then prepared to march forward. The rulers of Brahmapúr, Karúr and Ashahár, acknowledged submission to him. From these places he proceeded to the boundaries of Kumba[1] and Kashmír. No king offered any resistance.

[1] [In page 139, both MSS. write this name *Kumba*. In this place, MS. *A.* has *Mákír* or *Máksír*, and a few lines farther on, *Kína* or *Kaniya*. MS. *B.* has *Kísa* here, and *Kumba* afterwards.]

"When the Almighty makes a man great he renders all his enterprises easy and gives him all his desires."

Every place to which he went fell into his possession. At last he reached the fort of Shákalhá, an elevated place which is called Kumba[1] on the borders of Kashmír, and stopped there for one month. He punished some of the chiefs of the surrounding places, and collected an army under his command. Then he made firm treaties with the chiefs and rulers of that part of the country, and securely established his dominion. He sent for two trees, one of which was a *maisír*, that is white poplar, and the other a *deodár*, that is a fir.[2] He planted them both on the the boundary of Kashmír, upon the banks of a stream, which is called the five waters,[3] and near the Kashmír hills, from which numerous fountains flow. He stayed there till the branches of each of the trees ran into those of the other. Then he marked them, and said it was the boundary mark between him and the Ráí of Kashmír, and beyond it he would not go.

Return of Chach after fixing his boundary with Kashmír.

The narrator of this conquest has thus said, that when the boundary towards Kashmír was defined, Chach returned to the capital city Alor. He stopped there a year to take rest from the fatigues of the journey; and his chiefs got ready the provisions and materials of war. He then said, "O minister! I have no fear from the east, now I must take care of the west and the south." The minister replied, "Indeed, it is most praiseworthy for kings to be acquainted with the affairs of their countries. It is also to be apprehended that from your absence in the upper provinces the nobles and the governors of the different parts may have presumed

[1] [و آن موضع بالاتر کینه (کنبه .B) گویند]

[2] This implies considerable altitude.

[3] The word in the original is Arabic (پنج ماهیات) not the Persian Panjáb. The upper course of the Jailam, just after it debouches into the plains, seems to be alluded to here. A curious coincidence of expression is used by a late traveller with reference to the same locality. "We passed five branches of this beautiful river Jelam which at this place forms a little Panjáb of its own." Serjeant-Major Brixham's *Raid to the Khyber*, p. 43.

that since Ráí Sáhasi there is nobody to demand from them the revenue of the country. Truly mismanagement and disorder have taken place." On this, Chach, in an auspicious hour, marched towards the forts of Budápúr[1] and Siwistán. There was a chief in Siwistán, called Matta, and Chach crossed the Mihrán at a village called Díháyat, which formed the boundary between Samma and Alor. From this place he proceeded to Búdhiya, the chief of which was the son of Kotal bin Bhandargú Bhagú. His capital was Nánáráj,[2] and the inhabitants of the place called it Sawís. Chach attacked and took the fort of Sawís. Kaba, son of Káka, came forth to ask quarter for the prince and his followers. They laid upon themselves a tribute to pay him, and made their submission.

The army marches to Siwistán.

From that place he went to Siwistán, and when he approached it, Matta, its chief, came forth with great alarm and a large retinue to meet him. A battle was fought, Chach was victorious, and Matta, with his army, fled and took refuge in the fort. Chach besieged it, and after a week the garrison was obliged to sue for peace. The terms being agreed to, they came out the fort, and surrendered the keys to the officers of Chach, who gave them protection and showed them much kindness. He gave the chiefship of the place to Matta, and also placed one of his confidential officers there. He stopped there for a few days, during which time the affairs of the territory and the city were put in order.

Chach sends a messenger to Akham Lohána, chief of Brahmanábád.

When the invasion of Siwistán was over, Chach sent a letter to Akham Lohána, the governor of Brahmanábád, who was Chief also of Lákha, Samma and Sihta, and called upon him to acknowledge submission. When he was a few days' journey from Makrán, the footmen whom he had placed on the roads, caught a person with letters from Akham, which he had written to Matta, the governor of Siwistán, to the following effect. "I have always behaved towards you with great cordiality and friendship, and have never

1. [Búdhiya in MS. *B.* No doubt the Budhpur or Búdhiya of p. 160, where it is also connected with Siwistán.]

2. ["Kákáráj" in MS. *B.*]

shown you opposition or quarrelled with you. The letter which you sent by way of friendship was received, and I was much exalted by it. Our friendship shall remain confirmed for ever, and no animosity shall arise. I will comply with all your orders. You are a king, and the son of a king. Unity exists between you and me. Circumstances like this have occurred to many persons, and have obliged them to seek protection. You are at liberty to reside at any place you like within the territory of Brahmanábád, that is to say, up to the sea of Debal. If you have resolved to go in any other direction, there is nobody to prevent or molest you. Wherever you like to go I will assist you. I possess such power and influence that I can render you aid." Matta found it expedient to repair to the country of Hind, to Malik Ramal, who was also called Bhattí.

Chach sends a letter to Akham Lohána.

Ráí Chach sent a letter to Akham Lohána, saying, "You from your power, and pomp, and family descent, consider yourself the ruler of the time. Although this kingdom and sovereignty, wealth, riches, dignity, and power have not descended to me by inheritance, yet these distinguished favours and this exalted position have been given to me by God. It was not by my army that I gained them; but God, the single, the incomparable, the creator of the world, in favour to Siláíj, has given me this dominion, and this most glorious position. In all circumstances I obtain assistance from him, and I have no hope of aid from any other. He enables me to accomplish all my undertakings, and assists me in all my acts. He has given me victory in all battles, and over all my enemies. He has bestowed on me the blessings of both worlds. Although you think you have possessed yourself of all this power and circumstance by your courage and audacity, promptitude, and glory, you shall surely lose it, and to take your life is lawful."

Chach arrives at Brahmanábád, and fights with Akham Lohána.

Chach then marched against Akham Lohána, who had gone from Brahmanábád into the interior of the country. When he received the intelligence of the arrival of Chach, he came to the capital, and made preparation for war. When Ráí Chach arrived at the city of Brahmanábád, Akham stood ready to oppose him. After a great

slaughter of warriors on both sides, the army of Akham took to flight, and he entered his fort. Chach laid siege to it, and the siege lasted for the period of one year.

In those days the king of Hindustán, that is, Kanauj, was Satbán,[1] son of Rásal, and Akham sent letters to him asking for assistance. But Akham died before the answer was returned, and his son succeeded him. Akham had a friend, an infidel Samaní, named Buddh-rakú,[2] *i.e*, "Protected by the idol." He had a temple which was called Budh Nau-vihár,[3] and the idol Dilhá (?)[4] He was a devotee thereof, and famous for his piety, and all the people of the surrounding places were obedient to him. Akham was his disciple, and he regarded the Samaní as his pole-star. When Akham had taken refuge in the fort, the Samaní assisted him; he did not fight, but he read his books in his chamber of worship. When Akham died, and his son[5] succeeded him in the government, the Samaní was disaffected and troubled, for he did not think it right that the kingdoms and the property and estates should depart from his hands. In his perplexity he looked about, and he arrived at the conclusion that the country must fall to Chach, whether he would be friendly to him or not. Then the (late king's) son being sore pressed, his army and his forces gave up fighting, and the fort was surrendered to Chach, who firmly established his power in it. When Chach heard of the Samaní, and knew that he had made a compact with Akham and his son, and that the war had lasted for one year through his enchantments and magical power, he swore that if he ever captured the fort, he would seize him and flay him, and order drums to be covered with his skin, and have his body torn to pieces. This oath was reported to the Samaní, who laughed and said, "Chach will not have the power to kill me." When after a time, the people of the fort, after much fighting

1 ["Siyár" in MS. *B.*]

2 ["Buddhúgúí" in MS. *A.*: *raku* or *rakhu* means "protected," from the Sanskrit *rakshita*. *Gúí* probably represents the Sanskrit *gupta*, which also signifies "protected."]

3 [See note in the next page.]

4 [اورا نووهار گفتند وبت دلهاء (.E. I. Lib دکهاد) هم راهب او بود]

5 [MS. *A.* leaves out the word "son," and so makes the passage unintelligible.]

and great slaughter, gave up the contest, and solicited protection, by the intervention of nobles and chiefs, a treaty was made between both parties, and the fort was surrendered. Chach entered it, and told them that if they liked they might go away; there was no one to interfere with them, and if they wished to remain they might. The son and the dependants of Akham seeing him kindly disposed towards them, chose to remain. Chach stayed for a time in that city, and made himself acquainted with their disposition.

Chach takes the wife of Akham to himself, and gives the daughter of his nephew to Akham's son Sarband.

Chach sent a man to the mother of Sarband and requested her hand. The son brought her. Chach gave Dharsiya, the daughter of his nephew to the son, and decked him in apparel of many colours. He stopped there for a year, and appointed officers on his part to collect the revenues. He subjugated the other surrounding chiefs. At last, he enquired where the enchanter Samaní was, that he might see him. He was told that he was a great devotee, and that he would be found with the devotees, and that he was one of the philosophers of Hind. He was the keeper of the temple of Kan-vihár,[1] and amongst the other devotees he was the greatest, and had reached to perfection. He was so skilled in magic and enchantments, that he had made a world obedient and submissive to him. He had provided himself with all the requisites by means of his talismans, and for some time he had become friendly to Sarband because he had been friendly with his father. Through his power and protection the army of Brahmanábád had protracted the war for so long time.

Chach visits the Samaní, and enquires about his circumstances.

Chach ordered his body guards and soldiers to mount their horses, and went towards the temples of Budh and Kan-vihár[2] with the

[1] [کنوهار in both copies.]

[2] [بده و کینهار *A.* بده و کنبهار *B.*] This seems to be called indiscriminately Núhár, and Kanúhár, and Kínúhar. The copulative conjunction in the text is incomprehensible. It occurs again a little below. [These names may be, as Sir H. Elliot conceived, mere varieties in spelling of the same name,—or they may be two different names of the same establishment or collection of buildings. There can be

intention of killing the Samaní. He called his armed men and instructed them that when during the interview he should stand up and look towards them, they should draw their swords and sever the Samaní's head from his body. When he reached the temple, he saw the Samaní sitting on a chair, engaged in worship, and having some clay in his hand[1] with which he was making idols, he had something like a stamp with which the figure of the buddh was made on the clay, and when it was finished he placed it on one side.[2] Chach stood by him, but received no attention from him. After a short time, when he had finished his idols, he raised his head and said, "Is the son of the monk Síláij come?" Chach replied, "Yes, O devotee." The Samaní said, "For what purpose have you come?" Chach answered that he wished to see him, and therefore he had come. The devotee bid him to sit down. Chach sat. The devotee spread a fine cloth, and made him sit on it. He asked, "O Chach! what do you want?" Chach replied, "I wish you would become my friend and return to Brahmanábád, that I might turn your thoughts to secular pursuits, and entrust you with great offices. You may live with Sarband, and give him advice and assistance." The devotee said, "I have nothing to do with your country, and have no wish to engage in public business. I do not like worldly concerns." Chach asked him, "Why did you side with the people of the fort of Brahmanábád?" He replied, "When Akham Lohána died, and his son was grieved, I admonished him to cease lamenting for the departure of his father, and prayed the Almighty God to cause peace and friendship between the contending parties. It is better for me to serve Budh, and seek salvation in the next world, than all the offices and greatness of this. But as thou art the king of this country, at thy supreme command I will go with my family to the neighbourhood of the fort, although I fear

no doubt that the last word of the compound represents *vihár*. *Nau*, or in Sanskrit *Nava*, signifies "New," and *Kan* may be the Hindi *Kánh*, from the Sanskrit *Krishna*, a word which is found in the names Kánhpur and Kánhari. These names would therefore signify "New monastery," and "Black monastery."]

1 [About a page of matter is here omitted from *B*.]

2 [This process of stamping the clay figures of Buddha is still practised. General Cunningham possesses several old Indian as well as recent Indian and Burmese specimens.]

that the people of the fort will do despite to the cultivation of Budh. You are to-day a fortunate and a great man." Chach said, "The worship of Budh is most righteous, and ever to hold it in honour is most proper. But if you are in want of anything, tell me, for I shall consider it a privilege and a duty to provide for it." The devotee answered, "I do not want anything of this world from you. May God incline you to the affairs of the next." Chach said, "I also wish that my salvation may be the result. Direct me so that I may see where assistance is required, and I will help you." He exclaimed, "As you seem to be desirous of performing charitable and virtuous deeds, there is an old temple (called) Budh and Nau-vihár (at) Sáwandasí[1] which has suffered much injury from the hand of time—it requires repair. You should spend some money in renewing its foundation, and I shall be thus benefited by you." Chach said, "By all means; I thank you, farewell."

Chach returns to Brahmanábád.

Chach rode back from that place. The minister asked him, "O king, I have seen a wonder." "What is it?" said Chach. He remarked, "When you started you had resolved that I should order the soldiers to kill the devotee; but when you went before him you showed every wish to please him, and accepted all his prayers." Chach said, "Very true; I saw something which was no magic or charm, for when I looked at him, something came before my vision, and as I sat before him, I beheld a dreadful and horrible phantom standing at his head. Its eyes blazed like fire, and were full of anger, and its lips were long and thick, and its teeth resembled pikes. He had a spear in his hand, which shone like diamonds, and it appeared as if he was going to strike some one with it. When I saw him I was much afraid, and could not utter a word to him which you might hear. I wished to save my own life, so I observed him carefully and departed."

Chach stays at Brahmanábád, and determines the amount of the revenue.

Chach stopped in the fort of Brahmanábád till all ministerial

[1] [*A.* says بدّہ و نوهار سابدّہ تعبّد گاہ قدیم است
B. says بدہ نووهار ساوندسي تعبّدہ گاہ]

affairs were settled, taxes were fixed, and the subjects re-assured. He humiliated the Jats and the Lohánas, and punished their chiefs. He took a hostage from these chiefs, and kept him in the fort of Brahmanábád. He obliged them to agree to the following terms: That they should never wear any swords but sham ones: That they should never wear under-garments of shawl, velvet, or silk, but they might wear their outer-garments of silk, provided they were of a red or black colour: That they should put no saddles on their horses, and should keep their heads and feet uncovered: That when they went out they should take their dogs with them: That they should carry firewood for the kitchen of the chief of Brahmanábád. They were to furnish guides and spies, and were to be faithful when employed in such offices. They were to live in amity with Sarband, son of Akham, and if any enemy came to invade the territory, or fight with Sarband, they were to consider it incumbent on them to assist him, and steadily adhere to his cause. He thus finished his labours, and established his rule. If any person showed rebellion or hostility, he took a hostage and exacted penalties until he should amend his conduct.

Chach marches to Kirmán and defines the boundary of Makrán.

When Chach had settled these matters, he made up his mind to determine the boundary of Kirmán, which was adjacent to the possessions of the chiefs of Hind. At this time two years had elapsed since the Hijra of the Prophet of God,—may peace be to him. After the death of Kisra bin Hurmaz bin Fárs, and the disruption of his dominions, the management of the affairs of the kingdom devolved upon a woman. When Chach was informed of this, he determined to go to Kirmán with a considerable force. At an auspicious time, which was fixed by the astrologers, he marched towards Armábél, and when he arrived there the chief of the place came to receive him. He was a Buddhist priest, and had descended from the representatives of Ráí Síhàras, king of Hind, whom the Ráí had raised up with great kindness and favour. From change of time he had become refractory, and had revolted from his allegiance. He came forth to meet Chach, when a treaty was made, and cordiality and friendship was established between them. Chach proceeded from thence to Makrán. Every chief that was met offered

his submission. When he had crossed the province of Makrán and the hills, he entered another district. There was an old fort here called Kanarpúr.[1] He ordered it to be rebuilt; and according to the Hindú custom a naubat of five musical instruments, was ordered to be played every evening and morning in the fort. He collected all the people of the surrounding villages, and completed the building. He marched from this place towards Kirmán; and halted on the banks of a river which runs between that country and Makrán. There he fixed the eastern boundary, that is, the boundary between Makrán and Kirmán, and planted numerous date trees there upon the banks of the stream, and he set up a mark, saying, "this was the boundary of Hind in the time of Chach bin Síláíj bin Basábas."[2] Now that boundary has come into our possession.

Chach proceeds to Armábél[3] and fixes the revenue.

From that place he returned to Armábél, and having passed through the country of Túrán, he came out in the desert. No body arose to fight with him. He arrived in the country of Kandhábél, that is, Kandahr;[4] and having traversed that desert also, he advanced to the fort. The people took refuge in it. When he arrived at the banks of the Síní,[5] he pitched his tents there. The people of the place being much pressed agreed to pay him an annual tribute of one hundred thousand dirams, and one hundred hill horses. A treaty was made, and Chach returned to his capital Alor, and remained there till he died and went to hell. He reigned forty years.

Chandar son of Síláij succeeds to the Government of Alor.

After the death of Chach, his brother Chandar,[6] son of Síláíj, sat upon the the throne of Alor. He patronized the religion of the

[1] [*A.* كنرپور. *B.* كينربور. Kannazbúr; see Note *A.* in Appendix.]

[2] ["Sabás" in *B.*]

[3] [ارمائيل *B.* ارمابيل *A.*]

[4] [This explanation is not in MS. *B.*]

[5] [سيني *B.* سپيسے *A.*]

[6] [Mír Ma'súm takes no notice of Chandar, but the Tuhfatu-l Kirám says that he succeeded as *Káim-makám* and occupied the throne eight years. According to the former, Chach left two sons, Dáhir and Dhar-sen, and a daughter Báí Rání. The Tuhfatu-l Kirám agrees in writing the name "Dhar-sen," but both MSS. of the Chach-náma have "Dharsiya."]

násiks (Buddhists) and monks and promulgated their doctrines. He brought many people together with the sword, and made them return to his religion. He received several letters from the Chiefs of Hind.

Journey of Matta, Chief of Siwistán.

When Matta, chief of Siwistán, went to the king of Kanauj, the country of Hindustán was in a flourishing condition. Kanauj was under the rule of Síharas, son of Rásal.[1] Matta went to him and represented thus: "Chach, son of Síláij, is dead, and his brother Chandar, a monk (*ráhib*), has succeeded him. He is a devotee (*násik*), and his whole day is occupied in the study of his faith with other religious persons in the temple. It is easy to wrest the kingdom from him. If you take his territories and place them under my charge, I will pay a tribute, and send it to your treasury."

The answer of Síharas.

Síharas said to Matta, "Chach was a great king, and had an extensive territory under his sway. As he is dead, I will bring his possessions under my own rule, if I take them. They will form a great addition to my kingdom, and I will appoint you over one of their divisions." Síharas then sent his brother Barhás, son of Kasáís. The son of the daughter of the great Chach, who ruled over Kashmír and Ramal, also agreed to join him, and they proceeded with their armies till they reached the banks of the Hásí,[2] where they encamped. The agents and offices of Chandar, who were still in the fort of Deo, fled. The invaders took the place, and advanced on their journey till they arrived at Band Ḳáhúya, where they halted for one month, and performed the worship of Budh. They sent a messenger with a letter to Chandar to induce him to come, make his submission, and sue for protection.

[1] [There are no names corresponding with these in the Genealogical tables of the Kanauj dynasty (Thomas' Prinsep II. 258.) General Cunningham is of opinion "that Síharas is probably the same as the Bhím Sen mentioned by the Chinese as *Ti-mo-si-no*, King of Central India, in A.D. 692, and that the two names Síharas and Bhím Sen might easily be confounded when written in Persian letters." This, however, is very hypothetical. It is not unlikely that the prince of some other and nearer place than the great Kanauj is really intended, especially as his army is represented as joining those of Kashmír and Ramal.]

[2] ["Hásbi" in *B*.]

Chandar refuses, strengthens himself in the fort, and prepares to fight.

Síharas sends an embassy to Dáhir, son of Chach.

Chandar sits on the throne of Chach.

Chandar succeeded to the government, and his subjects enjoyed comfort, and the country was governed firmly during his reign, which lasted for seven years. He died in the eighth year, and Dáhir sat on the throne of Alor. Ráj, son of Chandar, established himself at Brahmanábád, but did not maintain his government for more than one year. After that, Dharsiya, son of Chach, took possession of Brahmanábád and his sister Báí[1] was friendly and obedient to him. Dharsiya asked the daughter of Akham in marriage. He remained at Brahmanábád five years, and issued his orders to the neighbouring chiefs, who acknowledged his authority. Dharsiya resided for some time at the fort of Ráwar,[2] of which Chach had laid the foundation, but did not live to see completed. When Dharsiya had finished the works, and collected inhabitants for the the town from the places in the neighbourhood, and when it was well populated, he called it Ráwar, and returned to Brahmanábád, and firmly established himself in the Government.

Báí (Máín) is sent to Alor for the purpose of being given in marriage to the king of Bátia.

When Dharsiya was reflecting one day that his sister had arrived at a marriageable age, messengers arrived from Súban,[3] king of Bátia, in the country of Ramal, to demand her in marriage. Dharsiya although he[4] was the elder brother, gave her a princely dowry, and sent her with seven hundred horse and five hundred foot to Dáhir, recommending him by letter to marry her to the king of Bhátia,[5] who had stipulated that he should receive a fort as her marriage portion. The messengers went to Alor, and remained there one month. (*Here follows an account of Dáhir marrying his sister because it was prognosticated that her husband would be king of Hind and Sind, and the contests between the brothers in consequence.*)

[1] [*Máín* in MS. *A.*, *Báí* signifies "lady," and is much used as a respectful term instead of the name. "Máín" is probably an error for "Báí," but it may possibly have been the real name of the princess.]

[2] [Alor in *A.*, but Ráwar in *B.*]

[3] [Súrín in *B.*]

[4] [Dáhir ?]

[5] So written here, but elsewhere Bátia.

Ráí Dáhir receives information.
Ráí Dáhir goes to an astrologer to ascertain the fate of his sister.
The predictions of the astrologers.
Consultation of Budhiman, the minister, with Ráí Dáhir.
Ingenuity of Budhiman, the minister.
Dáhir sends a letter to Dharsiya.
Dharsiya receives the letter.
Dáhir sends another letter to Dharsiya.
Dharsiya marches to Alor to seize Dáhir.
Endeavours of Dharsiya to take Dáhir prisoner.
Dáhir asks advice from his minister.
Dharsiya enters the fort of Alor on an elephant
Dáhir is informed of the death of Dharsiya.
The burning of Dharsiya's body.

Dáhir goes to Bráhmanábád.

Dáhir remained one year in Brahmanábád, in order to reduce the neighbouring chiefs. He sent for the son of Dharsiya, and treated him kindly. He then went to Siwistán, and thence to the fort Ráwar,[1] of which his father Chach had laid the foundations, but the works were not completed when he died. He remained there for some time, and ordered that the fort should be finished. He remained there during the four hot months, for it is a pleasant place and has an agreeable climate, and he used to remain during the four cold and dark months at Brahmanábád. He passed his time in this manner for eight years, during which time he became confirmed and generally recognized in his dominions in Sind and Hind. The chiefs of Ramal became aware of his wealth both in treasure and elephants.

The chiefs of Ramal come to fight with Ráí Dáhir.

The chiefs advanced with a large and powerful army of horse and foot and war-elephants. They came, by way of Búdhiya, to the town (*rostá*) of Ráwar, and conquered it, and passed on from thence to Alor.

° ° ° ° °

[1] Here, again, it is doubtful if Alor or Ráwar be meant, nor does it appear how Dharsiya and Dáhir could both at different times be said to have completed the fort. [*A.* says Alor, but *B.* has Ráwar.]

Muhammad 'Alláfí[1] *(an Arab mercenary,) goes against the chiefs of Ramal.*

Muhammad 'Alláfí, an Arab of the Bani Asámat, who had killed 'Abdu-r Rahmán son of Ash'ab, for having run away from battle, came to join Dáhir with five hundred Arabs.

* * * * *

The 'Alláfí made a night attack on the Ramal troops with his five hundred Arabs and warriors of Hind, and fell upon them on all four sides with a great shout, and killed and captured 80,000 warriors and fifty elephants, besides horses and arms innumerable fell into their hands.

* * * * *

Dáhir then told his good and judicious minister to ask a favour. The minister replied: "I have no son who will carry down my name to posterity. I request, therefore, that orders may be given to have my name stamped on the silver coin of the realm, so that my name being on one face, and the king's on the other, it will not then be forgotten in Hind and Sind." Dáhir ordered that the minister's wish should be complied with.

The history of the four first Khalífas.
Mu'áwia bin Abú Sufián.
Sannán bin Salma bin Ghúru-l Hindí.
Ráshid bin 'Umaru-l Khizrí.
Sannán bin Salma recovers the Government.
Munzir bin Hárúd bin Báshar.
Hakkam bin Munzir.
'Abdu-l Malik bin Marwán.
The 'Alláfís, etc.
Mujá'a bin Safar bin Yazíd bin Huzaika.
Walíd bin 'Abdu-l Malik bin Marwán
Account of the presents sent to the Khalífa from Sarandíp.
Hajjáj sends a messenger to Dáhir, the Infidel.
Hajjáj obtains permission to leave the Capital.
Budail suffers martyrdom.

[1] [This is the spelling of *B*. MS. *A*. always has "'Allání."]

'Imádu-d dín Muhammad Kásim bin Abí 'Akíl Sakifí.

Hajjáj writes letters to the Capital and Syria.

Hajjáj reads the Khutba on Friday.

Departure of Muhammad Kásim.

The army arrives at Shiráz.

Muhammad Kásim arrives at Makrán.

Hárún proceeds with Muhammad Kásim.

The army marches from Armábel.

The orders of Hajjáj reach Muhammad Kásim.

The Arab army makes preparations, and Hajjáj's orders arrive.

The flag-staff of the temple of Debal is knocked down by a mangonel.

Budhíman comes to Muhammad Kásim, and receives a promise of protection.

A fifth portion of the booty in slaves and coins is set aside.

The capture of Debal is reported to Ráí Dáhir.

The letter of Ráí Dahir.

The reply of Muhammad Kásim to Ráí Dáhir.

Muhammad Kásim proceeds to Nírún after the conquest of Debal.

Historians have related, upon the authority of Banána bin Hanzala Kalábí, that after the conquest of Debal, where great plunder was taken, Muhammad Kásim ordered the mangonels to be placed on boats, and went towards the fort of Nírún. The boats went up the stream which they call Sindh Ságar;[1] but he himself took the road of Sísam, and when he arrived there, he received Hajjáj's answer to the annoucement of the victory.

The answer of Hajjáj to Muhammad Kásim.

An account of the inhabitants of Nírún obtaining a passport from Hajjáj.

Historians relate that Abú Láís Tamímí says, on the authority of Ja'úba bin 'Akaba Salamí, who accompanied Muhammad Kásim, that after the capture of Debal, Muhammad Kásim proceeded to the fort of Nírún, the inhabitants of which had provided themselves with an order of security from Hajjáj at the time that the army of the Arabs had been defeated, and Budail had been killed, and they had agreed

[1] [So in *B.* MS. *A.* has "Wahind ságara."]

to pay a tribute. He arrived at Nírún, which is twenty-five parasangs from Debal, in six days. On the seventh day he encamped on a meadow near Nírún, which is called Balhár,[1] and the waters of the Síhún[2] Mihrán had not yet reached it. The army was parched with thirst, and Muhammad prayed to heaven for rain, and it fell, and filled all the streams and lakes near the city.

* * * * *

Muhammad Kásim sends confidential messengers to Nírún.

The Samaní, the Governor of Nírún, comes to pay his respects to Muhammad Kásim, and brings presents.

* * * * *

Muhammad Kásim built at Nírún a mosque on the site of the temple of Budh, and ordered prayers to be proclaimed in the Muhammadan fashion, and appointed an Imám. After remaining there some days, he prepared to go to Siwistán, which is situated on an eminence to the west of the Mihrán. He determined to conquer the whole country, and after the capture of Siwistán, to recross the river, and proceed against Dáhir. God grant that his resolution may be fulfilled!

The expedition to Siwistán.

After Muhammad Kásim had settled affairs at Nírún, he equipped his army, and under the guidance of the Samaní took it towards Siwistán. He arrived by regular stages at a place called Bahraj,[3] thirty parasangs from Nírún. There also was a Samaní, who was chief of the rest of the inhabitants. In the fort the nephew of Dáhir was governor; his name was Bajhrá, the son of Chandar. All the Samanís assembled and sent a message to Bajhrá, saying, we are *násik* devotees. Our religion is one of peace and quiet, and fighting and slaying is prohibited, as well as all kinds of shedding of blood. You are secure in a lofty place, while we are open to the

1 ["Balâhâr" in *B.*]

2 [*Síhún* from the root *síh*, to flow is the proper name of the Jaxartes. It is used here and in page 138 as a common noun for *river*. The early Muhammadan writers frequently apply the term to the Indus, that river being to them *the river* of India.]

3 [So in *A.*, but MS. *B.* has Mauj موج.]

invasions of the enemy, and liable to be slain and plundered as your subjects. We know that Muhammad Kásim holds a farmán from Hajjáj, to grant protection to every one who demands it. We trust, therefore, that you will consider it fit and reasonable that we make terms with him, for the Arabs are faithful, and keep their agreements. Bajhrá refused to listen to them. Muhammad Kásim sent spies to ascertain whether the citizens were unanimous or inimical. They reported that some armed men were outside the fort, and prepared to fight. Muhammad Kásim encamped opposite the gate leading to the sandy desert, because there was no opportunity to attack him there, as the inundation had risen on account of the rains, and the river Sindhu Ráwal[1] flowed to the north of the selected ground.

Battle fought at Siwistán.

Muhammad Kásim ordered the mangonels to be prepared, and the fight was commenced. The Samanís prevented their chief from fighting, and told him that the Muhammadan army was not to be overcome by him, and he would not be able to oppose it. He would be merely placing his life and property in danger. When he would not listen to the advice of his subjects, the Samanís sent this message to Muhammad Kásim:—"All the subjects, farmers, and tradesmen, merchants, and the lower classes hate Bajhrá, and do not yield him allegiance. He does not possess any force with which he can oppose you, or give battle." The Muhammadan army were inspired with great courage on receiving the message, and fought day and night on the side of Muhammad Kásim. About a week after, the besieged stopped fighting, and when Bajhrá knew that the fort was about to fall, he came out from the northern gate, at the time when the world was veiled in darkness, crossed the river, and fled. He continued his flight till he reached the boundary of Búdhiya. In those days the ruler of the Búdhiya territory was Káka son of Kotal, a Samaní. His stronghold was Sísam, on the banks of the Kumbh. The people of Búdhiya and the chiefs of the surrounding places came to receive Bajhrá, and allowed him to encamp under the fort.

[1] [*A.* says جوي سندھ و راول روان شد. *B.* جوي سند دراول.]

Siwistán is taken and Bajhrá flies.

When Bajhrá went away, and the Samanís made submission, Muhammad Kásim entered the fort of Siwistán and gave quarter. He appointed his functionaries to discharge the civil duties of the territory, and brought the neighbouring places under his rule. He took the gold and silver wherever he found it, and appropriated all the silver, jewels, and cash. But he did not take anything from the Samanís, who had made terms with him. He gave the army their due, and having deducted a fifth part of the whole, delivered it to the treasurer of Hajjáj, and wrote a report of the victory to Hajjáj. He appointed Ráwats there. He also sent the plunder and the slaves to him, and he himself stopped at Siwistán. Two or three days after he had separated the fifth part, and distributed to the army their shares, he proceeded to the fort of Sísam, and the people of Búdhiya and the chief of Siwistán rose up to fight. Muhammad Kásim marched with all his force, except the garrison, which was placed under the officer left in Siwistán, and alighted at a place called Nílhán,[1] on the banks of the Kumbh. The inhabitants of the vicinity were all infidels, who assembled together as soon as they saw the Muhammadan army, and determined to make a night attack on it, and disperse it.

The interview of the chiefs with Káka.

The chiefs of Budh went to Káka Kotal. The ránas of Búdhiya are descended from Á'ú. They had originally come from the banks of the Ganges, from a place called Á'úndhár.[2] They consulted with him, and said that they had determined to make a night attack on the army.

The reply of Káka.

Káka said—"If you can accomplish it, well and good; but the bah-

1 [" Nídhán" in MS. *B.*

2 Possibly Audhia on the Ghágra may be alluded to. [*A.* says کہ اودندھار گویند *B.* has کہ اودندھار گویند The او is probably the pronoun, and the name Dandhár or Dandahár, is possibly Dand-vihár. General Cunningham suggests that "Daundiakera or Daundhára may perhaps be the place intended. It is on the Ganges, and was the capital of the Bais Rájputs. Trilok Chand was the founder of this branch of the family, and the fourth in descent from him is Audhara Chand, who may be the *Au* mentioned in the text." See also Thomas' *Prinsep*, Table xxxii.]

líks and monks have told me, according to their astrological books, that this country will be conquered by the Muhammadan army." He placed a chief, whose name was Pahan, at their head, and made gifts to the soldiers. There were one thousand brave fighting men under the command of this chief. They were all armed with swords, shields, javelins, spears, and daggers. When the army of the day fled for fear of the black legions of the night, they marched with the intention of making their night attack. As they approached the army of the Arabs, they missed the road, and were wandering about perplexed all the night from evening till daybreak. They were divided into four bodies, the one most advanced did not keep up a communication with that which was in the rear, nor did the left wing come in sight of the right, but they kept roving about in the desert. When they lifted up their heads they found themselves round the fort of Sísam.[1] When the darkness of night was expelled by the light of the king of the stars, they entered the fort, and told the whole to Káka Kotal, saying that this their treacherous plan had not proved successful. Káka said, "You know full well that I am famous for my determination and courage. I have achieved many enterprises at your head; but in the books of the Budhs it is predicted, upon astrological calculations, that Hindústan shall be taken by the Muhammadans, and I also believe that this will come to pass."

Káka Kotal goes to Muhammad Kásim with Banána, son of Hanzala, and submits to him.

Káka with his followers and friends went to the army of the Arabs. When he had gone a little distance, Banána, son of Hanzala, whom Muhammad Kásim had sent to reconnoitre the enemy, met him and took him to Muhammad Kásim. When he obtained the honour of coming before Muhammad Kásim, this general expressed his satisfaction, and gave him some good counsel. Káka told him all about the Jats coming against him with the intention of making a night attack, and of their treacherous schemes. He also said that the Almighty God misled them in their way, so that they were wandering about the whole night in darkness and chagrin; and that

[1] [Probably the village now called "Seisan" on Lake Manchar. May not the latter be the "Kumb" of p. 160? The word signifies "a waterpot," but its analogue *Kund* means "a lake."]

the astrologers and credible persons of his country had found out by their calculations of the stars that this country would be taken by the Muhammadan army. He had already seen this miracle, and he was sure that it was the will of God, and that no device or fraud would enable them to withstand the Muhammadans. "Be firm under all circumstances," said he, "and set your mind at ease. You will overcome them. I make my submission to you, and I will be your counsellor, and assist you to the extent of my power. I will be your guide in overpowering and subduing your enemies." When Muhammad Kásim had heard all he had to say, he praised the great God, and in giving thanks placed his head upon the earth. He comforted Káka and his dependants and followers, and promised him protection. He then asked him, "O chief of Hind, what is your mode of bestowing honour?" Káka said, "Granting a seat, and investing with a garment of silk, and tying a turban round the head. It is the custom of our ancestors, and of the Jat Samanís." When Káka had invested him with the dress, all the chiefs and head men of the surrounding places wished to submit to him. He dispelled the fear of the Arab army from the minds of those who offered allegiance, and brought those to submission who were inimically disposed. 'Abdu-l Malik, son of Kaisu-d Dammání,[1] was appointed his lieutenant to punish all enemies and revolters. Káka plundered a people who were wealthy, and took much booty in cash, cloths, cattle, slaves, and grain, so that cow's flesh was plentiful in the camp. Muhammad Kásim, having marched from that place, came to the fort of Sísam. There he fought for two days, and God granted him victory. The infidels fled, and Bajhrá bin Chandar, uncle of Dáhir,[2] and many of the officers and nobles who were under his command, lost their precious lives. Of the rest some ran away far beyond the territory of Búdhiya, and some to the fort of Bahítlúr, between Sálúj and Kandhábel, and from that place solicited a written promise of protection. Those chiefs were enemies of Dáhir, and some of them had been slain—hence they revolted from him, and sent ambassadors, and agreed to pay a tribute of one thousand dirams weight of silver, and also sent hostages to Siwistán.

[1] [This name is doubtful in *A.*, and quite unintelligible in *B.*]
[2] [*A.* says "Chandar bin Dáhir." *B.* has "son of the uncle of Dáhir."]

Orders are received from Hajjáj son of Yúsuf to cross the Mihrán, and a battle is fought with Dáhir.

When Muhammad Kásim had fixed the several tributes of those chiefs, he gave them fresh written agreements for their satisfaction. He appointed there Hamíd, son of Widá'u-n Najdí and 'Abdu-l Kais, of the family of Járúd, and as they were confidential persons he entrusted to them all the business of that place.

When he had settled the affairs of Sísam, he received orders from Hajjáj to proceed to some other place; to return to Nírún, take measures to cross the Mihrán, and fight with Dáhir. He was directed to ask Almighty God for assistance in obtaining success and conquest; and after having obtained the objects of his expedition, he was to strengthen all the forts and places throughout the country, and leave none in an unprovided state. When Muhammad Kásim read the farmán, and understood its contents, he came to Nírún and transmitted his despatches.

Arrival of the Army of the Arabs at Nírún.

After travelling over many stages, he halted at a fort which stands on the hill of Nírún. In the vicinity of it there is a reservoir, the water of which is purer than the eyes of lovers, and the meadows of it are more delightful than the gardens of Iram. He alighted there, and wrote a letter to Hajjáj, son of Yúsuf.

Muhammad Kásim's letter to Hajjáj, son of Yúsuf, stating particulars.

In the name of the most merciful God, to the most exalted court of the noblest of the world, the crown of religion, and protector of 'Ajam and Hind, Hajjáj, son of Yúsuf—from the humble servant Muhammad Kásim greeting. After compliments, he represents that this friend, with all his officers, equipage, servants, and divisions of the Musulmán army, is quite well, affairs are going on well, and a continuance of happiness is attained. Be it known to your bright wisdom that, after traversing deserts and making dangerous marches, I arrived in the territory of Sind, on the banks of the Síhún, which is called Mihrán. That part of the territory which is around Búdhiya, and is opposite the fort of Baghrúr (Nírún), on the Mihrán,

is taken. This fort is in the country of Alor, which belonged to Dáhir Ráí. Some of the people who resisted have been taken prisoners, and the rest through fear have fled away. As the imperative orders of Amír Hajjáj were received, directing me to return, we have returned to the fort on the hill of Nírún, which is very near to the capital. It is hoped that with the Divine assistance, the royal favour, and the good fortune of the exalted prince, the strongest forts of the infidels will be conquered, the cities taken, and our treasuries replenished. The forts of Siwistán and Sísam have been already taken. The nephew of Dáhir, his warriors, and principal officers have been despatched, and the infidels converted to Islám or destroyed. Instead of idol temples, mosques and other places of worship have been built, pulpits have been erected, the Khutba is read, the call to prayers is raised, so that devotions are performed at the stated hours. The takbír and praise to the Almighty God are offered every morning and evening.

* * * * *

The reply of Hajjáj is received by Muhammad Kásim.
Muhammad Kásim hears that Dáhir Ráí had proceeded to Nírún.
Muhammad Kásim does honour to the Nírún Samaní.
Muhammad Kásim fights on the banks of the Mihrán.
Moka bin Bisáya enters into terms with Muhammad Kásim.

Banána bin Hanzala is sent to Moka bin Bisáya, and seizes him and his attendants.

Then Banána bin Hanzala went with his tribe and an interpreter to the place indicated, and seized Moka bin Bisáya,[1] together with his family and twenty well-known Takars.[2] When Banána brought him before Muhammad Kásim, he was treated with kindness and respect, and the country of Bait was made over to him, and a grant

[1] [Chief of a large district, from the Sanskrit *Vishaya*. The term is still used in Orissa and Nágpúr.]

[2] I am doubtful if this is meant for *Thákurs*, or for *takra*, a word used in the West for a strong man. A little above, where Dharsiya sends his sister to Alor, the word is used apparently as a foot soldier, in opposition to a horseman. In other places it is used in conjunction with governors and nobles [and so corresponds exactly with *thákur*.]

was written to that effect, and a hundred thousand dirams were given to him as a reward. A green umbrella surmounted by a peacock, a chair, and a robe of honour were bestowed upon him. All his Takars were favoured with robes and saddled horses. Historians relate that the first umbrella of *Ránagí*, or chiefship, which he gave, was this to Moka. At Moka's request, he gave the land and all the towns, fields, and dependencies within the borders of Bait, to him and his descendants; and having entered into a firm treaty with him, directed him to collect boats.

Muhammad Kásim sends a Syrian Ambassador and Maulánà Islámí to Dáhir.

The ambassadors reach Dáhir.

When they came to Dáhir, Maulánà Islámí, of Debal, did not bow his head, or make any signs of reverence. Dáhir recognized him, and asked him why he failed in the usual respectful salutation, and enquired if any one had thrown obstacles in his way. The Maulánà of Debal replied, "When I was your subject it was right of me to observe the rules of obedience; but now that I am converted, and am subject to the king of Islám, it cannot be expected that I should bow my head to an infidel." Dáhir said, "If you were not an ambassador, I would punish you with death." The Maulánà replied, "If you kill me it will be no great loss to the Arabs; but they will avenge my death, and exact the penalty from you."

The Syrian declares the object of his mission.

Dáhir consults with Sísákar,[1] *the minister.*

'Alláfí offers advice to Dáhir.

The ambassadors return to Muhammad Kásim with the answer of Dáhir Rái.

Muhammad Kásim receives an order from Hajjáj.

Muhammad Kásim informs his friends of Hajjáj's orders.

Rái Dáhir arrives at the banks of the Mihrán.

A Syrian is slain.

[1] [Síhákar, or Siyákar in *B.*]

Mus'ab goes to Siwistán.

Jaisiya son of Dáhir arrives at the fort of Bait.

Rái Dáhir the infidel sends a message to Muhammad Sakifí.

Tiyár returns to Hajjáj from Muhammad Kásim.

Hajjáj sends two thousand horses to Muhammad Kásim.

Muhammad Kásim reads the orders of Hajjáj.

Hajjáj sends some vinegar to Muhammad Kásim.

The orders of Hajjáj reach Muhammad Kásim on the western bank of the Mihrán.

Rái Dáhir confers with the Samaní, his minister, on Muhammad Kásim's preparations for crossing the river.

Muhammad Kásim prepares to cross to the eastern bank with his army.

Muhammad Kásim had determined to cross, and was apprehensive lest Rái Dáhir might come to the banks of the Mihrán with his army, and oppose the transit. He ordered Sulaimán bin Tíhán Kuraishí to advance boldly with his troops against the fort,[1] in order that Fúfí[2] son of Dáhir, should not be able to join his father. Sulaimán accordingly went with 600 horsemen. He ordered also the son of 'Atiya Tiflí to watch the road with 500 men, by which Akham might be expected to advance, in order to cover Gandáva[3] and he ordered the Samaní, who was chief of Nírún, to keep open the road for the supply of food and fodder to the camp. Mus'ab bin 'Abu-r rahmán was ordered to command the advance guard, and keep the roads clear. He placed Namáma[4] bin Hanzala Kalábí in the centre with a thousand men; and ordered Zakwán bin 'Ulwán al Bikrí with 1500 men to attend on Moka Bisáya, chief of Bait; and

[1] [MS. *A.* is faulty, but seems to say "the fort of Aror,"—

فرمود که ترا با لشکر خود بغرور او در مقابل حصار ارور بائست

B.'s version is تو با لشکر خود بغرور رو و در مقابل حصار رود بایست]

[2] [MS. *A.* writes the name "Kúfi," but *B.* has "Fúfí," and so has the Tuhfatu-l Kirám. In this, as generally in other variants, each MS. maintains its own spelling throughout. See Mem. sur l'Inde, 191.]

[3] [کنداوهمه in *A.* کندارهه in *B.*]

[4] [So in both MSS.]

the Bhetí Thakurs and the Jats of Ghazní, who had made submission and entered the Arab service, were told to remain at Ságara and the island of Bait.

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Muhammad Kásim examines the fords.
Dáhir hears that Moka Bisáya had collected boats.
Dáhir gives the government of Bait to Rásil.

* * * * * * *

When Muhammad Kásim had collected his boats and began to join them together, Rásil with his officers and chiefs came to the opposite bank and prevented the completion of the bridge and the passage of the river. Muhammad Kásim thereupon ordered that the boats should all be brought to the western bank, and be there joined together, to a distance equal to the estimated breadth of the Mihrán. He then placed his warriors fully armed upon the boats and let the head of the bridge, which was full of archers, float down to the eastern bank. The archers drove off the infidels who were posted to guard the passage. So the Arabs passed over to the other side, and driving pegs into the earth, made the bridge fast. The horse and foot then crossed and, giving battle, put the infidels to flight, and pursued them as far as the gates of Jham.

Dáhir awakes and kills his chamberlain for bringing him news of the flight of the infidels and the victory of Islám.

The Arab army advances.

The Arab army marched on till it reached the fort of Bait, and all the horsemen were clad in iron armour. Pickets were posted in all directions, and orders were given to dig an entrenchment round the camp, and to deposit the baggage there. Muhammad Kásim then advanced from the fort of Bait towards Ráwar, till he arrived at a place called Jewar[1] (Jaipúr). Between Ráwar and Jewar (Jaipúr) there was a lake,[2] on which Dáhir had stationed a select body of troops to reconnoitre.

[1] [In MS. *A.* this is written جيور in the first instance, and in the second چيتور Chítúr. *B.* has جيور in both cases. See page 169.]
[2] ["*Khuluj.*" It is subsequently called an "*áb-gír.*"]

Dáhir makes a request of Muhammad 'Alláfí.[1]
The answer of 'Alláfí, and his dismissal by Dáhir.
Muhammad Kásim grants 'Alláfí a safe passage.
Dáhir confers with 'Alláfí.
Letters pass between Muhammad Kásim and Hajjáj.
Dáhir sends Jaisiya to reconnoitre.
First fight with the accursed Dáhir.

Treaty of Rásil with Muhammad Kásim.

Rásil, after showing marks of respect and offering promises of fidelity, said, "No one can oppose the will of the Almighty God. As you have bound me by your obligations, I shall after this be at your service, and will never contravene your wishes. I shall obey whatever may be your orders." After a short time Rásil lost his position, and the management of the country devolved upon Moka. Rásil and Moka agreed in opinion, and advised Muhammad Kásim to march. He accordingly set out from that place and reached a village which is called Nárání, Dáhir was at Kájíját.[2] They saw that between them and Dáhir's camp there was a large lake, which was very difficult to cross. Rásil said,—"May the most just and religious noble live long. It is necessary to cross this lake." Rásil obtained a boat, and sent three men across at a time, till the whole army crossed over, and took post on a bay. Rásil said, "If you will advance one stage more, you will arrive at Jewar (Jaipúr), on the banks of the Wadháwáh.[3] This is a village suitable for your encampment and is the same distance from the camp of Dáhir as it is from here. There you may attack him both in front and rear, and successfully enter into his position and occupy it." Muhammad Kásim approved of the advice, and reached Jewar (Jaipúr) and the Wadháwáh.

Arrival of Muhammad Kásim at Jewar (Jaipúr).

Intelligence was brought to Ráí Dáhir that Muhammad Kásim with the Arab army had reached Jewar (Jaipúr), and when his minister Sísákar[4] heard of it, he said, "Alas! we are lost. That

[1] [This name is always written "'Allání" in MS. *A.*]
[2] [*B.* "Kájíják."]
[3] ["Dadháwáh" *B.*]
[4] ["Siyákar" *B.*]

place is called Jaipúr,[1] or the town of victory, and as the army has reached that place, it will be successful and victorious." Dáhir Ráí took offence at these words. The fire of indignation blazed out in his mind, and he said with anger, "He has arrived at Hindbári,[2] for it is a place where his bones shall lie." Dáhir left the place, and with precipitation went into the fort of Ráwar. He placed his dependants and baggage in the fort, and himself went out to a place which was a parasang's distance from the Arabs. Dáhir then said to an astrologer, "I must fight to-day; tell me in what part of the heavens the planet Venus is, and calculate which of the two armies shall be successful, and what will be the result."

Prediction of the Astrologer.

After the computation, the astrologer replied,—"According to the calculation, the victory shall be to the Arab army, because Venus is behind him and in front of you." Ráí Dáhir was angry on hearing this. The astrologer then said, "Be not angered, but order an image of Venus to be prepared of gold." It was made, and fastened to his saddle-straps, in order that Venus might be behind him, and he be victorious. Muhammad Kásim drew nearer, and the interval between both armies was only half a parasang.

Fight of the second day.
Dáhir fights the third day with the Arab army.
Fight of the fourth day.
Fight of the fifth day.
The array of the army of Islám.
Muhammad Kásim Sakifí reads the Khutba.
Muhammad Kásim exhorts his soldiers.
The Arab army charges the Infidels.
Shujá' Habshí becomes a martyr.
Muhammad Kásim charges in the name of God.

[1] It is generally Jewar; [but here we have جتور Chitúr in *A*.] This explanation shows it must be Jaipúr.

[2] [*Hadbári* from *haddi*, a bone? MS. *B*. leaves a blank for the first syllable.]

The accursed Dáhir is slain.

Historians have related that Dáhir was slain at the fort of Ráwar at sunset, on Thursday, the 10th of Ramazán, in the year 93 (June, 712 A.D.). Abú-l Hasan relates upon the authority Abú-l Lais Híndi, who heard it from his father, that when the army of Islám made the attack, and most of the infidels were slain, a noise arose upon the left, and Dáhir thought it came from his own forces. He cried out, "Come hither; I am here." The women then raised their voices, and said, "O king, we are your women, who have fallen into the hands of the Arabs, and are captives." Dáhir said, "I live as yet, who captured you?"[1] So saying, he urged his elephant against the Musulmán army. Muhammad Kásim told the naphtha throwers that the opportunity was theirs, and a powerful man, in obedience to this direction, shot his naphtha arrow into Dáhir's howda, and set it on fire. Dáhir ordered his elephant driver to turn back, for the elephant was thirsty, and the howda was on fire. The elephant heeded not his driver, but dashed into the water, and in spite of all the efforts of the man, refused to turn back. Dáhir and the driver were carried into the rolling waves. Some of the infidels went into the water with them, and some stood upon the banks; but when the Arab horsemen came up, they fled. After the elephant had drunk water, he wanted to return to the fort. The Muhammadan archers plied their weapons, and a rain of arrows fell around. A skilful bowman aimed an arrow, which struck Dáhir in the breast (*bar dil*), and he fell down in the howda upon his face. The elephant then came out of the water and charged. Some of the infidels who remained were trampled under foot, and the others were dispersed. Dáhir got off his elephant, and confronted an Arab; but this brave fellow struck him with a sword on the very centre of his head, and cleft it to his neck. The Muhammadans and infidels closed and maintained a deadly fight, until they reached the fort of Ráwar. When the Brahmans who had gone into the water found the place of Dáhir's fall deserted, they came out and hid the body of Dáhir under the bank. The white elephant turned towards the army of the infidels, and no trace was left.

1 [Such is the reading of *B.* شمارا که کرفت *A.* says, بشما که بکرفت]

Proclamation issued by Muhammad Kásim.

How Ládí the wife of Dáhir was taken.

Muhammad Kásim writes an account of the death of Dáhir to Hajjáj.

The head of Dáhir is sent to 'Irák.

Hajjáj gives his daughter in marriage to Muhammad Kásim.

Hajjáj reads the Khutba in the Masjid Jámi' of Kúfa.

Hajjáj sends an answer to Muhammad Kásim's account of his victory.

The relatives of Dáhir Ráí who were carried away captives.

Jaisiya enters the fort of Ráwar and prepares to fight.

The historians concur in the narration that when Dáhir was killed, his son and Ráni Báí[1] (who was Dáhir's sister, but whom he had made his wife,) went into the fort of Ráwar with his army, relations, and nobles, and took refuge in it. Jaisiya, who was proud of his courage, power, and dignity, prepared to fight. Muhammad 'Alláfí was also with him. When the news of the death of Dáhir arrived, and that the white elephant was hamstrung, Jaisiya son of Dáhir said that he would go to oppose the enemy, and strike a blow to save his honour and name; for it would be no loss if he were to be slain. Sísákar, the minister, observed that the resolve of the prince was not good, the king had been killed, the army defeated and dispersed, and their hearts were averse to battle through fear of the enemy's sword. How could he go to fight with the Arabs? His dominions still existed, and the strongest forts were garrisoned with brave warriors and subjects. It was, therefore, advisable that they should go to the fort of Brahmanábád, which was the inheritance of his father and ancestors. It was the chief residence of Dáhir. The treasuries and stores were full, and the inhabitants of the place were friends and well wishers of the family of Chach, and would all assist in fighting against the enemy. Then the 'Alláfí was also asked what he considered proper. He replied that he concurred in this opinion. So Jaisiya assented, and with all their dependants and trusty servants, they went to Brahmanábád. Báí

[1] [MS. *A.* still reads Máín.]

(Máín), the wife of Dáhir, together with some of the generals, prepared for battle. She reviewed the army in the fort, and fifteen thousand warriors were counted. They had all resolved to die. Next morning, when it was learnt that Dáhír had been killed between the Mihrán and the stream called Wadháwáh,[1] all the chiefs (Ráwats) and officers who were attached to the Rání entered the fort. Muhammad Kásim, on receiving the intelligence, marched in that direction, and encamped under the walls. The garrison began to beat drums and sound clarions, and threw down from the ramparts and bastions stones from mangonels and balistas as well as arrows and javelins.

The fort is taken and Bái (Máín), the sister of Dáhir, burns herself.

Muhammad Kásim disposed his army, and ordered the miners to dig and undermine the walls. He divided his army into two divisions; one was to fight during the day with mangonels, arrows, and javelins, and the other to throw naphtha, fardáj (?), and stones during the night. Thus the bastions were thrown down. Bái (Máín), the sister of Dáhir, assembled all her women, and said, "Jaisiya is separated from us, and Muhammad Kásim is come. God forbid that we should owe our liberty to these outcast cow-eaters! Our honour would be lost! Our respite is at an end,[2] and there is nowhere any hope of escape; let us collect wood, cotton, and oil, for I think that we should burn ourselves and go to meet our husbands. If any wish to save herself she may." So they went into a house, set it on fire, and burnt themselves. Muhammad took the fort, and stayed there for two or three days. He put six thousand fighting men, who were in the fort, to the sword, and shot some with arrows. The other dependants and servants were taken prisoners, with their wives and children.

Detail of the slaves, cash, and stuffs, which were taken.

It is said that when the fort was captured, all the treasures, property, and arms, except those which were taken away by Jaisiya, fell into the hands of the victors, and they were all brought before Muhammad Kásim. When the number of the prisoners was calcu-

1 ["Dadháwáh" *B.*]

2 [This passage is taken from *B.* MS. *A.* is unintelligible.]

lated, it was found to amount to thirty thousand persons, amongst whom thirty were the daughters of chiefs, and one of them was Ráí Dáhir's sister's daughter, whose name was Jaisiya.[1] They were sent to Hajjáj. The head of Dáhir and the fifth part of the prisoners were forwarded in charge of K'ab, son of Mahárak. When the head of Dáhir, the women, and the property all reached Hajjáj, he prostrated himself before God, offered thanksgivings and praises, for, he said, he had in reality obtained all the wealth and treasures and dominions of the world.

Hajjáj sends the head of Dáhir, and some of his standards, to the Capital.

Hajjáj then forwarded the head, the umbrellas, and wealth, and the prisoners to Walíd the Khalífa. When the Khalífa of the time had read the letter, he praised Almighty God. He sold some of those daughters of the chiefs, and some he granted as rewards. When he saw the daughter of Ráí Dáhir's sister, he was much struck with her beauty and charms, and began to bite his finger with astonishment. 'Abdu-lláh bin 'Abbás desired to take her, but the Khalífa said, "O my nephew! I exceedingly admire this girl, and am so enamoured of her, that I wish to keep her for myself. Nevertheless, it is better that you should take her to be the mother of your children." By his permission, therefore, 'Abdu-lláh took her. She lived a long time with him, but no child was born from her. Afterwards, another letter was received about the capture of the fort of Ráwar. It is said that after the conquest was effected, and the affairs of the country were settled and the report of the conquest had reached Hajjáj, he sent a reply to the following effect. "O my cousin; I received your life-inspiring letter. I was much pleased and overjoyed when it reached me. The events were recounted in an excellent and beautiful style, and I learnt that the ways and rules you follow are conformable to the Law. Except that you give protection to all, great and small alike, and make no difference between enemy and friend. God says,—Give no quarter to Infidels, but cut their throats." "Then know that this is the command of the great God. You should not be too ready to grant protection, because it

[1] [MS. *B.* has "Hasna."]

will prolong your work. After this, give no quarter to any enemy except to those who are of rank. This is a worthy resolve, and want of dignity will not be imputed to you.[1] Peace be with you!"—Written at Náfa', A.H. 73.

Jaisiya sends letters from Brahmanábád to Alor,[2] Bátiya, and other places.

Some historians from amongst the religious Brahmans have narrated respecting the death of Dáhir and adventures of Muhammad Kásim, that when the accursed Ráí Dáhir went to hell, Jaisiya took refuge in the fort of Brahmanábád, and Ráwar was taken, Jaisiya made preparations for war and sent letters in all directions; viz.: One to his brother Fúfí,[3] son of Dáhir, who was in the fort of the capital of Aror; the other to his nephew Chach, son of Dharsiya, in the fort of Bátiya; and the third to his cousin, Dhawal, son of Chandar, who was in the direction of Budhiya and Kaikánán. He informed them of Dáhir's death and consoled them. He himself was in Brahmanábád with his warriors ready to fight.

Battle of Bahrúr and Dhalíla.

Muhammad Kásim now determined to march to Brahmanábád. Between Ráwar and that city there were two fortresses called Bahrúr[4] and Dhalíla which contained about sixteen thousand fighting men. When Muhammad Kásim reached Bahrúr he besieged it for two months. After the war had been protracted so long, Muhammad Kásim ordered that part of his army should fight by day and part by night. They threw naphtha and plied their mangonels so that all the warriors of the adverse party were slain, and the walls of the fort thrown down. Many slaves and great plunder were taken. They put the fifth part of it into the public treasury. When the news of the capture of Ráwar and Bahrúr reached Dhalíla, the inhabitants knew that Muhammad Kásim possessed great perseverance, and that they should be on their guard against him. The merchants fled to

[1] [هيچ دشمن‌را امان مده الا همکنان‌را بزرگ است راي و فتور شوکت حمل کنند A negative seems to be required.]

[2] [ارور]

[3] ["Kúfi" always in *A*.]

[4] [See p. 122.]

Hind, and the men of war prepared to defend their country. At last, Muhammad Kásim came to Dhalíla, and encamped there for two months, more or less. When the besieged were much distressed, and they knew that from no quarter could they receive reinforcements, they put on the garments of death, and anointed themselves with perfumes. They sent out their families into the fort which faces the bridge, and they crossed over the stream of the Naljak,[1] without the Musulmáns being aware of it.

The flight of the chief of Dhalíla.

When the day dawned through the veil of darkness Muhammad Kásim learnt that they had fled, so he sent some men of his army after them, who overtook part of them as they were passing over the river and put them to the edge of the sword. Those who had crossed previously fled to Hindustán through the country of Ramal and the sandy desert to the country (*bilád*) of Sír, the chief of which country was named Deoráj. He was the son of the uncle of Dáhir Rái.

Dhalíla conquered, and a fifth part of its booty sent to the capital of the Khalífa.

When Muhammad Kásim had fought the battle of Dhalíla and conquered, the fifth part of the plunder was deposited in the treasury to be sent to the capital, and he sent a report of the conquest of Bahrúr and Dhalíla to Hajjáj, with all the particulars.

Arrival of Sísákar, the minister, to seek protection.

Muhammad Kásim sent letters to the chiefs of the different parts of Hind, and invited them to make submission, and embrace Islám. When Sísákar, minister of Dáhir, heard of this, he sent some confidential servants, and sued for protection. He brought the Muhammadan women who were in his possession, and said that they were those women who cried out for help to Hajjáj.[2]

Sísákar appointed Minister.

Muhammad Kásim showed him much respect, and sent his chief officers to receive him. He paid him great honour, and treated him

1 ["Manjhal" in B.]

2 [See p. 118.]

with much kindness, and conferred upon him the office of Wazir. Sísákar now became the counsellor of the Muhammadans. Muhammad Kásim told him all his secrets, always took his advice, and consulted him on all the civil affairs of the government, his political measures, and the means of prolonging his success. He used to say to Muhammad Kásim that the regulations and ordinances which the just Amír had introduced would confirm his authority in all the countries of Hind. They would enable him to punish and overcome all his enemies; for he comforts all the subjects and málguzárs, takes the revenue according to the old laws and regulations, never burthens any one with new and additional exactions, and instructs all his functionaries and officers.

The government of Dhalíla conferred on Núba, son of Dháran son of Dhalíla.[1]

It is said by some people that when Dhalíla was conquered, Muhammad Kásim called Núba, son of Dháran, and having made a compact with him, invested him with honours, and conferred on him the entire governorship of the fort, and its dependencies from the eastern to the western boundaries. From that place to Brahmanábád there was distance of one parasang. Jaisiya, son of Dáhir, received intelligence that the Muhammadan army was coming.

The Arab army arrives at the banks of the lake of Jalwálí, and an ambassador is sent to invite the people to embrace Islám.

Muhammad Kásim marched from Dhalíla, and encamped on the banks of the stream of the Jalwálí[2] to the east of Brahmanábád. He sent some confidential messengers to Brahmanábád to invite its people to submission and to the Muhammadan faith, to preach to them Islám, to demand the Jizya, or poll-tax, and also to inform them that if they would not submit, they must prepare to fight. Jaisiya, son of Dáhir, before the arrival of the messengers, had gone to Chanír.[3] He had chosen sixteen men from among the chiefs of that city, and had placed four of these men as wardens at each of

[1] [This last name is not in MS. *A.*]

[2] [The "Falailí"?]

[3] ["Janír" in *B.*] He appears ubiquitous, and his proceedings do not appear to be related in chronological order. This place may be also read Chansír, and it seems to be the same as the Chanesar which follows in page 179.

the four gates of the city, with a part of his army. One of these gates was called Jawetarí, and four men were stationed at it. One of them was Bhárand, the other Sátiyá, the third Máliya,[1] and the fourth Sálha.

Muhammad Kásim arrives there in the beginning of the month of Rajab.

When Muhammad Kásim reached there, he ordered entrenchments to be dug. The battle commenced on Saturday, the first of Rajab. The infidels came out every day, and engaged and beat their drums. There were about forty thousand fighting men. From the dawn of day till sunset the battle was fought with great fury on both sides. When the king of the stars disappeared they also returned. The Muhammadans entered their entrenchments, and the infidels went into their fort. Six months passed in this manner. Kásim despaired of taking the fort, and became very pensive. On Sunday, in the end of the Zi-l Hijja, A.H. 93 (October, 712 A.D.), Jaisiya, who had fled to the country of Ramal, which is called Bátiya, came back from that place, infested the roads, and distressed the Muhammadan army.

A messenger sent to Moka.

Muhammad Kásim despatched one of his confidential servants to Moka Bisáya, and informed him that he was perpetually harassed by Jaisiya, who prevented the supply of fodder, and put him to great trouble. He enquired the remedy. Moka said that as Jaisiya was very near, there was no alternative but that he should be made to depart. So he sent from his own force a large body of trusty men to drive him off.

Jaisiya goes to Jaipúr.[2]

Banána, son of Hanzala Kalábí, 'Atíyá Sa'lbí, Sáram son of Abú Saram Hamadání, and 'Abdu-l Malik Madanní, with their horsemen, and Moka Bisáya at their head, aud also Jazím, son of 'Umar Wáladihí were sent with an army and supplies of provisions.

1 ["Manúra" in *B.*]

2 [Both MSS. here have "Jatrúr." A few lines further on *A.* has "Chitor," but *B.* keeps to "Jatrúr." See note in p. 169.]

Jaisiya was informed of the march of the Arab army. He therefore left his place with all his property and family, and went by way of the sandy desert to the places called Jankan, 'Awará, and Káyá, in the territory of Jaipúr. The 'Alláfí deserted him. He thence proceeded to the territory of Tákiya, and went away and determined to do homage to the king of Kashmír, which is towards Rostá on the boundary of Royam. This territory is all waste and desert. From that place he wrote to the Ráí, whose capital lay amidst the hills. He stated that of his own free will, and with a sincere heart, he had come to wait upon him.

Jaisiya son of Dáhir goes to the Ráná.

The letter was read before the Ráí of Kashmír, who issued orders that, from among the dependencies of Kashmír, a place called Shákalhá[1] should be assigned to Jaisiya.

The Ráí of Kashmír gives presents to Jaisiya son of Dáhir.

The day on which they met, the Ráí of Kashmír gave fifty horses with saddles, and two hundred valuable suits of apparel to his officers. Hamím, son of Sáma the Syrian, was sent to the fief of Shákalhá. When he went a second time to see the Ráí of Kashmír, he was again received with great respect and honour, and an umbrella, a chair, and other presents were given to him. These are honours which are bestowed upon great kings. With great respect and ostentation he was re-conducted to his tenure in the plains. After staying there some time he expired in Shákalhá, and was succeeded by Hamím, son of Sáma, whose descendants remain there to this day. He founded masjids there, and obtained great honour and regard. He was much respected by the king of Kashmír. When Jaisiya[2] went to Jaipúr, and stayed there, he wrote letters to Fúfí, son of Dáhir, at Alor. He informed him of the cause of his

[1] [See also p. 144. Gen. Cunningham thinks that this may possibly be "Kuller-Kahar," in the Salt range which at this time belonged to Kashmír.]

[2] [It is difficult to say who is meant in the preceding passages. Jaisiya is mentioned by name in the heading of the chapter, but his name does not occur again until this place. This passage begins—

پس جیسیه بیلاه چتور (B. جترور) رفت و مقام کرد]

leaving the country, and advised him to hold out in that part. Fúfí, son of Dáhir, received much encouragement on reading the letter, and on learning that he had gone away to Jaipúr.

When Muhammad Kásim had fought for six months at Brahmanábád, and war was protracted for a long time, and the news of Jaisiya was received from Chanesar,[1] four of the chief merchants of the city consulted together at the gate of the fort, which is called Jawetarí.[2] They said the Arabs have conquered the whole territory, Dáhir has been killed, Jaisiya is king, and the fort has been besieged for a space of six months; we have neither power nor wealth to enable us to fight with the enemy, nor can we make peace with him. If he stay a few days more, he will at last be victorious, and we have no ground on which to ask protection from him. We are not able to stand any more before that army; we should, therefore, now join together, and sallying out attack Kásim, or be slain in the attempt; for if peace be made, all those found in arms will be slain, but all the rest of the people, the merchants, the handicraftsmen, and the cultivators, will find protection. And if they could get any assurance, it was better, they said, to make terms and surrender the fort to him. He would take them under his protection, and they would find him their supporter if they would follow rules of allegiance. To this opinion they all agreed. They sent their messengers, and craved for themselves and their families exemption from death and captivity.

Protection granted to them on their faithful promises of allegiance.

Muhammad Kásim granted them protection on their faithful promises, but put the soldiers to death, and took all their followers and dependants prisoners. All the captives, up to about thirty years of age, who were able to work, he made slaves, and put a price upon them.[3] Muhammad Kásim called all the chief officers of Hajjáj together, and related the message to them, saying that

1 [چنیسر *A.* جنیسر *B.*]

2 ["Jaretarí" *B.*]

3 [وهر برده که از صفیّت تا قرب سي سال در قید وا غلال کشند و مال بر ایشان معیّن کردند]

ambassadors had come from Brahmanábád, and it should be heard what they had to say, and a proper answer should be carefully prepared and given to them.

Opinion of Moka Bisáya.

Moka Bisáya said, "O noble man! this fort is the chief of all the cities of Hind. It is the seat of the sovereign. If this be taken, the whole of Sind will come into your possession. The strongest forts will fall, and the dread of our power will increase. The people will sever themselves from the descendants of Dáhir, some will run away, and others submit to your rule."

Muhammad Kásim's communication to Hajjáj.

Muhammad Kásim informed Hajjáj of all the circumstances, and furnished those people with his written orders. He fixed the time with them, and they said that on the day named he should come to the Jawetarí[1] gate, from which they would sally out to fight; but when they should come near him, and the Arab army should attack them, they would fly away in the midst of the battle, go into the fort, and leave the gate open. After an answer was received from Hajjáj, to the effect that Kásim should give them protection, and faithfully execute the compact made with them, the people of the fort fought for a short time, and when the Arabs attacked them, and engaged, they fled and entered the fort, leaving the gate open.[2] The Arabs thus got possession of it, and the whole army followed and mounted the walls. The Muhammadans then loudly shouted "Alláh Akbar," and the people of the fort, seeing the Musulmans victorious, opened the eastern gate, and fled with precipitation. The Muhammadans thus gained the victory, but Muhammad Kásim ordered them to kill none but those who showed fight. They seized all who had arms, and brought them prisoners before Muhammad Kásim, with all their arms and property, dependants, and families. Everyone who bowed down his head and sued for protection was released, and allowed to occupy his own house.

[1] ["Jaretarí," *B.*]

[2] This is not clear, but it appears that the citizens betrayed the garrison.

Resistance made by Jaisiya[1] *and the wife of Dáhir.*

It is said, on the authority of the old men of Brahmanábád, that when the fort of Brahmanábád was taken, Ládí, the wife of Dáhir Ráí, who since Dáhir's death had staid in the fort with his son,[2] rose up and said, "How can I leave this strong fort and my family. It is necessary that we should stop here, overcome the enemy, and preserve our homes and dwellings. If the army of the Arabs should be successful, I must pursue some other course. She then brought out all her wealth and treasures, and distributing them among the warriors of the army, she thus encouraged her brave soldiers while the fight was carried on at one of the gates. She had determined that if the fort should be lost, she would burn herself alive with all her relations and children. Suddenly the fort was taken, and the nobles came to the gate of Dáhir's palace and brought out his dependants. Ládí was taken prisoner.

Ládí, the wife of Dáhir is taken, with his two maiden daughters.

When the plunder and the prisoners of war were brought before Kásim, and enquiries were made about every captive, it was found that Ládí, the wife of Dáhir, was in the fort with two daughters of his by his other wives. Veils were put on their faces, and they were delivered to a servant to keep them apart. One-fifth of all the prisoners were chosen and set aside; they were counted as amounting to twenty thousand in number, and the rest were given to the soldiers.

Protection is given to the artificers.

Protection was given to the artificers, the merchants, and the common people, and those who had been seized from those classes were all liberated. But he (Kásim) sat on the seat of cruelty, and put all those who had fought to the sword. It is said that about six thousand fighting men were slain, but, according to some, sixteen thousand were killed, and the rest were pardoned.

The relations of Dáhir are betrayed by the Brahmans.

It is related that when none of the relations of Dáhir were found

1 [*Sic* in both MSS.] 2 [با پسرراي "son of the Ráí."]

among the prisoners, the inhabitants of the city were questioned respecting them, but no one gave any information or hint about them. But the next day nearly one thousand Brahmans, with shaven heads and beards, were brought before Kásim.

The Brahmans come to Muhammad Kásim.

When Muhammad Kásim saw them, he asked to what army they belonged, and why they had come in that manner. They replied, "O faithful noble! our king was a Brahman. You have killed him, and have taken his country; but some of us have faithfully adhered to his cause, and have laid down our lives for him; and the rest, mourning for him, have dressed themselves in yellow clothes, and have shaved their heads and beards. As now the Almighty God has given this country into your possession, we have come submissively to you, just Lord, to know what may be your orders for us." Muhammad Kásim began to think, and said, "By my soul and head, they are good, faithful people. I give them protection, but on this condition, that they bring hither the dependents of Dáhir, wherever they may be." Thereupon they brought out Ládí. Muhammad Kásim fixed a tax upon all the subjects, according to the laws of the Prophet. Those who embraced the Muhammadan faith were exempted from slavery, the tribute, and the poll-tax;[1] and from those who did not change their creed a tax was exacted according to three grades. The first grade was of great men, and each of these was to pay silver, equal to forty-eight dirams in weight, the second grade twenty-four dirams, and the lowest grade twelve dirams. It was ordered that all who should become Musulmans at once should be exempted from the payment, but those who were desirous of adhering to their old persuasion must pay the tribute and poll-tax. Some showed an inclination to abide by their creed, and some having resolved upon paying tribute, held by the faith of their forefathers,[2] but their lands and property were not taken from them.

[1] ["*Bandagí wa mâl wa gazíd;*" or "*gazand,*" as *A.* has it.]

[2] [بعضي از ايشان بر اقامت معاودت نمودند و بعضي دل بر كزيد نهادند و بر كيش اسلاف ميرفتند The word *mu'áwadat* is found only in *B.*]

Brahmanábád is given into the charge of the prefects of the country.

Muhammad Kásim then allotted to each of the prefects an amount of revenue suited to his ability and claims. He stationed a force at each of the four gates of the fort, and gave the charge of them (to the prefects). He also gave them as tokens of his satisfaction saddled horses, and ornaments for their hands and feet, according to the custom of the kings of Hind. And he assigned to each of them a seat in the great public assemblies.

Division of the people into three classes—artizans, merchants, and agriculturists.

All people, the merchants, artists, and agriculturists were divided separately into their respective classes, and ten thousand men, high and low, were counted. Muhammad Kásim then ordered twelve diram's weight of silver to be assigned to each man, because all their property had been plundered. He appointed people from among the villagers and the chief citizens to collect the fixed taxes from the cities and villages, that there might be a feeling of strength and protection. When the Brahmans saw this, they represented their case, and the nobles and principal inhabitants of the city gave evidence as to the superiority of the Brahmans. Muhammad Kásim maintained their dignity, and passed orders confirming their pre-eminence. They were protected against opposition and violence. Each of them was entrusted with an office, for Kásim was confident that they would not be inclined to dishonesty. Like Ráí Chach, he also appointed each one to a duty. He ordered all the Brahmans to be brought before him, and reminded them that they had held great offices in the time of Dáhir, and that they must be well acquainted with the city and the suburbs. If they knew any excellent character worthy of his consideration and kindness they should bring him to notice, that favours and rewards might be bestowed on him. As he had entire confidence in their honesty and virtue, he had entrusted them with these offices, and all the affairs of the country would be placed under their charge. These offices were granted to them and their descendants, and would never be resumed or transferred.

The Brahmans go with great confidence into the villages.

Then the Brahmans and the government officers went into the districts, and said, "Oh chiefs and leaders of the people, you know for certain that Dáhir is slain, and that the power of infidels is at an end. In all parts of Sind and Hind the rule of the Arabs is firmly established, and all the people of this country, great and small, have become as equals, both in town and country. The great Sultán has shown favour to us humble individuals, and ye must know that he has sent us to you, to hold out great inducements. If we do not obey the Arabs we shall neither have property nor means of living. But we have made our submission in hope that the favour and kindness of our masters may be increased to us. At present we are not driven from our homes; but if you cannot endure this tribute which is fixed on you, nor submit to the heavy burden, then let us retire at a suitable opportunity to some other place of Hind or Sind, with all your families and children, where you may find your lives secure. Life is the greatest of all blessings. But if we can escape from this dreadful whirlpool, and can save our lives from the power of this army, our property and children will be safe.

Taxes are fixed upon the inhabitants of the city.

Then all the inhabitants of the city attended and agreed to pay the taxes. They ascertained the amount from Muhammad Kásim. And in respect of the Brahmans whom he had appointed revenue managers over them, he said, "Deal honestly between the people and the Sultán, and if distribution is required make it with equity, and fix the revenue according to the ability to pay. Be in concord among yourselves, and oppose not each other, so that the country may not be distressed."

Muhammad Kásim admonishes the people.

Muhammad Kásim admonished every man separately, and said, "Be happy in every respect, and have no anxiety, for you will not be blamed for anything. I do not take any agreement or bond from you. Whatever sum is fixed and we have settled you must pay. Moreover, care and leniency shall be shown you. And whatever

may be your requests, they should be represented to me so that they may be heard, a proper reply be given, and the wishes of each man be satisfied."

Muhammad Kásim gives an order in favour of the people of Brahmanábád.

The Brahmans did not receive the alms which were given to them according to the old custom, by the merchants, the infidels, and thákurs, who took delight in worshipping the idols. The attendants of the temples were likewise in distress. For fear of the army, the alms and bread were not regularly given to them, and therefore they were reduced to poverty. They came to the gate of his palace, and lifted up their hands in prayer. They said, "May you live long, oh just lord! We people obtain our livelihood and maintenance by keeping the temple of Budh. You showed mercy upon the merchants and the infidels, confirmed them in their property, and made them zimmís (tolerated subjects). Hence we, your slaves, relying upon your bounty, hope permission may be given for them to worship their gods, and repair the temple of Budh." Muhammad Kásim replied, "The seat of government is Alor, and all these other places are dependencies of it." The Hindús said, "The edifice (temple) of this city is under the Brahmans. They are our sages and physicians, and our nuptial and funeral ceremonies are performed by them. We have agreed to pay the taxes in the expectation that every one would be left to follow his own persuasion. This our temple of Budh is ruined, and we cannot worship our idols. If our just lord will permit us, we will repair it, and worship our gods. Our Brahmans will then receive the means of living from us."

Muhammad Kásim writes to Hajjáj, and receives an answer.

Muhammad Kásim wrote to Hajjáj, and after some days received a reply to the following effect. The letter of my dear nephew Muhammad Kásim has been received, and the facts understood. It appears that the chief inhabitants of Brahmanábád had petitioned to be allowed to repair the temple of Budh and pursue their religion. As they have made submission, and have agreed to pay taxes to the Khalífa, nothing more can be properly required from them. They

have been taken under our protection, and we cannot in any way stretch out our hands upon their lives or property. Permission is given them to worship their gods. Nobody must be forbidden or prevented from following his own religion. They may live in their houses in whatever manner they like.[1]

Arrival of Hajjáj's orders.

When the orders of Hajjáj reached Muhammad Kásim, he had left the city, and had gone a march. He directed the nobles, the principal inhabitants, and the Brahmans to build their temple, traffic with the Muhammadans, live without any fear, and strive to better themselves. He also enjoined them to maintain the indigent Brahmans with kindness and consideration, observe the rites and customs of their ancestors, and give oblations and alms to the Brahmans, according to former practice. They were to allot three dirams out of every hundred dirams capital, and to give them as much of this as should be necessary—the remainder was to be paid into the treasury and accounted for; it would be safe in the keeping of Government.[2] They were also to settle allowances upon the officers and the nobles. They all fully agreed to these conditions before Tamím bin Zaidu-l Kaisí and Hukm bin 'Awána Kalbí. It was ordained that the Brahmans should, like beggars, take a copper basin in their hands, go to the doors of the houses, and take whatever grain or other thing that might be offered to them, so that they might not remain unprovided for. This practice has got a peculiar name among the infidels.

Muhammad Kásim grants the request of the people of Brahmanábád.

Muhammad Kásim granted the request which the people of Brahmanábád had made to him, and permitted them to retain their position like the Jews, the Christians,[3] and fire worshippers of 'Irák

[1] [تا بخانهاء خود براي خود زندگاني كنند]

[2] [و از صد درم سه درم بر اصل مال بنكرند چند واجب باشد بدايشان رسانند باقي در وجه خزانه در قلم اصحاب و حضور ثواب در حفظ مي باشد]

[3] [قايم بودن چنانكه جهود و ترسا و نصراني و مجوس. See p. 122.]

and Shám. He then dismissed them, and gave to their head men the appellation of Ráná.[1]

Muhammad Kásim calls for Sísákar, the minister.

He then called the minister Sísákar and Moka Bisáya, and asked them what was the position of the Jats of Lohána[2] in the time of Chach and Dáhir, and how were they dealt with? Sísákar, the minister, replied in the presence of Moka Bisáya that in the reign of Ráí Chach, the Lohánas, viz. Lákha and Samma, were not allowed to wear soft clothes, or cover their heads with velvet; but they used to wear a black blanket beneath, and throw a sheet of coarse cloth over their shoulders. They kept their heads and feet naked. Whenever they put on soft clothes they were fined. They used to take their dogs with them when they went out of doors, so that they might by this means be recognized. No chief was permitted to ride on a horse. Wherever guides were required by the kings they had to perform the duty, and it was their business to supply escorts and conduct parties from one tribe to another. If any of their chiefs or ránas rode upon a horse, he had no saddle or bridle, but threw a blanket on its back, and then mounted. If an injury befel a person on the road, these tribes had to answer for it; and if any person of their tribe committed a theft, it was the duty of their head men to burn him and his family and children. The caravans used to travel day and night under their guidance. There is no distinction among them of great and small. They have the disposition of savages, and always rebelled against their sovereign. They plunder on the roads, and within the territory of Debal all join with them in their highway robberies. It is their duty to send fire-wood for the kitchen of the kings, and to serve them as menials and guards." On hearing this, Muhammad Kásim said, "What disgusting people they are. They are just like the savages of Persia and the mountains."[3] Muhammad Kásim maintained the same rules regarding them. As the Commander of the faithful, 'Umar, son of Khitáb, had ordered respecting the people of Shám,

[1] [MS. *B.*]
[2] [کارجتان لوهانه]
[3] [همچنان بلاد فارس و کوه بایه [کوه بلزمه .*A.*] مردمان دشتي باشند]

so did Muhammad Kásim also make a rule that every guest should be entertained for one day and night, but if he fell sick then for three days and nights.

Muhammad Kásim sends a letter to Hajjáj bin Yúsuf.

When Muhammad Kásim had settled the affairs of Brahmanábád and the Lohána territory, and had fixed the tribute of the Jats, he sent a report of all these particulars to Hajjáj. It was written at a place on the river Jalwálí,[1] above Brahmanábád. The account of taking the territory of Sind was communicated and stated in full detail.

Reply of Hajjáj.

Hajjáj wrote in reply, "My nephew Muhammad Kásim, you deserve praise and commendation for your military conduct, and for the pains you have taken in protecting the people, ameliorating their condition, and managing the affairs of the Government. The fixing of the revenue upon each village, and the encouragement you have given to all classes of people to observe the laws, and their agreements, have brought much vigour to the Government, and have tended to the good administration of the country. Now you should not stay any longer in this city. The pillars of the countries of Hind and Sind are Alor and Multán. They are the capitals and royal residences. There must be great riches and treasures of kings hidden in these two places. If you stop anywhere, you should choose the most delightful place, so that your authority may be confirmed in the whole country of Hind and Sind. If any one refuses to submit to Muhammadan power slay him. May you be victorious under the decree of the Almighty God, so that you may subdue the country of Hind to the boundary of China. Amir Kutaiba, son of Muslimu-l Kuraishí is sent; you should make over all the hostages to him, and an army is also placed under him. You should act in such a manner, O son of your uncle, and son of the mother of Jaisiya,[2] that the name of Kásim may become celebrated through you, and your enemies be humbled and confounded. May it please God."

[1] [*A.* has Jalwání. See page 176.]

[2] Alluding probably to her being destined for Hajjáj. A few pages before we find Ládí was taken by Muhammad Kásim.

The arrival of the letter of Hajjáj.

When the letter of Hajjáj reached Muhammad Kásim, he read it. It was also written in it, "You, O Muhammad, consult me in your letters, for it is prudent. The excessive distance is an obstacle. But show kindness that your enemies may desire to be submissive; comfort them."

Appointment of four of the chief men of the city as officers for the management of the country.

Muhammad Kásim then called Widá', son of Hamídu-n Najdí, for the management of the city of Brahmanábád, that is, Báín-wáh,[1] and appointed overseers and assistants. He entrusted four persons from among the merchants of the city with all matters concerning property. He strictly ordered that they should inform him fully and particularly of all matters, and that nothing should be decided without consulting him. He placed Núba, son of Dáras, in the fort of Ráwar, and directed him to hold the place fast, and keep the boats ready. If any boat coming up or down the stream was loaded with men or arms of war, he was to take them and bring them to the fort of Ráwar. He placed the boats on the upper part of the river under the charge of the son of Ziyádu-l 'Abdí, and appointed Handíl, son of Sulaimánu-l Azdi, to the districts which belonged to the territory of Kíraj,[2] Hanzala, son of Akhí Banáná Kalbí, was made governor of Dahlíla, and they were all ordered to inquire into and investigate the affairs of the surrounding places, and report to him thereon every month. He also directed them to assist each other so that they might be secure from attacks of the enemy's forces, and from the opposition of rebellious subjects, and they were to punish disturbers of the peace. He stationed two thousand foot soldiers with Kais bin 'Abdu-l Malik bin Kaisu-d Damani and Khálid Ansári in Siwistán, and sent Mas'úd Tamímí son of Shítaba Jadídí, Firásatí 'Atkí, Sábir Lashkarí, and 'Abdu-l Malik son of 'Abdulláh, Al Khazá'í, Mahram son of 'Akká, and

[1] [This is the spelling of MS. *A.* The name is not given in *B.* The real name was *Bahmanú* or *Bahmanwá.* See *ante* pp. 34 and 61. Bírúní's Kánún quoted in Thomas' Prinsep, Vol. II. p. 120; Reinaud's Fragments, pp. 41, 113.]

[2] [So in MS. *A.* MS. *B.* has "Kúraj." See *ante*, p. 124.]

Alúfá son of 'Abdu-r Rahmán, to Debal and Nírún, in order to maintain possession of those places. Amongst the companions of his exploits there was a man named Malíkh, who was a Maulá; him he appointed ruler of Karwáil. 'Alwán Bakkarí and Kais, son of S'alibá, with three hundred men, also remained in that place, and there they had their wives and families. Thus the whole territory of the Jats was kept under subjection.

Muhammad Kásim proceeds to Sáwandí Samma.

It is related that when Muhammad Kásim had attended to the affairs of the district of Brahmanábád, and of the eastern and western parts of the territory, he marched from that place on Thursday, the third of Muharram A.H. 94 (9 Oct., 712 A.D.) He stopped at a village called Manhal,[1] in the vincinity of Sáwandí.[2] There was a beautiful lake and a delightful meadow there, which were called Danda and Karbahá. He pitched his tents on the banks of the Danda. The inhabitants of the country were Samanís. The chiefs and merchants all came and made submission to Muhammad Kásim, and he gave them protection, according to the orders of Hajjáj. He said that they might live in their country with comfort and content, and pay the revenue at the proper season. He fixed revenue upon them and appointed a person from each tribe as the head of his tribe. One was a Samaní, whose name was Bawádu, and the other, Budehí Bamman Dhawal. The agriculturists in this part of the country were Jats, and they made their submission and were granted protection. When all these circumstances were communicated to Hajjáj, he sent an emphatic answer, ordering that those who showed fight should be destroyed, or that their sons and daughters should be taken as hostages and kept. Those who chose to submit, and in whose throats the water of sincerity flowed, were to be treated with mercy, and their property secured to them. The artizans and merchants were not to be heavily taxed. Whosoever took great pains in his work or cultivation was to be encouraged and supported. From those who espoused the dignity of Islám, only a tenth part of their wealth and the produce of the land was to be required; but those who followed their own religion were to pay from the produce of their

[1] [Mathal in MS. *B.*]

[2] See *ante* pp. 122 and 150.

manual industry, or from the land, the usual sums, according to the established custom of the country, and bring it to the Government collectors. Muhammad Kásim then marched from that place and arrived at Bahráwar. There he called Sulaiman son of Pathán and Abá Fazzatu-l Kasha'rí and made them swear by the Omnipotent. He gave them strict orders, and sent them with a body of men belonging to Haidar son of 'Amrú and Baní Tamím towards the territory of the people of Bahraj.[1] They took up their residence there; and 'Umar son of Hajjázu-l Akbari Hanafí was appointed their chief, and a body of famous warriors were placed under him.

The Sammas come to receive him.

Muhammad Kásim then moved towards the tribes of the Samma. When he came near, they advanced to receive him, ringing bells, and beating drums and dancing. Muhammad Kásim said, "What noise is this?" The people told him that it was with them a customary ceremony, that when a new king comes among them they rejoice and receive him with frolics and merriment. Then Kharím, son of 'Umar, came to Muhammad Kásim and said, "It is proper for us to adore and praise the Almighty God, because He has made these people submissive and obedient to us, and our injunctions and inhibitions are obeyed in this country. Kharím was an intelligent and ingenious man, faithful and honest. Muhammad Kásim laughed at his words, and said, "You shall be made their chief," and he ordered them to dance and play before him. Kharím rewarded them with twenty dínárs of African gold, and said—It is a regal privilege that joyful demonstrations should be made by them on the arrival of their prince, and gratitude thus be shown to the Almighty—may this blessing be long preserved to them.

Muhammad Kásim marches towards Lohána and Sihta.

The historians say, upon the authority of 'Alí bin Muhammad bin

[1] These passages are doubtful and have no meaning as they stand. [The following is the text:—و ابجا نیز سلیمان بن پتهان وابا فضّته القشعري مولي کند اورا بخواند وایشان‌را سوکندها داد بخدائي عزّ وجّل و باولاد کند برتاکید وایشان‌را و آنجماعت‌را از حیدر بن عمرو و بني تمیم داد و بحد اهل بهرج فرستاد MS. *B.* omits the second *eshánrá.*]

Abdu-r Rahmán bin 'Abdu-lláh us Salíti, that when Muhammad Kásim had settled the affairs of Lohána, he came to Sihta. The chiefs and peasants advanced bare-headed and bare-footed to receive him, and sued for mercy. He granted them all protection, fixed the revenue they were to pay, and took hostages. He asked them to guide him through the various stages to Alor. Their guides were sent forward to Alor, which was the capital of Hind and the greatest city in all Sind. The inhabitants were chiefly merchants, artisans, and agriculturists. The governor of its fort was Fúfí, son of Ráí Dáhir, and before him nobody dared say that Dáhir was slain. He maintained that Ráí Dáhir was yet alive, and had gone to bring an army from Hind, that with its support and assistance he might fight with the Arabs. Muhammad Kásim encamped for one month before the fort, at the distance of one mile. He built there a mosque, in which he read the Khutba every Friday.

Battle with the people of Alor.

War was then waged with the people of Alor, who believed that Dáhir was bringing men to their aid. They cried aloud from the ramparts to the besiegers, "You must abandon all hope of life, for Dáhir, with a formidable army of numberless elephants, horse and foot, is advancing in your rear, and we shall sally out from the fort and defeat your army. Abandon your wealth and baggage, take care of your lives, and run away, that you may not be killed. Hear this advice."

Muhammad Kásim purchases Ládí, the wife of Dáhir, from a woman.[1]

When Muhammad Kásim saw their resolution and perseverance in maintaining hostilities, and found that they persisted in denying that Dáhir was slain, he put Ládí, the wife of Dáhir, whom he had purchased from a woman and made his wife, on the black camel on which the wife of Dáhir used to ride, and sent her with trusty persons to the fort. She cried out, "O people of the fort, I have some matters of importance to tell you; come near that I may speak." A body of the principal men ascended the ramparts. Ládí

[1] [Such are the words of the text. See however, page 181.]

then uncovered her face, and said, "I am Ládí, the wife of Dáhir. Our king is killed, and his head has been sent to 'Irák; the royal flags and umbrella have also been forwarded to the capital of the Khalífa. Do not you destroy yourselves. God says (in the Kurán) 'Seek not destruction by your own hands,'" She then shrieked out, wept bitterly, and sang a funeral song. They replied from the fort,[1] "You are false; you have joined these *Chandáls* and Cow-eaters, and have become one of them. Our king is alive, and is coming with a mighty army and war elephants to repel the enemy. Thou hast polluted thyself with these Arabs, and prefer their government to our kings." Thus and still more did they abuse her. When Muhammad Kásim heard this, he called Ládí back, and said, "Fortune has turned away her face from the family of Síláij."

A sorceress tries to ascertain the death of Dáhir.

It is related by the historians that in the fort of Alor there was a sorceress, which in Hindí is called Joginí. Fúfí, son of Dáhir, and the nobles of the city, went to her and said, "It is expected that you will tell us by your science where Dáhir is." She replied that she would give them information, after making experiments, if they would allow her one day for the purpose. She then went to her house, and after three watches of the day she brought a branch of the pepper and the nutmeg tree from Sarandíp (Ceylon), with their blossoms and berries all green and perfect in her hand, and said, "I have traversed the whole world from Káf to Káf, but have found no trace of him anywhere in Hind or Sind, nor have I heard anything of him. Now settle your plans, for if he were alive he could not remain hidden and concealed from me. To verify my words, I have brought these green branches from Sarandíp that you may have no delusions. I am sure that your king is not alive on the face of the earth."

Capitulation of the fort of Alor.

When this became known, the people of the city, great and small, said they had heard of the honesty, prudence, justice, equity, and

[1] [ایشان را از بالاء مي گفتند This is an instance of the frequent misuse of in MS. *A*. The other MS. *B*. omits it]

generosity of Muhammad Kásim, and his faithful observance of his words and promises, and they had witnessed the same. They would send him a message by some trustworthy person, pray for mercy, and surrender the fort. When Fúfí was assured of Dáhir's death, and of the wavering of the people, he came out of the fort with all his relations and dependants, at the time when the king of the stars had passed behind the black curtain of night, and went towards Chitor (Jaipúr).[1] His brother Jaisiya and other sons of Dáhir were there, and had taken up their residence at a village called Nuzúl-Sandal.[2] There was a man of the tribe of 'Alláfí in Alor, who had made friendship with Fúfí; he wrote information of Fúfí's retirement and flight, and having fastened the paper to an arrow shot it (into the camp, informing the Arabs) that Fúfí, son of Dáhir had abdicated the chiefship of Alor, and had departed. Muhammad Kásim then sent his brave warriors to fight, and they ascended the ramparts of the fort and made the assault.

The citizens crave protection.

All the merchants, artizans, and tradesmen, sent a message saying, "We have cast off our allegiance to the Brahmans. We have lost Ráí Dáhir, our chief, and his son Fúfí has deserted us. We were not satisfied until to-day; but as it was destined by God that all this should happen, no creature can oppose His will and power, nor can anything be done against him by force or fraud. The dominion of this world is no one's property. When the army of God's destiny comes forth from behind the veil of secrecy, it deprives some kings of their thrones and crowns, and drives others to despair and flight, by change of circumstances and the occurrence of calamities. No dependance can be placed upon either old sovereignty or new authority, which are fleeting possessions. We now come submissively to you, confiding in your just equity, we put ourselves under your yoke. We surrender the fort to the officers of the just Amír. Grant us protection and remove the fear

[1] ["Jatrúr," in *B.*]

[2] [و جيسيه دوكيه (ووكيه .B) انباء داهر همانجا بودند و موضعي است كه آنرا نزول صندل (واليه هدل .B) كويند آن جا ساكن شده بودند]

of your army from our minds. This ancient dominion and extensive territory were entrusted to us by Rái Dáhir, and as long as he was alive we observed our allegiance to him. But as he is slain, and his son Fúfí has run away, it is now better for us to obey you." Muhammad Kásim replied, "I sent you no message, nor ambassador; of your own accord you sue for peace, and make promises and engagements. If you are truly inclined to obey me, stop fighting, and with sincerity and confidence come down; if not, I will hear no excuses after this, nor make any promises. I will not spare you, nor can you be saved from my army."

The Garrison capitulates.

Then they came down from the ramparts and agreed with each other that on these terms they would open the gate and stand at it till Muhammad Kásim should come. They said that if he would act according to his promise, and would treat them generously, they would submit to him and serve him, without any excuse. Then they took the keys of the fort in their hands and stood before the gate, and the officers of Hajjáj, who had been selected, came forward; the garrison opened the gate and made their submission.

Muhammad Kásim enters the fort.

Muhammad Kásim then entered the gate. All the citizens had come to the temple of Nau-vihár,[1] and were prostrating themselves and worshipping the idol. Muhammad Kásim asked what house it was, that all the great men and the nobles were kneeling before it, and making prostrations. He was told that it was a temple called Nau-vihár. Muhammad Kásim ordered the door of the temple to be opened, and he saw an image mounted on a horse. He went in with his officers, and found that it was made of hard stone, and that golden bracelets, ornamented with rubies and other precious stones, were on its hands. Muhammad Kásim stretched out his hand and took off one of the bracelets. He then called the keeper of the temple of Budh Nau-vihár, and said, "Is that your idol?" He replied, "Yes; but it had two bracelets, and now it has only one."

[1] [The title would appear to have been a common one, for there was a temple of the same name at Brahmanábád, see p. 149.]

Muhammad Kásim said, "Does not your god know who has got his bracelet?" The keeper hung down his head. Muhammad Kásim laughed, and gave back the bracelet to him, and they replaced it on the hand of the idol.

Muhammad Kásim orders the soldiers to be killed.[1]

Muhammad Kásim ordered that if the military bowed their heads in submission they should not be killed. Ládí said "the people of this country are chiefly workmen, but some are merchants. The city is inhabited and its land cultivated by them, and the amount of the taxes will be realized from their earnings and tillage if the tribute is fixed on each person." Muhammad Kásim said, "Rání Ládí has ordered this," and he gave protection to all.

A person comes forward and craves mercy.

It is related by the historians, that from amongst the people who were given up to the executioners to be put to death, a person came forward and said, "I have a wonderful thing to show." The executioner said, "Let me see it." He said, "No, I will not show it to you, but to the commander." This was reported to Muhammad Kásim, and he ordered him to be brought before him. When he came, he asked him what wonder he had to show. The man said it was a thing which nobody had yet seen. Muhammad Kásim said, "Bring it." The Brahman replied, "If you grant my life, and that of all and every of my relations, family, and children." Muhammad Kásim said, "I grant it." He then asked him for a written and express promise under his gracious signature. Muhammad Kásim thought that he would produce some precious gem or ornament. When a strict promise was made, and the written order was in his hand, he pulled his beard and whiskers, and spread out the hairs; then he placed his toes at the back of his head and began to dance, repeating this saying, "Nobody has seen this wonder of mine. The hairs of my beard serve me for curls." Muhammad Kásim was surprised at this. The people who were present said, "What wonder is this for which he wishes to be

[1] The contents of the chapter do not agree with the heading, nor with the execution which appears to have been ordered in the next chapter.

pardoned? He has deceived us." Muhammad Kásim replied, "'A word is a word, and a promise is a promise.' 'To belie oneself is not the act of a great man.' 'Know that he who retracts is a treacherous man.' 'See how a (true) man observes his promise.' 'If a person fulfil his words, he is more exalted than you can conceive.' We must not kill him, but we will send him to prison, and report the case to Hajjáj for his decision." Accordingly the execution of that man and of twenty-two of his relations and dependants was postponed, and a report of the case was written to Hajjáj, who asked the learned men of Kúfa and Basra to pronounce their opinions. A report was also sent to 'Abdu-l Malik, the Khalífa of the time. The answer which came from the Khalífa and the learned men was, that such a case had already occurred among the friends of the Prophet—may peace be to him. God says, "He is a true man who fulfils his promise in God's name." When the answer to this effect came, the man was liberated with all his dependants and relations.

Jaisiya goes to Kúraj.

It is related by the great and principal men, that when Jaisiya, with seven hundred men, foot and horse, reached the fort of Kúraj,[1] the chief of that place came forth to receive him. He showed him much attention, and inspired his hopes by great promises. He told him that he would assist him against the Muhammadans. It was customary with Darohar[2] Ráí to take one day's holiday in every six months, drink wine with women, hear songs, and see dancing. No stranger was admitted to be one of the company. It happened that on the day Jaisiya arrived Darohar Ráí was celebrating this festival. He sent a person to Jaisiya to say that on that day he was in privacy, and no stranger could come to his chamber; but as he (Jaisiya) was a very dear guest, and was regarded by him as his son, he might attend. Jaisiya bent down his head, and drawing lines on the earth did not look at the women. Darohar told him that they might be regarded as his (Jaisiya's) mother and sisters; he might lift up his head and look. Jaisiya said, "I am originally a monk, and I do not look at any woman who is

1 [See pp. 124 and 189.]

2 [The "Dúhar" of "Biládurí, p. 124.]

a stranger. Darohar then excused him from looking, and praised his self-restraint and modesty. It is narrated, that when the women came round him, there was among them the sister of Darohar, whose name was Jankí, that is, beautiful, and she was lovely. She was a woman of royal descent, and possessed of great charms. She was elegant in stature as the juniper tree, generous in disposition, her words were like a string of pearls, her eyes handsome, and her cheeks like tulips or rubies. When she saw him, love for Jaisiya took hold of her heart. She looked at him every moment, and made love to him by her gestures. When Jaisiya went away, Jankí, the sister of Darohar, arose and went to her house. She had a litter prepared, in which she seated herself, and ordering her maid-servants to carry it, she proceeded to Jaisiya's dwelling. There she alighted from the litter and went in. Jaisiya had gone to sleep, but when the smell of wine, which proceeded from Jankí, penetrated his brain, he awoke, and saw Jankí sitting beside him. He rose up and said, "Princess, what has brought you here? What time is this for you to come here?" She replied, "Foolish fellow; there is no necessity to ask me about this. Would a young and beautiful woman come in the very dark of the night to visit a prince like you; would she rouse him from sweet slumber, and wish to sleep with him, but for one purpose; particularly a beauty like me, who has seduced a world with her blandishments and coquetry, and made princes mad with desire? You must know well and fully my object, for how can it remain concealed from you? Take advantage of this success till morning." Jaisiya said, "Princess, I cannot consort with any other woman than my own lawful and wedded wife; nor ought such a thing to be done by me, because I am a Brahman, a monk, and a continent person, and this act is not worthy of great, learned, and pious men. Beware lest you defile me with so great a crime." Although she importuned him much, he would not accede to her wishes, and struck the hand of denial on the tablet of her breast.

Jankí is disappointed by Jaisiya.

When Jankí was disappointed, she said, "Jaisiya, you have deprived me of the delights and raptures I anticipated. Now have I determined to destroy you, and to make myself the food of fire."

She then retired to her house, and covered herself with her clothes. Having closed the door, she tossed about on her bed till day-break, and was uttering these couplets :—"Your love and your charms have burnt my heart." "The light of your beauty has illumined my soul." "Give me justice or I will weep." "I will burn myself, you, and the city together." The next day, although the king of the stars had raised his head from the bastions of the heavens, and tore up the coverlid of darkness, Jankí was still asleep. The fumes of wine and the effects of separation mingled together, and she remained lying till late, with her head covered with her bedclothes. King Darohar would take no breakfast, and drink no wine, till his sister Jankí showed her face. He always paid her much honour and respect. So he rose and went to his sister's apartments, and found her overwhelmed with care and melancholy. He said, "O, sister! O princess, what has come over thee, that thy tulip-coloured face is changed and turned pale?" Jankí replied, "Prince, what stronger reason can there be than this—That fool of Sind surely saw me in the gay assembly. Last night he came to my house, and called me to him. He wanted to stain the skirt of my continence and purity, which has never been polluted with the dirt of vice, and to contaminate my pious mind and pure person with the foulness of his debauchery, and so bring my virgin modesty to shame, The king must exact justice for me from him, so that no reckless fellow may hereafter attempt such perfidy and violence." The fire of anger blazed out in Darohar, but he told his sister that Jaisiya was their guest, and moreover a monk and a Bráhman, who was connected with them. He had come to ask assistance; and was accompanied by one thousand warriors. He could not be killed. He was not to be destroyed by force; "but," said he, "I will contrive some plot to slay him. Arise and take your morning meal. As no crime has been committed no open threats can be made."

Darohar contemplates treacherous measures against Jaisiya.

Darohar came to his palace, called two armed blacks, one of whom was named Kabír Bhadr,[1] and the other Bhaiú, and thus

[1] ["Sahal" in *B.*]

addressed them, "I will invite Jaisiya to-day after breakfast, and entertain him; after taking dinner, I will drink wine in a private apartment, and play chess with him. You must both be ready with your arms. When I say *shah mát* (check-mate), do you draw your swords and kill him." A man of Sind, who had been one of the servants of Dáhir and was on terms of friendship with an attendant of Darohar, became acquainted with this scheme, and informed Jaisiya of it. When at the time of dinner, an officer of Darohar came to call Jaisiya, he said to his thákurs who were in command of his soldiers, "Oh Gúrsia[1] and Súrsia, I am going to dine with King Darohar. So you prepare your arms and go in with me. When I am playing chess with Darohar do you stand close behind him, and be careful that no evil eye may fall on me, or any treacherous act be done or contrived.

Jaisiya comes with his two armed men.

Accordingly they went to the court, and as Darohar had omitted to order that no other person except Jaisiya should be allowed to come in, both the attendants went in and stood behind Darohar without his observing them. When they had finished the game of chess, Darohar raised his head, in order to make the signal to his men, but he saw that two armed men were standing ready near him. He was disappointed, and said, "It is not checkmate, that sheep must not be slain." Jaisiya knew that this was the signal, so he arose and went to his house and ordered his horses to be prepared. He bathed, put on his arms, got his troops ready, and ordered them to mount. Darohar sent an officer to see what Jaisiya was doing. He returned, and said, "May God's blessing be upon that man. His nature is adorned with the ornaments of temperance. He is of noble extraction, and his works are not evil. He always strives to preserve his purity and holiness in the fear of God." It is narrated that when Jaisiya had bathed, taken food, and put on his arms, he loaded the baggage on camels, and passing under the palace of Darohar, left him without paying him a visit and saying farewell; but he sent to inform him of his departure, and marched away with all his relations and dependants. He

[1] ["Túrsiya," MS. *B.*]

travelled till he reached the land of Kassa,[1] on the borders of Jálandhar. The Chief of it was named Balhará, and the women of the country called him Ástán Sháh.[2] He remained there till the succession of the Khiláfat devolved upon 'Umar 'Abdu-l Azíz, when 'Amrú, son of Musallam, by the orders of the government, went to that country and subjugated it.

An account of the courage of Jaisiya, and the reason why he was so called.

It was related by some Brahmans of Alor that Jaisiya, son of Dáhir, was unequalled in bravery and wisdom. The story of his birth runs, that one day Dáhir Ráí went hunting with all the animals and all the equipments of the chase. When the dogs and leopards and lynxes were set free to chase the deer, and the falcons and hawks were flying in the air, a roaring lion (*sher*) came forth, and terror and alarm broke out among the people and the hunters. Dáhir alighted from his horse, and went on foot to oppose the lion, which also prepared for fight. Dáhir wrapped a sheet round his hand which he put into the beast's mouth, then raised his sword, and cut off two of his legs. He then drew out his hand and thrust his sword into the belly and ripped up the animal so that it fell down. Those men who had fled for fear came home, and told the Rání that Dáhir Ráí was fighting with a lion. The wife of Dáhir was big with child when she heard this news, and from the great love she bore her husband she fell and swooned away. Before Dáhir had returned, the soul of his wife had departed from her body through fright. Dáhir came and found her dead, but the child was moving in the womb, so he ordered her to be cut open, and the child was taken out alive, and given over to the charge of a nurse. The child was therefore called Jaisiya, that is, "*al muzaffar bi-l asad*," or in Persian, *sher-firoz*, "lion-conqueror."[3]

[1] [So in MS. *A*. "Kasar" in *B*. See Biláduri, p. 121.]

[2] [MS. *A*. says, وآن مَلِکُ را بلهر نام بود النسه کسّه آستان شاه کفتند MS. *B*. says, وان ملک را بلهرا نام اسه کهان (?) شاه کفتندي]

[3] The real name therefore would seem to be Jai Sing.

Appointment of Rawáh, son of Asad, who was the issue of the daughter of Ahnak, son of Kais.

The dressers of this bride, and the embellishers of this garden have thus heard from 'Alí bin Muhammad bin Salmá bin Muhárib and 'Abdu-r Rahmán, son of 'Abdariu-s Salítí, that when Muhammad Kásim had subjugated the proud people of Alor, the seat of government, and all the people had submitted to him and obeyed his rule, he appointed Rawáh, son of Asad, who on his mother's side was one of the grandsons of Ahnak, son of Kais, to the chiefship of Alor and entrusted the matters connected with the law and religion to Sadru-l Imám al Ajall al 'Alim Burhánu-l Millat wau-d Dín Saifu-s Sunnat wa Najmu-sh Sharí'at, that is, to Músá bin Ya'kúb bin Táí bin Muhammad bin Shaibáñ bin 'Usmán Sakifí. He ordered them to comfort the subjects, and leave not the words "Inculcate good works and prohibit bad ones," to become a dead letter. He gave them both advice as to their treatment of the people, and leaving them entire power, he then marched from that place and journeyed till he arrived at the fort of Yábíba,[1] on the south bank of the Bíás. It was an old fort, and the chief of it was Kaksa.

Kaksa is vanquished and comes to Muhammad Kásim.[1]

Kaksa, son of Chandar, son of Siláij, was cousin of Dáhir, son of Chach, and was present in the battle which Dáhir fought; but having fled he had come to this fort in wretched plight, and had taken up his abode in it. When the Muhammadan army arrived, a contribution and hostages were sent, and the chiefs and nobles went forth and made submission. Muhammad Kásim showed them kindness, and granted them suitable rich khil'ats, and asked them whether Kaksa belonged to the family (*ahl*) of Alor, "for they are all wise, learned, trustworthy, and honest. They are famous for their integrity and honesty." He added, "Protection is given him, so that he may come with hearty confidence and hopes of future favour: for he shall be made counsellor

[1] [MS. *A.* has يابيبه *B.* has باسه]

[2] [This heading is not given in MS. *B.* The full reading of MS. *A.* is "*Subjugation of Kaksa and the coming of Siláij to M. Kásim.*" The genealogy which follows is taken from MS. *B.* The other MS. begins "Siláij, cousin of Dáhir," which is an evident blunder, the heading and the text having probably been jumbled together.]

in all affairs, and I will entrust him with the duties of the Wazárat." The minister Kaksa was a learned man and a philosopher of Hind. When he came to transact business, Muhammad Kásim used to make him sit before the throne and then consulted him, and Kaksa took precedence in the army before all the nobles and commanders. He collected the revenue of the country, and the treasure was placed under his seal. He assisted Muhammad Kásim in all his undertakings, and was called by the title of Mubárak Mushír, "prosperous counsellor."

Conquest of Sikka Multán[1] by Muhammad Kasim.

When he had settled affairs with Kaksa, he left the fort, crossed the Biás, and reached the stronghold of Askalanda,[2] the people of which, being informed of the arrival of the Arab army, came out to fight. Ráwa,[3] son of 'Amíratu-t Táfí, and Kaksa headed the advanced army and commenced battle. Very obstinate engagements ensued, so that on both sides streams of blood flowed. The Arabs at the time of their prayers repeated "Glorious God" with a loud voice, and renewed the attack. The idolaters were defeated, and threw themselves into the fort. They began to shoot arrows and fling stones from the mangonels on the walls. The battle continued for seven days, and the nephew of the chief of Multán, who was in the fort of that city, made such attacks that the army began to be distressed for provisions; but at last the chief of Askalanda[4] came out in the night time, and threw himself into the fort of Sikka, which is a large fort on the south bank of the Rávi. When their chief had gone away, all the people, the artizans, and merchants sent a message to say that they were subjects, and now that their chief had fled, they solicited protection from Muhammad Kásim. He granted this request of the merchants, artizans, and agriculturists; but he went into the fort, killed four thousand fighting men with his bloody sword, and sent their families into slavery,

1 [It is here invariably called سكه ملتان in both MSS. The Alsaka of Biláduri, page 122.]

2 [عكسلنده *A.* عله كنده *B.*]

3 [Ránda in *B.*]

4 [اسكلنده *A.* اعدكنده *B.*]

He appointed as governor of the fort 'Atbá son of Salma Tamímí and himself with the army proceeded towards Sikka Multán. It was a fort on the south bank of the Rávi, and Bajhrá Tákí, grandson of Bajhrá (daughter's son), was in it.[1] When he received the intelligence he commenced operations. Every day, when the army of the Arabs advanced towards the fort, the enemy came out and fought, and for seventeen days they maintained a fierce conflict. From among the most distinguished officers (of Muhammad Kásim) twenty-five were killed, and two hundred and fifteen other warriors of Islám were slain. Bajhrá passed over the Rávi and went into Multán. In consequence of the death of his friends, Muhammad Kásim had sworn to destroy the fort, so he ordered his men to pillage[2] the whole city. He then crossed over towards Multán, at the ferry below the city,[3] and Bajhrá came out to take the field.

Muhammad Kásim fights with the ferry-men.

That day the battle raged from morning till sun-set, and when the world, like a day labourer, covered itself with the blanket of darkness, and the king of the heavenly host covered himself with the veil of concealment, all retired to their tents. The next day, when the morning dawned from the horizon, and the earth was illumined, fighting again commenced, and many men were slain on both sides; but the victory remained still undecided. For a space of two months mangonels and ghazraks[4] were used, and stones and arrows were thrown from the walls of the fort. At last provisions became exceedingly scarce in the camp, and the price even of an ass's head was raised to five hundred dirams. When the chief Gúrsiya, son of Chandar, nephew of Dáhir, saw that the Arabs were noway disheartened, but on the contrary were confident, and that he had no prospect of relief, he went to wait on the king of Kashmír. The next day, when the Arabs reached the fort, and the fight com-

[1] [بجهرا نام نواسه که بجهرا طاکي در آن حصار بود]

[2] [خراب کردند]

[3] [گذارای ملتان يعني زير ملتان]

[4] Translated "a breastplate," "warlike instrument," in Richardson's Dictionary. The Haft Kulzum says it also bears the meaning of offensive weapons, as "javelins," "daggers."

menced, no place was found suitable for digging a mine until a person came out of the fort, and sued for mercy. Muhammad Kásim gave him protection, and he pointed out a place towards the north on the banks of a river.[1] A mine was dug, and in two or three days the walls fell down, and the fort was taken. Six thousand warriors were put to death, and all their relations and dependants were taken as slaves. Protection was given to the merchants, artizans, and the agriculturists. Muhammad Kásim said the booty ought to be sent to the treasury of the Khalífa; but as the soldiers have taken so much pains, have suffered so many hardships, have hazarded their lives, and have been so long a time employed in digging the mine and carrying on the war, and as the fort is now taken, it is proper that the booty should be divided, and their dues given to the soldiers.

Division of Plunder.

Then all the great and principal inhabitants of the city assembled together, and silver to the weight of sixty thousand dirams was distributed, and every horseman got a share of four hundred dirams weight. After this, Muhammad Kásim said that some plan should be devised for realizing the money to be sent to the Khalífa. He was pondering upon this, and was discoursing on the subject, when suddenly a Brahman came and said, "Heathenism is now at an end, the temples are thrown down, the world has received the light of Islám, and mosques are built instead of idol temples. I have heard from the elders of Multán that in ancient times there was a chief in this city whose name was Jíbawín,[2] and who was a descendant of the Ráí of Kashmír. He was a Brahman and a monk, he strictly followed his religion, and always occupied his time in worshipping idols. When his treasure exceeded all limit and computation, he made a reservoir on the eastern side of Multán, which was a hundred yards square. In the middle of it he built a temple fifty yards square, and he made there a chamber in which he concealed forty copper jars each of

1 [آب جوي This can hardly mean the main river.]

2 [جسور in MS. *A.* and جسوين in MS. *B.* The second letter may be *s*, making the name Jasúr or Jaswín.]

which was filled with African gold dust. A treasure of three hundred and thirty *mans* of gold was buried there. Over it there is a temple in which there is an idol made of red gold, and trees are planted round the reservoir." It is related by historians, on the authority of 'Alí bin Muhammad who had heard it from Abú Muhammad Hindúí that Muhammad Kásim arose and with his counsellors, guards and attendants, went to the temple. He saw there an idol made of gold, and its two eyes were bright red rubies.

Reflection of Muhammad Kásim.

Muhammad Kásim thought it might perhaps be a man, so he drew his sword to strike it; but the Brahman said, "O just commander, this is the image which was made by Jíbawín,[1] king of Multán, who concealed the treasure here and departed. Muhammad Kásim ordered the idol to be taken up. Two hundred and thirty *mans* of gold were obtained, and forty jars filled with gold dust. They were weighed and the sum of thirteen thousand and two hundred mans weight of gold was taken out. This gold and the image were brought to the treasury together with the gems and pearls and treasure which were obtained from the plunder of the city of Multán.

It is said by Abú-l Hasan Hamadání, who had heard it from Kharím son of 'Umar, that the same day on which the temple was dug up and the treasure taken out, a letter came from Hajjáj Yúsuf to this effect:—"My nephew, I had agreed and pledged myself, at the time you marched with the army, to repay the whole expense incurred by the public treasury in fitting out the expedition, to the Khalífa Walíd bin 'Abdu-l Malik bin Marwán, and it is incumbent on me to do so. Now the accounts of the money due have been examined and checked, and it is found that sixty thousand dirams in pure silver have been expended for Muhammad Kásim, and up to this date there has been received in cash, goods, and stuffs, altogether one hundred and twenty thousand dirams weight.[2] Wherever there is an ancient

[1] [جیبوین in MS. *A.* حلسور in MS. *B.*]

[2] [This passage is not clear in the original, nor do the MSS. quite agree, but see page 123.]

place or famous town or city, mosques and pulpits should be erected there; and the khutba should be read, and the coin struck in the name of this government. And as you have accomplished so much with this army by your good fortune, and by seizing fitting opportunities, so be assured that to whatever place of the infidels you proceed it shall be conquered."

Muhammad Kásim makes terms with the people of Multán.

When Muhammad Kásim had settled terms with the principal inhabitants of the city of Multán he erected a Jama' masjid and minarets, and he appointed Amír Dáúd Nasr son of Walíd 'Ummání its governor. He left Kharím son of 'Abdu-l Malik Tamím in the fort of Bramhapúr, on the banks of the Jhailam, which was called Sobúr (Shore?).[1] Akrama, son of Ríhán Shámí was appointed governor of the territory around Multán, and Ahmad son of Haríma son of 'Atba Madaní was appointed governor of the forts of Ajtahád and Karúr.[2] He despatched the treasure in boats to be carried to Debál[3] and paid into the treasury of the capital. He himself stayed in Multán, and about fifty thousand horsemen, with munitions of war, were under his command.

Abu Hakím is sent at the head of ten thousand horse towards Kanauj.

He then sent Abú Hakím Shaibání at the head of ten thousand horse towards Kanauj, to convey a letter from the Khalífa, and with instructions to invite the Chief to embrace Muhammadanism, to send tribute, and make his submission. He himself went with the army to the boundary of Kashmír, which was called the five rivers,[4] where Chach, son of Siláíj, the father of Dáhir, had planted the fir and the poplar trees, and had marked the boundary. When he arrived there he renewed the mark of the boundary.

[1] [MS. *A* has سوبور *B* has سوربدر]

[2] [Karúd in *B*.]

[3] [از راه كشتي روان كرد تا از ديبل در بوزي (*B.* بوري) نهند و بخزانه دار الخلافت رسانند]

[4] [See p. 144.]

The army and Abú Hakím arrive at Údháfar.[1]

At this time the chief of Kanauj was the son of Jahtal Ráí. When the army reached as far as Údháfar, Abú Hakím Shaibání ordered Zaid, son of 'Amrú Kallábí, to be brought before him. He said, "Zaid, you must go on a mission to Ráí Har Chandar, son of Jahtal, and deliver the mandate for his submission to Islám, and say that from the ocean to the boundary of Kashmír all kings and chiefs have acknowledged the power and authority of the Muhammadans, and have made their submission to Amír 'Imádu-d Dín, general of the Arab army, and persecutor of the infidels. That some have embraced Islám, and others have agreed to send tribute to the treasury of the Khalífa."

Answer of Ráí Har Chandar of Kanauj.

Ráí Har Chandar replied, "This country for about one thousand six hundred years has been under our rule and governance. During our sovereignty no enemy has ever dared to encroach upon our boundary, nor has any one ventured to oppose us, or to lay hands upon our territory. What fear have I of you that you should revolve such propositions and absurdities in your mind. It is not proper to send an envoy to prison, otherwise, for this speech and for this impossible claim you would deserve such treatment. Other enemies and princes may listen to you, but not I.[2] Now go back to your master, and tell him that we must fight against each other in order that our strength and might may be tried, and that either I may conquer or be conquered by you. When the superiority of one side or the other in warfare and courage shall be seen, then peace or war shall be determined on." When the message and letter of Ráí Har Chandar was delivered to Muhammad Kásim, he took the advice of all the chiefs, nobles, commanders, and warriors, and said, "Up to this time, by the favour of God, and the assistance of the heavens, the Ráís of Hind have been defeated and frustrated, and victory has declared in favour of Islám. To day we have come to encounter this cursed infidel who is puffed up with his army and elephants

[1] [اودهافر in *A.* اوردهابر in *B.*]

[2] [Such is Sir H. Elliot's own rendering of what seems to be an imperfect sentence in the original.]

With the power and assistance of God, it behoves you to exert yourselves that we may subdue him, and be victorious and successful over him." All were ready to fight against Ráí Har Chandar,[1] and united together, and urged Muhammad Kásim to declare war.

Orders from the Capital to Muhammad Kásim.

The next day, when the king of the heavenly host showed his face to the world from behind the veil of night, a dromedary rider with orders from the seat of government arrived. Muhammad, son of 'Alí Abú-l Hasan Hamadání says, that when Ráí Dáhir was killed, his two virgin daughters were seized in his palace, and Muhammad Kásim had sent them to Baghdád under the care of his negro slaves. The Khalífa of the time sent them into his harem to be taken care of for a few days till they were fit to be presented to him. After some time, the remembrance of them recurred to the noble mind of the Khalífa, and he ordered them both to be brought before him at night. Walíd 'Abdu-l Malik told the interpreter to inquire from them which of them was the eldest, that he might retain her by him, and call the other sister at another time. The interpreter first asked their names. The eldest said, "My name is Suryádeo," and the youngest replied, "my name is Parmaldeo." He called the eldest to him, and the youngest he sent back to be taken care of. When he had made the former sit down, and she uncovered her face, the Khalífa of the time looked at her, and was enamoured of her surpassing beauty and charms. Her powerful glances robbed his heart of patience. He laid his hand upon Suryádeo and drew her towards him. But Suryádeo stood up, and said, "Long live the king! I am not worthy the king's bed, because the just Commander 'Imádu-d-Dín Muhammad Kásim kept us three days near himself before he sent us to the royal residence. Perhaps it is a custom among you; but such ignominy should not be suffered by kings." The Khalífa was overwhelmed with love, and the reins of patience had fallen from his hand. Through indignation he could not stop to scrutinize the matter. He asked for ink and paper, and commenced to write a letter with his own hand, commanding that at whatever place Muhammad Kásim had arrived, he should suffer himself to be sewed up in a hide and sent to the capital.

[1] [See Ayín Akbarí II. 219. Abú-l Fazl gives the same name.]

Muhammad Kásim reaches Údháfar, and receives the order from the Khalífa's capital.

When Muhammad Kásim received the letter at Údháfar, he gave the order to his people and they sewed him up in a hide, put him in a chest, and sent him back. Muhammad Kásim thus delivered his soul to God. The officers who were appointed to the different places remained at their stations, while he was taken in the chest to the Khalífa of the time. The private chamberlain reported to Walíd 'Abdu-l-Malik, son of Marwán, that Muhammad Kásim Sakifí had been brought to the capital. The Khalífa asked whether he was alive or dead. It was replied, "May the Khalífa's life, prosperity, and honour be prolonged to eternity. When the royal mandates were received in the city of Údhápúr,[1] Muhammad Kásim immediately, according to the orders, had himself sewed up in a raw hide, and after two days delivered his soul to God and went to the eternal world. The authorities whom he had placed at different stations maintain the country in their possession, the Khutba continues to be read in the name of the Khalífa, and they use their best endeavours to establish their supremacy."

The Khalífa opens the chest.

The Khalífa then opened the chest and called the girls into his presence. He had a green bunch of myrtle in his hand, and pointing with it towards the face of the corpse, said, "See, my daughters, how my commands which are sent to my agents are observed and obeyed by all. When these my orders reached Kanauj, he sacrificed his precious life at my command."

The address of Jankí,[2] daughter of Dáhir, to Khalífa 'Abdu-l Malik, son of Marwán.

Then the virtuous Jankí put off the veil from her face, placed her head on the ground, and said, "May the king live long, may his prosperity and glory increase for many years; and may he be

[1] [This is the reading of MS. *A.* in this passage; the other MS. still keeps to its reading "Údhábar." Mír M'asúm says "Udhâpúr" and the Tuhfatu-l Kirâm writes it with points "Udaipur." There is a place of this name in the desert north of Bikanír.]

[2] This is a different name from that which she gave herself, when first asked.

adorned with perfect wisdom. It is proper that a king should test with the touchstone of reason and weigh in his mind whatever he hears from friend or foe, and when it is found to be true and indubitable, then orders compatible with justice should be given. By so doing he will not fall under the wrath of God, nor be contemned by the tongue of man. Your orders have been obeyed, but your gracious mind is wanting in reason and judgment. Muhammad Kásim respected our honour, and behaved like a brother or son to us, and he never touched us, your slaves, with a licentious hand. But he had killed the king of Hind and Sind, he had destroyed the dominion of our forefathers, and he had degraded us from the dignity of royalty to a state of slavery, therefore, to retaliate and to revenge these injuries, we uttered a falsehood before the Khalífa, and our object has been fulfilled. Through this fabrication and deceit have we taken our revenge. Had the Khalífa not passed such peremptory orders; had he not lost his reason through the violence of his passion, and had he considered it proper to investigate the matter, he would not have subjected himself to this repentance and reproach; and had Muhammad Kásim, assisted by his wisdom, come to within one day's journey from this place, and then have put himself into a hide, he would have been liberated after inquiry, and not have died." The Khalífa was very sorry at this explanation, and from excess of regret he bit the back of his hand.

Jankí again addresses the Khalífa.

Jankí again opened her lips and looked at the Khalífa. She perceived that his anger was much excited, and she said, "The king has committed a very grievous mistake, for he ought not, on account of two slave girls, to have destroyed a person who had taken captive a hundred thousand modest women like us, who had brought down seventy chiefs who ruled over Hind and Sind from their thrones to their coffins; and who instead of temples had erected mosques, pulpits, and minarets. If Muhammad Kásim had been guilty of any little neglect or impropriety, he ought not to have been destroyed on the mere word of a designing person." The Khalífa ordered both the sisters to be enclosed between walls. From that time to this day the flags of Islám have been more and more exalted every day, and are still advancing.

IV.

TA'RI'KHU-S SIND.

BY

MI'R MUHAMMAD M'ASU'M, OF BHAKKAR.

This is the most copious history of Sind which we possess, inasmuch, as besides containing an account of the Arabian conquest, it brings the annals of this country down to the time of its incorporation into the Moghul empire in the time of Akbar.

The work, which is sometimes called Táríkh-i M'asúmí, is divided into four chapters.

The first chapter contains an account of the events which led to the conquest of Sind by the Arabs, and closes with the death of Rájá Dáhir, though it professes to carry the history down to the Khalífa Hárún.

The second chapter, after omitting all notice of the two centuries which elapsed between Hárún and Mahmúd of Ghazní, gives an account of Sind under the Emperors of Dehli, and of the Súmra and Samma dynasties, after the invasion of Tímúr. The author mentions at the close of the chapter that he was induced to give an account of the Súmras and Sammas in detail, because it was to be found nowhere else. But his own is much confused from his inattention to dates.

The third chapter is devoted to the history of the Arghúnia dynasty, including an account of Síwí, Kandahár, &c.; of some celebrated holy men, judges, and Saiyids, and of the kings of

Multán. It also contains an account, in more than usual detail, of the Emperor Humáyún's operations in Sind and the desert, after his flight from Ágra.

The fourth chapter contains a tedious relation of the mode in which Sind fell under the power of Akbar upon the capitulation of Mírzá Jání Beg of Thatta, in A.D. 1592. We have also occasional notices of the interference of the Firingís in the affairs of Thatta. As the author was contemporary with this event, he enters into very minute particulars, which are, however, for the most part, uninteresting. Amongst his own personal experiences, he describes an interview he had with the Emperor Akbar, who bestowed on him three villages in Jágír, in the district of Bhakkar.

Muhammad M'asúm, who gave himself the poetical title of Námí, was born at Bhakkar, in Sind, and was the son of Safáyí Husainí, an inhabitant of Kirmán. [He was a man of considerable attainments, and he rose to some distinction in the service of Akbar and Jahángír. His knowledge of history was highly esteemed in his own day. He was also a poet of some repute, and an excellent caligraphist.[1]] His history of Sind was written in A.D. 1600, for the instruction and improvement of his son, named Mír Buzurg, in order that, "by reading it he might learn what good men of old did; that he might discriminate between right and wrong; between that which is useful and the reverse, and might learn to follow the paths of virtuous men."

The only work quoted by him as an authority is the Chachnáma, which he abridges in his first chapter, relating to the Arab conquest of Sind. He is credulous and delights in recounting miracles of saints, but he gives no legendary lore like the Tuhfatu-l Kirám. Mír M'asúm and his work have been noticed by several writers: by Badáúní (under article "Námí") by Haidar Rází, the Ma-ásíru-l Umrá, the Tuhfatu-l Kírám, Bágh-Mání and Mirát-i Daulat 'Abbási.[2]

[1] Journal As. Soc. Beng. Feb. 1838, Sprenger's Bibliog. p. 37. De Tassy's Bibl. I. 356. Morley's Catalogue p. 72.

[2] See also Bird's Guzerat.

[Copies of this history are common.[1] There are two in the British Museum, one of which was transcribed from a copy made from the author's own autograph. There is another in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, which has been fully described by Morley in his Catalogue; a fourth in the Library of the East India Office, and there is a copy in Sir H. Elliot's Library which was written for him in 1852. This copy and that of the R. As. Soc. have been used for the following translations, and are referred to as MSS. *A.* and *B.*]

[At the end of Sir H. Elliot's copy, there is a brief history of Sind in "three distinct chapters." It is written in the same hand and bears the same date as the rest of the MS. Though occupying only nineteen pages, it gives a summary of the history of Sind, to the end of the last century—from Rái Síharas, down to Ahmad Sháh Dúrání. The author's name is not given, but the contents are generally in accordance with the history of M'asúm.]

This work has been translated by Capt. G. Malet, late British Resident at Khairpúr, but so literally, as not to be fit for publication in its present shape. [There is a copy of this translation in Sir H. Elliot's library, which, on examination, is found to contain matter that is entirely absent from all the five MSS. above specified. One long passage quoted hereafter, relates to the Súmra dynasty, the history of which is involved in considerable obscurity. The additional names it supplies, receive some support from the "Tuhfatu-l Kirám," but nothing corroborative has been found in the other Sindian histories. There is some apparent similarity between the general style of the history and that of the additional matter. Like Mír M'asúm, the writer always employs some figurative expression for the death of a prince, but this is a practice very common among historians, and the style may have been

[1] [Wilson refers to the work in his Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection (II. p. 129), and Capt. Mac Murdo in his Paper on Sind (Journal R. A. S., Vol. I. p. 223.)]

designedly imitated, so that the resemblance affords no evidence of authenticity. The general concurrence of the MSS. and the authority of the British Museum MS. is sufficient to stamp the passage as an interpolation—though there appears to be some authority for its statements. Morley, in his Catalogue, notices an interpolation in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, which comes in abruptly within a few lines of the end of the history. He says, "After this, in the present MS. there is an account of Dúda, who was ruler of Thattha in the time of Násiru-d dín Mahmúd, King of Dehli, occupying six pages. In the East India House MS. (No. 43) this is omitted; the history ending immediately after the capitulation of Jání Beg, and stating in four lines that he died in A.H. 1011 (A.D. 1602), and was succeeded in his government by his son Mírza 'Ásí. The MS. in the British Museum (Addit. No. 16,700), agrees with that of the East India House in this respect," and with Sir H. Elliot's. Dúda is the name of one of the princes given in Malet's additional passage, but the matter of these pages differs from his.]

Sir H. Elliot's copy contains 290 folios of fourteen lines each, and of these about forty-five have been translated.

Book II.

Account of the Samma dynasty.

It has been already related how Sultán Mahmúd came from Ghazní, and after capturing the fort of Multán, brought the country of Sind under his authority, and sent his officers to govern it. After the death of Mahmúd, the sovereignty passed to his offspring, and the government (of Sind) devolved upon 'Abdu-r Rashíd Sultan Mas'úd. This prince gave himself up to the pursuit of pleasure, and heeded not the duties of government; so the people on the distant borders began to reject his authority and throw off the yoke of obedience. At that time the men of Súmra assembled in the

vicinity of Tharí[1] and raised a man named Súmra[2] to the throne. He had passed a long time as the head of the tribe of Súmra, and he cleared the country of disaffection. This man formed a connection with Sád, a powerful Zamíndár in those parts, and married his daughter. She bore him a son named Bhúngar, who on the death of his father succeeded to the hereditary states, and died after an active reign.

His son named Dúdá then inherited the throne, and reigned for some years. He extended his authority to Nasrpúr, but died in the flower of his age. He left an infant son name Singhár and a daughter named Tárí, who for a time carried on the government and kept the people under her control. When Singhár came of age he himself assumed the government, and looked after the affairs of the revenue and the State, punishing all men who were disaffected and rebellious. He directed his efforts against the country of Kachh and extended his sway as far as Mánik Bai.[3] Some years after this he died, leaving no son; but his wife, named Hamún, carried on the government in the fort of Dahak, and she deputed her brothers to govern Muhammad Túr and Tharí. A short time after this the brethren of Dúdá, who were hidden in that neighbourhood, came forth and opposed the brethren of Hamún. One of them, named Pitthú,[4] a descendant of Dúdá, was supported by a body of followers. He overthrew all those who set up pretensions to the throne, and established himself in the sovereignty. After reigning some years, he died, when a man named Khairá carried on the business of the State, and made himself remarkable for his virtues. He reigned for some years to the time of his death.

[*Malet's MS. translation proceeds as follows for seven pages, interpolating matter not to be found in any of the five MSS. examined, as previously stated in page* 214.]

"With the occurrence of the Amírs, Khafíf succeeded him, and sat on the throne of the kingdom. Having made good arrange-

[1] [The "Little Desert" separating Sind from Kachh.]

[2] [Malet's translation adds "son of Chandar," but this is in neither of our MSS.]

[3] [So in MS. *B*. The other MS. omits the name. Malet calls it "Manik Nai." Manjábari ?]

[4] ["Pitthún" in MS. *A*.]

ments for the country in his hands, he with heart at ease went and remained at Thatta. During his government the ryots and all the other people of Sind were relieved from thieves and disturbers of the peace; all were happy and contented. By chance it one day came into his mind that it was not proper for him to be always merely sitting on the throne, that it was better to spend some time in the *shikárgáhs*, the jungles, and plains, which had become green from rain, and where the animals were grazing happily. After this, having collected many men, he marched against the Bulúchís, the Sodhas, and the Jharejas. On reaching their borders, Ran Mal Sodha, Rám Ráí Jhareja, and Mihran Bulúch, being introduced by the Amírs and other men of weight, came and made great offerings. Khafíf, presenting them with handsome presents in return, made them very happy. He then gave them their dismissal.

"He proposed returning to Thatta the following morning, but at that time a Bulúch came complaining that the thieves of the tribe of Samma had plundered his tribe, taking everything they possessed. On hearing this Khafíf was much astonished, and at the instant mounting with those who were with him he started and quickly came against this tribe. He took all the property which had been robbed from the Bulúchís, and those men who had disobeyed orders and acted in this manner he punished with severity. His arrangements were such in all the country under him, from Kachh to Nasrpúr, that in the whole of that space no one during his reign disobeyed his orders; if they did so, he gave them to the sword. When he found that there were none to give trouble, he was at ease and came to Thatta. In his time all the people, the soldiers, the Amírs, the ryots, etc., were very happy. He lived a long while at Thatta, till from this world he journeyed to the next world.

"After the death of Khafíf, the people, the men of weight under government, and those out of employ, agreeing that it was proper, raised Dúdá, the son of Umar, and grandson of Pitthú, to the throne of the saltanat in his place. When all the affairs of the State were firm in his hands, Singhár, a zamíndár, came to pay his yearly taxes. He became acquainted with Dúdá. This

had lasted some time, when one day he spoke of Kachh in the following terms, in his presence, saying that he had heard that the Samma tribe had determined to come to Thatta to take it, and that he should be prepared for this. On hearing this, Dúdá, collecting forces out of number, marched to Kachh, and he severely twisted the ears of those people. Then a man of the Samma tribe named Lákha came as ambassador, bringing presents, and a Kachhí horse, making offering of these, and asking pardon for their sins. Dúdá, with great kindness, gave him presents in money, a horse, and a khil'at, allowing him then to depart. From thence, with heart at rest, he came to Tharí, where he spent a long time. All the people and ryots were so completely under his hands, that without orders from him they did nothing. When at Tharí, Ran Mal Sodha came, and making his salám, urged as a petition, that in the time of Khafíf the Jat Bulúchís paid tribute, but that now it seemed that they, through ignorance, had taken their heads from out of the noose of submission. He added, that having heard of this he made him (Dúdá) acquainted with it, and that it seemed advisable that a force should be put under him, which he would take against them, and thus, making them pay up their arrears of tribute from the days of Khafíf to the present time, he would bring it to him. The reason of his speaking in this way was, that formerly a feud existed between him (Ran Mal) and the Jharejas, when a fight had taken place between the parties, in which great numbers of Ran Mal's men had been killed and wounded, so he told as above to Dúdá to enable him to have his revenge upon them. Dúdá being of a good heart, gave him encouragement, keeping him near him. He also sent to call the men of Jhareja. When his messengers got there, and told what Ran Mal had said, they came before them with their swords suspended from round their necks, making their salám, and declaring that they and all their families were the slaves of Dúdá, and if he ordered them all to be confined they would not ask the reason why. Then taking presents for Dúdá they came to him in one week. The messengers who accompanied them having received good treatment at their hands, spoke in their favour. Dúdá said to Ran Mal, 'These men

having great confidence, have sent only two of their tribe, and these have come to make their salám ; you told me another story.' Dúdá for some time detained Ran Mal on the plea of its being the rainy season ; but in Ran Mal's breast that thorn pricked him, so one day with great earnestness he insisted upon being allowed to depart, when Dúdá gave him leave, and he went to his tribe. On getting there he became rebellious. Seeing this, Rám Rái Jhareja and Mihrán Bulúch, quickly going to Dúdá, told him of this circumstance. It came into Dúdá's mind that probably these men were doing what Ran Mal had done ; therefore he determined in the first place to send two men to Ran Mal, who, ascertaining all the facts, might come and tell him. He despatched two men, at the time of whose arrival at the tribe Ran Mal was absent, he having gone to the jungle, to collect troops. His brethren did not pay the messengers any attention, speaking improperly before them. Ran Mal hearing of the arrival of these, came and sat down with them in a friendly manner, but he shortly after spoke in an unbecoming way. When Dúdá's men said it was not right to talk in that way, that he had better cease collecting men, and go to Dúdá, when if he had anything to complain of he might do so to him. But however much they advised, it had no effect upon him ; so Dúdá's people rising, left him, and returning told all the circumstances to Dúdá. He, hearing of this, collected many troops, and went against this people. Ran Mal, having also got together a large force, came out into the plain. The two parties met and fought for six hours, at which time the men of both sides stood resolute. Many had fallen in that time of either party. Being exhausted, and night coming on, all the men sat down where they stood, spending the time in planning operations for the morrow. In the morning the two forces recommenced fighting, when by chance an arrow struck Ran Mal in the throat, and his life went to hell. Great fear then took possession of his troops, because an army without a *sardár* is like a man without a head ; so they turned their faces in the direction of flight, when Dúdá's men, pursuing them, slew great numbers, and plundered extensively. The force being put to flight, Rái Sing and Jag Mal

came as ambassadors, bringing presents to Dúdá, and they obtained forgiveness of their faults.

"Dúdá after this went to Nasrpúr, the *Zamíndárs*, chief men and *kázís* of which place brought him presents, and Dúdá, accepting these, remained there some time, during which period Sáhiba, the son of Ran Mal Sodha, brought two fine Kachhí horses as an offering and paid his respects to him. He declared that his brethren had induced Ran Mal to turn his heart from and become rebellious against him (Dúdá), so much so that these men were even now disobedient, and that if a force went from the *Sarkár* and punished them they would not do so again, but would always bring presents. Dúdá upon this left Nasrpúr and by forced marches came there, but after doing so he discovered that the brethren of Ran Mal and others would not agree to have Sáhiba as their *sardár*, so he understood that it was on this account that he had brought him there. Dúdá then summoned all the tribe, telling them to agree to have Sáhiba as their chief with all their hearts. By this order they agreed to do so when Sáhiba presented Rs.20,000 as *nazráná*. Dúdá marching thence came to Thatta, remaining there. From thence he travelled to that other world.

"On the death of Dúdá his son Umar[1] with the aid of the nobles and other men of courage sat on the throne. When his father's country came into his hands he took to drinking wine, paying no attention to the country. On hearing this the Sammas, the Sodhas, the Jats and Bulúchís left off obeying his orders, becoming rebellious. When Mullá Hámid heard of this he told Umar of it, who collecting a large force went towards Kachh. On his approach the Sammas having collected many men, went out into the plain to meet him. There was fighting in which the men of Samma were the strongest. Seeing this, and that his affairs would be ruined, Mullá Hámid called the *sardárs*, to whom he gave presents, saying, "Thatta is far distant, money is scarce, if you fight well and defeat the enemy, much property will come into our possession, which will be enough to enable us to return to Thatta." Hearing this the spirits of his force

[1] [This name is always spelt with "*m*" in this extract.]

were raised, and making an attack on the enemy they defeated them, when much plunder of every kind came into their hands. After this the men of Samma bringing Rájá Jagannáth Sodha (who had quitted his brethren in anger and had come to Kachh), as their mediator, came to Umar, making their salám and bringing presents. Umar returning from thence quickly went against the Sodhas, Jats, and Bulúchis; all of whom fearing the consequences, made their salám. He then with confidence in his heart went to Tharí, where he died.

"At this time his son Dúdá was small; therefore the men of consequence put Chanar, the son of Umar's brother, in his place. Chanar went out to make his arrangements in his country. Having done this and placed the troublesome on the edge of the sword, his heart being at ease he sat down. At that time Dúdá attained puberty, so Chanar wished, by some stratagem, to get him into his hands and to confine him. But hearing of this Dúdá turned his face towards Ghazní, and crossing the river he came to a place Daryácha Nárí Sang, close under Fathpur, where he saw a man coming along with a bundle of sticks for *hukka* snakes, on his head. As this man drew near all his entrails became visible to Dúdá. At this he was much astonished; so calling the man to him, he lifted the bundle of pipes off his head, when nothing of the kind was to be seen. So being greatly amazed he put the bundle on the man's head again, when he beheld as before. He then knew that there must be some device in these sticks, and he purchased them, giving the man some money for them. Then sitting down at the river's edge, he put the sticks one by one into the water. All went down with the stream; but one from amongst them went upwards against it. So taking this one, he divided it at all the knots; he then put each knot into the water. All of them went down the stream, except one, in which the device was, and this one went up against the current. So taking this one he kept it, and went to Ghazní. At that time the king of that place, Sultán Maudúd Sháh, was ill from severe sickness, which was without cure. So on his arrival there, Dúdá gave out that he was a doctor. Historians write that Sultán Maudúd's sickness was

caused in this manner. One day he went to see a *shikárgáh* under some hills, when by chance an animal started from before him. It was then the custom that whoever an animal started in front of he alone pursued it. So in accordance with this custom, the Sultán rode after this animal alone for a long distance, but did not kill it. From this exertion great thirst and hunger came upon him; so searching about he found a stream of water near the foot of the hills. Having no cup or basin with him, being helpless, he put his mouth into the water and drank, when in doing so he swallowed two small young snakes, which went down into and remained in his stomach. In two years these had grown large, and began causing him much pain. All the doctors of the country had physicked him, but none of them could make him well. The Sultán was approaching to death, when at that time Dúdá arrived, saying, he was a doctor, and that he had come from Sind to cure the king with his physic. The royal physicians hearing this, laughed, saying, 'What wisdom has this Sindian, that he should say he was able to give medicine to the king?' One of the attendants told the king of the arrival of this Sindian, and how the royal doctors laughed at him. The Sultán hearing of this, called and received him with distinction, saying, he had suffered from this sickness for a long time, that many doctors had given him medicine, but all without effect: but now that he (the Sindian) had come, he was in hopes that he might get well by his physic. Then Dúdá, stripping the Sultán, placed that stick on his head, when he saw that two snakes were in his stomach. Then removing the stick, he told the Sultán he understood what was the matter with him, and that it was a very bad disease. He added that if the Sultán would give him a written document to the effect that if he died while under his care no blame should attach to him, that he would give him medicine. The Sultán at once wrote such a document, and putting his seal to it, gave it to Dúdá. Then Dúdá did not give the Sultán anything to eat for two days. On the third day, tying up his eyes, he placed the stick on his head, and having got two small fine iron hooks he tied a silken line to them, and wrapping them up in bread, he gave one to the Sultán, who,

having swallowed it, he (Dúdá) saw a snake take it. When he saw that it was well in the mouth of one of the snakes, he pulled it up and brought it out. Then again he did the same, and in like manner he took the other from out of the royal stomach. In about an hour the Sultán felt much relieved, so untying his eyes, Dúdá showed him the two snakes, when being very happy the Sultán said, 'Ask from me what you wish.' Then Dúdá said, 'I am a chief, but by his superior strength Chanar has taken away my father's country, and on this account I have come here. If the king will give me a force, I will take my revenge on him.' On hearing this the Sultán gave orders to collect a force, and when it was ready he gave it to him. When this army approached Thatta, being unable to meet it, Chanar sat down in the fort, which being surrounded on all sides by the royal troops, they took into their hands the implements for breaking down forts, and fighting commenced. For twelve days they fought together in this manner, after which the wind of victory struck the standards of the royal troops, and Chanar and many of his men were given to the sword. Those who escaped the sword ran away and dispersed. By taking this fort much wealth and property fell into the hands of those people.

"When Dúdá, the son of Umar, sat on the throne of his father, this force returned to Ghazní. He reigned many years with strength and wisdom. Afterwards, by this order, 'Every life will drink the sherbet of death,' Dúdá drank the sherbet of mortality at the hands of the cup-bearer of Death. He took the apparatus of his life to the living world."

[*End of the interpolated passages.*]

After him a person named Armíl ascended the throne. He was a tyrant and an oppressor, and the people, disgusted with his violence, resolved to dethrone and slay him. Some men of the tribe of Samma had previously come from Kachh and had settled in Sind, where they formed alliances with the people of the country. In this tribe there was a man named Unar distinguished for intelligence. The chief men of the country brought him secretly into the city, and in the morning a party of them entered into the house of Armíl,

slew him, and placed his head over the gate of the city. The assembled people then placed Unar on the throne.

Jám Unar,[1] *son of Bábiniya.*

Jám Unar with the assent of the nobles thus became King, and the great body of the people supported him. He led an expedition against Siwistán, then governed by Malik, the representative of the Turk kings.[2] Reaching the vicinity of Siwistán he drew up his army in battle array; Malik Ratan also came out of the fort with his force, and the battle began. In the first contest Jám Unar was defeated, but his brothers came up to his assistance, and he renewed the fight. Malik Ratan, in galloping his horse, was thrown to the ground, and Jám Unar cut off his head. The fort of Siwistán then fell into Unar's power. Malik Firoz and 'Ali Sháh Turk were at this time in the vicinity of Bhakkar, and they wrote a letter to Jám Unar to the following effect. "This boldness is unbecoming, so now prepare to meet the royal army, and make a brave stand." These words took effect upon him, and he proceeded to Tharí.[3] He then fell ill and died after reigning three years and six months. Some writers relate that after Jam Unar returned from the conquest of Siwistán, he was one night engaged drinking wine in a convivial party, when news was brought of a party of rebels having risen against him. He instantly sent against them Gáhar, son of Tamáchí, who was his *vakíl.* Gáhar was drunk when he encountered them and was made prisoner. The enemy held him captive, and Jám Unar kept up his carouse without heeding the captivity of his officer. This rankled in the breast of Gáhar, and when he escaped, by a well-contrived stratagem, from the clutches of his captors, he turned away from Jám Unar and went to the fort of Bhakkar. There he had an interview with 'Alí Sháh Turk, who in concert with Malik Fíroz, raised a force and slew Jám Unar in the fort of Bahrámpúr. Malik Fíroz was left in command of the fort, and 'Alí Sháh returned home. Three days afterwards Jám Unar's followers

[1] [Morley has a note upon the varied spelling of this name, but Sir H. Elliot's MS. specifies how the name is pointed, making it "Unar," which is the spelling most generally accepted.]

[2] [از عمال سلاطین ترک]

[3] [شهري in *A.* سهري in *B.*]

managed by craft and stratagem to kill both Gáhar son of Tamáchí and Malik Fíroz.

Jám Júna son of Bábiniya.

After the death of Jám Unar, Júna, of the tribe of Samma, received the title of Jám. He conceived the design of subduing all Sind. Showing great kindness and attention to his brethren and other relatives, he appointed them to further his designs upon the country. These men crossed (the river) at the village of Talahtí, and began to kill the people and lay waste the villages and towns of Bhakkar. Two or three desperate fights ensued between the Sammas and the chiefs of Bhakkar, but as the Turks were unable to withstand the Sammas they withdrew from the fort of Bhakkar and retired to Úch. When Jám Júna heard of their retreat, he proceeded to Bhakkar, and for some years reigned supreme over Sind. But at length Sultán 'Aláu-d dín appointed his brother, Ulugh Khán to the district of Multán. Ulugh Khán then sent Táj Káfúri and Tátár Khán to oppose Jám Júna in Sind, but before their arrival the Jám died of quinsey. He had reigned thirteen years. The forces of 'Aláu-d dín took possession of the Bhakkar and then directed their efforts against Siwistán.

Jám Tamáchi (and Jám Khairu-d dín).

This prince ascended his hereditary throne with the assent of the nobles. The army of 'Aláu-d din after some fighting, took him prisoner, and carried him with his family prisoners to Dehli. There he had children.[1] But the Samma tribe brought them to Tharí, and keeping them prisoners took the business of government into their own hands, and exerted themselves in carrying on the affairs of the State. After the lapse of some time and the death of Jám Tamáchí, his son Malik Khairu-d dín, who, in infancy, had gone to Dehli with his father, returned to Sind and assumed the government. Shortly afterwards, Sultán Muhammad Sháh proceeded to Guzerát by way of Sind, and summoned Jám Khairu-d dín to his presence. But

[1] [There appears to be some confusion here: MS. *A.* says, و اورا در انجا فرزندان شدند. *B.* omits the word *orá*, but agrees in other respects. Malet's translation says, "where he remained in confinement." The copyists have perhaps confounded the words *farzandán*, children, and *zindán*, prison.]

the Jám had endured the hardships of prison, and resolutely refused to comply. Sultán Muhammad Sháh, son of Tughlik Sháh, died in the neighbourhood of Bhakkar. After his death, Sultán Fíroz Sháh succeeded under the will of the late king, and by hereditary right.[1] He departed from Sin, a dependency of Siwistán, for his capital, Dehli; and Jám Khairu-d dín, after following him some stages from that place, turned back. The Sultán kept this fact in mind. After the departure of the Sultán, Khairu-d dín exerted himself in administering justice and in improving the condition of the people. The following story is told of one of the remarkable incidents in the life of this benevolent prince. One day he went out for exercise with a party of attendants and servants, and by chance discovered a quantity of human bones in a hole. He drew rein, and looking at those decaying relics, asked his followers if they knew what the bones told him. On their hanging their heads and keeping silence, he said, "These are the remains of injured men, and they cry for justice." He immediately directed his attention to an investigation of the facts. So he called to his presence an old man to whom the land belonged, and questioned him about the bones. The old man said, "Seven years ago, a caravan which had come from Guzerát, was plundered and the travellers killed by such and such a tribe, who still hold a good deal of the spoil." As soon as he heard this the Jám directed the property to be gathered together; and when this was done he sent it to the ruler of Guzerát requesting that it might be distributed among the heirs of the slain. He then inflicted punishment on the murderers. Some years after this he died.

Jám Bábaniya.

Jám Bábaniya succeeded after the death of his father, and ascended the throne with the assent of the nobles and chiefs. At this time Sultán Fíroz Sháh having set his mind at rest about Hindustán and Guzerát, turned his attention to the conquest of Sind. Jám Bábaniya drew up his forces to resist him, but when the Sultán had been in the country three months, inundation, adverse winds, and swarms of mosquitos, compelled him, at the beginning of the rains, to retire to Pattan in Guzerát. After the rains he returned to

[1] [وراثت, There is no mention of this in MS. *B.* nor in Malet's translation.]

Sind with a numerous army. A battle ensued, in which Jám Bábaniya was taken prisoner, and the whole country of Sind became subject to Sultán Fíroz. The Jám was carried off in the retinue of the Sultán, and after remaining for some time in attendance, he became the object of the royal favour, a royal robe was given to him and he was reinstated in the government of Sind. There he reigned in peace for fifteen years and then departed this life.

Jám Tamáchi

Succeeded to the throne on the death of his brother,[1] and carried on the government. He was fond of ease and enjoyment, and passed his days in indulgence and pleasure. After reigning thirteen years he died of the plague.

Jám Saláhu-d dín.

After the death of Jám Tamáchí, Saláhu-d dín carried on the business of government. His first act was a rectification of the frontier, which had been encroached upon by refractory subjects. He accordingly sent a force to punish them, and after inflicting salutary chastisement, he marched against Kachh. Some obstinate fighting ensued, but in every encounter he was victorious, and he returned home in triumph with the spoils, to look after the affairs of his army and people. He died after reigning eleven years and some months.

Jám Nizámu-d dín.

Nizámu-d dín succeeded his father Saláhu-d dín, with the concurrence of the nobles. He released his uncles[2] Malik Sikandar, Karan, Baháu-d dín, and Amar, who were in confinement for reasons of State policy, and sent each one to his district. He then left the affairs of the kingdom in the hands of the officials, and gave himself up night and day to pleasure and enjoyment. This neglect of his duty induced his uncles to raise a force, and to enter the city with the intention of seizing him. But he received information of this design, and left the city at midnight with some troops, and went off towards Guzerát. In the morning, when the fact be-

[1] [MS. *A*. says, he "succeeded on the death of his father, with the consent of his brother."]

[2] [عمکان MS. *A*. however, says, ارکان]

came known, the uncles started in pursuit; but at this juncture, the chief men of the city, seeing the strife and commotion, brought forth Jám 'Alí Sher from his concealment, and raised him to the throne. Jám Nizámu-d dín died about this time, and his uncles turned back with shame and loss, and passed into the desert.

Jám 'Alí Sher.

Jám 'Alí Sher mounted the throne with the consent of the great men and nobles, and opened wide the gates of justice and kindness. He was wise and brave, and he immediately devoted himself to the duties of government. The country of Sind was brought into a due state of order, all the people passed their days in security and ease under his rule. After a time he devoted himself more to pleasure, and he used to roam about in moonlight nights. Sikandar, Karan, and Fath Khán, sons of Tamáchí, who were living in sorry plight in the desert, became acquainted with Jám 'Alí Sher's mode of recreation. So they set forth, and travelling by night and hiding themselves by day, they reached the outskirts of the city. Here they won over a party of the people of the city. On the night of Friday, the 13th day of the month, 'Alí Sher, according to his custom, went out with a party of companions and followers, and embarked in a boat for an excursion on the river. At midnight he was about to return into his house, when a party of men with drawn swords made an attack on him. The people who were with him strove without avail to divert them from their purpose, and the Jám was instantly despatched. The murderers then entered the palace, when a noise and outcry arose, and the fact became known. The people assembled, but they perceived that matters were beyond their control, and accordingly they submitted. Jám 'Alí Sher had reigned seven years.

Jám Karan.

After the murder of Jám 'Alí Sher, the brethren assented to the elevation of Jám Karan. He was displeased with the nobles and great men of the city, and in his aversion to them he sought to take them prisoners, and then to slay some and confine the rest. On the very day that he ascended the throne, or the day after, he held a public court, and summoned all men great and small to

attend. He addressed them in conciliatory terms. Dinner was served, and after its conclusion he arose to retire to his chamber, when a party of men, who had been employed for the purpose, met him at the door of his room and cut him in pieces. Fath Khán, son of Sikandar, had been the prime mover in this murder, and so, with the assent of the soldiers and people, he ascended the throne.

Jám Fath Khán.

Jám Fath Khán, on his accession to the throne, confirmed all the rules and orders of government, and was very attentive and watchful over all affairs of State. At that time Mírzá Pír Muhammad, grandson of Sáhib-kirán Amír Tímúr Gurgán, had been sent to Multán and had taken that town and the town of Uch also. He stayed there for awhile and many of his horses died. The Mírzá's soldiers were thus dismounted and in distress. When Tímúr heard of this, he sent 3000 horses from the royal stables for the service of the Mírzá. Being thus reinforced, he made an attack upon the people of Bhattí and Ahan,[1] who had rebelled, and gave them and their families to the winds of destruction. He then sent a person to Bhakkar and summoned all the chief men to his presence. The officers of the king of Dehli being unable to withstand him, fled by way of Jesalmír. One of the inhabitants of Bhakkar, Saiyid Abú-l L'aís by name, a man of piety and purity, hastened to meet the Mírzá, and offering his devotions to the Chief of the prophets, he besought his intercession in his midnight prayers. It is said that one night the Chief of the prophets appeared to Mírzá Pír Muhammad in a dream and spoke to him of Saiyid Abú-l L'aís, saying, "This is my son, show him honour and respect, and abstain from molesting him." The Mírzá awoke, and remained for eleven days in expectation of seeing the friend of his dream. The Saiyid then arrived while the Mírzá was seated in his court with the nobles around him. When his eye fell upon the Saiyid he recognized him, and arose to give him a proper reception. He embraced him and seated him by his side with great honour and reverence. The nobles then made enquiry about the Saiyid, and the Mírzá related to them his dream. On that day he gave the Saiyid a horse and some pre-

1 ["Aman" in *B.*]

sents, and allowed him to depart. He also conferred upon him the *pargana* of Alor in *in'ám*. After Tímúr had captured Dehli, Mírzá Pír Muhammad departed thither. In the days of the succeeding kings of Dehli, Multán came under the authority of the Langáhs and the whole of Sind remained subject to its own kings. Jám Fath Khán was celebrated for his courage and generosity. He reigned for fifteen years and some months up to the time of his death.

Jám Tughlik, son of Sikandar.

When Jám Fath Khán was on the bed of sickness, and saw his end approaching, three days before his decease he placed his brother Tughlik Sháh upon the throne, delivering over to him the reins of government, and giving to him the title of Jám Tughlik. Soon afterwards Tughlik appointed his brothers governors of Siwistán and the fort of Bhakkar. He spent most of his time in hunting and exercise. When the Bulúchís raised disturbances in the neighbourhood of Bhakkar, he led an army there and inflicted punishment on their chiefs. He reigned twenty-eight years.

Jám Sikandar.

Jám Sikandar succeeded his father, but he was young in years; and the rulers of Siwistán and Bhakkar, attending only to their own interests, refused obedience to him, and quarrelled with each other. Jám Sikandar left Thatta and proceeded towards Bhakkar; but when he reached Nasrpúr, a person named Mubárak, who had been chamberlain in the time of Jám Tughlik, suddenly came into Thatta, and calling himself Jám Mubárak, seized upon the throne. But the people did not support him, and his authority lasted only three days; for the nobles drove him out of the city, and sent for Sikandar. When the news reached Sikandar he made terms with his opponents, and returned to Thatta. After a year and a-half he died.

Jám Ráí Dan.[1]

On the sixth of Jumáda-l awwal, in the year 858 A.H., (May 1454 A.D.), Jám Ráí Dan came forth. During the reign of the Jám Tughlik he had lived in Kachh, and had formed connec-

[1] [The name appears to be written optionally as رائدن or رائدنه, in both MSS.]

tions with the people of that country. He had maintained a considerable body of tried men, to whom he paid great attention, and to whom he used to give fine horses and other suitable presents. These men looked upon him as a wise and superior man, and devoted themselves to him with great sincerity. When he heard of the death of Sikandar, he proceeded with his entire force to Thatta, and there assembling the people, he addressed them to the effect, that he had not come to take the kingdom, but that he wanted to secure the property of the Musulmáns, and to accomplish their wishes. He did not consider himself worthy of the throne, but they should raise some fitting person to that dignity, when he would be the first to give him support. As they could find no one among them who had ability for the high office, they unanimously chose him and raised him to the throne. In the course of one year and a-half he brought the whole of Sind under his rule from the sea to the village of Kájaríkí and Kandharak,[1] which are on the boundaries of Máthíla and Ubáwar. When he had reigned eight years and a half the idea of sovereignty entered the head of Jám Sanjar, one of his attendants. He induced other of the attendants and followers to join him in his plot; and one day when Jám Rái Dan was drinking wine in private, poison was put into the bottle which a servant handed to him. Three days after drinking thereof he died.[2]

[1] [So in MS. *B.* MS. *A.* gives the first name as "Kájar," and omits the second. Malet's translation reads "Kajur Mullee and Khoondee."]

[2] [*Both our MSS. finish thus, but Malet's translation adds the following*:—"It is also written by some that a man, a *fakír*, one of judgment, who was considered in those days as a saint at Thatta, was in the habit of constantly coming to the Jám, who always treated him with great respect, seating him on his own seat, and whatever this *fakír* said the Jám agreed to it. One day, at an assembly, the *wazírs* and nobles said to the Jám, Ask that *fakír* to whom you give so much honour what God is like, and what is His description? When the Jám heard this, he placed it in his heart. Four days afterwards, when the *darwesh* came to the assembly, the Jám did not pay him the usual attention. The *fakír* understood that there was something in this? The Jám then asked him, What is God like, and what description does He bear? The *fakír* replied, 'The description of God is this, that three days hence He will destroy you by means of a horse, sixteen *kos* from this, and He will place Jám Sanjar on your seat.' The third day after this the Jám went to hunt, not bearing in mind what the *fakír* had said. By chance he galloped his horse, when he fell, and his foot remaining in the stirrup, at the distance of sixteen kos from Thatta, his life was given to God."]

Jám Sanjar.

Jám Sanjar was a handsome young man, and many persons being fascinated by his beauty, served him without stipend. It is related that before he came to the throne he was on friendly terms with an excellent *darwesh.* One night Sanjar went to visit the *darwesh,* and after the usual greeting told him that he wished to become ruler of Thatta, even if it were for only eight days. The *darwesh* replied, "Thou shalt be king for eight years." When Jám Ráí Dan died, the nobles agreed in raising Jám Sanjar to the throne, and in delivering over to him the reins of government. Through the prayers of the *darwesh* he thus became king without any strife or opposition, and the people on every side submitted to his authority with willing obedience. In his reign Sind rose to a greater pitch of prosperity and splendour than it had ever attained before, and the soldiers and the people lived in great comfort and satisfaction. He was a great patron of learned and pious men and of *darweshes.* Every Friday he dispensed large sums in charity among the poor and needy, and settled pensions and stipends upon meritorious persons. It is related that before his time the rulers of Sind used to pay their judicial officers badly. When Sanjar became ruler, there was a *kázi* in Bhakkar, who had been appointed to the office by a former king, upon an insufficient salary. Finding himself under-paid, he used to exact something from the suitors in his courts. When this reached the ears of Jám Sanjar he summoned the *kázi* to his presence, and told him that he had heard of his taking money by force, both from plaintiffs and defendants. He acknowledged it, and said he should like to get something from the witnesses also, but that they always went away before he had an opportunity. The Jám could not help smiling at this, so the *kázi* went on to say that he sat all day in his court while his children at home went without breakfast and supper. The Jám made the *kázi* some handsome presents, and settled a suitable stipend upon him. He further directed that proper salaries should be appointed for all officers throughout the country, so that they might be able to maintain themselves in comfort. When he had reigned eight years he departed from this world of trouble.

Jám Nizámu-d dín, also called Jám Nanda.

Nizámu-d dín succeeded Jám Sanjar on the 25th Rabíu-l awwal, in the year 866 (December, 1461 A.D.). All men—the learned and the good, the soldiers and the peasants—agreed in his elevation, so that he raised firmly the standard of sovereignty. It is recorded that at the outset of his career he was a student, and spent much of his time in colleges and monasteries. He was modest and gentle, and had many excellent and pleasing qualities. His life was pure and religious to a high degree. It is impossible to enumerate all his virtues. In the early part of his reign, he proceeded with a force to Bhakkar and staid there for a year engaged in suppressing the highway robbers. He stored the fort of Bhakkar with all kinds of provisions, and appointed as governor one of his dependants, Dilshád by name, who had served him while at college. The frontiers were so well secured that travellers could pass along the roads in perfect safety. Having satisfied himself in respect of Bhakkar, at the end of a year he returned to Thatta. There he reigned supreme for forty-eight years, and during this period, learned men and pious men and *fakírs* passed a happy time, and the soldiery and the peasantry were in easy circumstances. Jám Nizámu-d dín was cotemporary with Sultán Husain Langáh, the ruler of Multán. They were on the most friendly terms, and were in the constant habit of sending presents to each other. Jám Nizámu-d dín used to visit his stables every week, and used to stroke the heads of his horses, and say to them, "My dear and happy steeds, I have no desire to ride you, for within my four boundaries all the rulers are Musulmáns—do you also pray that I may not go out against any one without a lawful cause, and that no one may come up against me, lest the blood of innocent Musulmáns should be spilled, and I should stand abashed in the presence of God." In his days Musulmán discipline was widely spread. Large congregations used to assemble in the mosques, for small and great used to resort thither to say their prayers, and were not satisfied with saying them in private. If a person omitted to attend a service, he was very sorry for it afterwards, and would occupy himself two or three days in prayer for forgiveness. Towards the end of the reign of Jám

Nizámu-d dín, the army of Sháh Beg came from Kandahár and attacked the villages of Lakrí, Chandúka and Sindícha. The Jám sent a large force to repel this attack of the Moghals, and it advanced as far as Dara-karíb, commonly known by the name of Jalúgar. A battle ensued in which the brother of Sháh Beg was slain, and his army defeated. The remnant fled towards Kandahár, and no further attack was made upon Sind during the life of Nizámu-d dín. The Jám spent much of his time in discoursing and arguing upon matters of science with the learned men of the day. Mauláná Jalálu-d dín Muhammad Díwání formed the project of leaving Shíráz and going to Sind; so he sent Shamshu-d dín and Mír Mu'ín, two of his disciples, to Thatta, in order to get permission for taking up his residence there. The Jám accordingly allotted some suitable houses, and provided the means for his maintenance; he further supplied the messengers with money to pay the expences of the journey, but the Mauláná died before they returned. Mír Shamshu-d dín and Mír Mu'ín were so well satisfied with the attention they had received, that they came back to Thatta and settled there. Some time after this Jám Ni'zámu-d dín died, and after his death all the affairs of Sind fell into disorder.

Jam Firoz.

Upon the death of Nizámu-d dín, his son Jám Fíroz was of tender age. So Jám Saláhu-d dín, one of the late Jám's relatives and the son of Jám Sanjár's daughter, advanced pretensions to the crown; but Darya Khán and Sárang Khán, the confidential slaves of Nizámu-d dín who were high in dignity and power, refused to support him, and with the consent of the nobles and head men of Thatta they placed Jám Fíroz on the throne in succession to his father. Saláhu-d dín finding that he could only succeed by fighting, lost heart, and went to Guzerát to lay his case before Sultán Muzaffar. The Sultán had married a daughter of Saláhu-d dín's uncle, and was consequently well inclined towards him. Jám Fíroz gave way to the impulses of youth, and devoted himself to the pursuit of pleasure. He spent most of his time in the harem, but went out from time to time accompanied by slaves and jesters, who practised all sorts of tricks and buffoonery. The people of the Samma tribe, and the

associates of the Jám treated the people of the city with violence, and when Daryá Khán forbade them they treated him with scorn. The Khán, therefore, retired to his *jagír* in the village of Káhán. In those days Makhdúm 'Abdu-l'Azíz Abharí and his two sons, Mauláná Asílu-d dín and Mauláná Muhammad, all of them learned men, came to that village of Káhán and spent some years there teaching and diffusing knowledge. The cause of their coming from Hirát was the rebellion of Shah Isma'íl in the year 918 A.H. (1512 A.D.). The above-named Mauláná was well read in all the sciences, and he had excellent books upon every branch of learning. He compiled a commentary on the Mishkát (traditions) but did not complete it. Some portions are still extant in the library of Masúd[1] and passages are commonly written as marginal notes in books. He died in this village of Káhán, and his tomb there is still a place of pilgrimage. Jám Fíroz continued to give himself up to pleasure and dissipation, and the nobles being on the verge of ruin, a messenger was sent to Jám Saláhu-d dín to inform him how matters stood; that Fíroz was generally drunk; that Daryá Khán, the great supporter of the government, had retired to Káhán, and that the moment was opportune for his returning immediately. Saláhu-d dín showed the letter of the men of Thatta to Sultán Muzaffar, and he sent him off with an army to that place. Making forced marches he soon arrived there, and crossing the river entered the city. Jám Fíroz's followers were dismayed, and led him out of the city on the other side. Saláhu-d dín then ascended the throne. He fined and punished the associates of Jám Fíroz, and demanded their wealth. The mother of Jám Fíroz[2] took him to Daryá Khán, at Káhán, where he asked forgiveness for his errors; and the Khán remembering only old obligations, began to collect forces, and when the armies of Bhakkar and Siwistán were assembled, they met under the banners of Jám Fíroz. The Bulúchís and other tribes also mustered. Daryá Khán placed himself at the head of these forces, and marched against Saláhu-d dín. This prince wished to go out himself to the sanguinary meeting, but his *wazír* Hájí deemed it advisable that the

[1] [مسعود]

[2] [MS. *B.* and Malet's translation agree that the Jám was taken by his mother. MS. *A.* however, says that he took his mother to Daryá Khán.]

Jám should stay in the city while he led the war-elephants against the enemy; so the Jám stayed at home and the *wazír* went to the fray. When the armies met, the fire of battle raged furiously, and many were slain on both sides, but at length the troops of Daryá Khán were defeated and put to flight. Hájí wazír then sat down to write a despatch to Saláhu-d dín informing him that victory had favoured his colours, and that he might deem himself secure. Night came on and the *wazír* was unable to pursue the routed army, so it happened that his messenger fell into the hands of some of Daryá Khán's men. As soon as Darya Khán had read the letter he destroyed it, and substituted another in the name of Háji wazír, to this effect:—"Your army has been defeated, and the enemy is overpowering; you must leave Thatta with your family, and make no delay,—we will meet again in the village of Cháchgán." As soon as this letter arrived, on the night of the 9th Ramzán, Saláhu-d dín departed without breaking his fast, and crossed the river. Defeat had indeed reached him. He had reigned eight months. When he met his *wazir*, the latter reproached him for running away, and asked him why he had come there. The false despatch was then produced, upon which the Hájí exclaimed that he had not written it. At length they discovered that it was the crafty work of Daryá Khán, and were sorely annoyed,—but when a matter is completed repentance is useless. Daryá Khán pursued them some stages. He then brought back Jám Fíroz and entered Thatta on the day of the *'Idu-l fitr* (at the close of the Ramzán) and going to the *'idgáh* they offered up their prayers. After this, Jám Fíroz reigned securely for some years, until the end of the year 916[1] A.H. (1511 A.D.), when Sháh Beg Arghún invaded Sind.

The battles which followed are described in their proper places. I have never met with any written account of the history of the Súmras and Sammas, so I have composed this summary. If any one is better acquainted with the subject, he should make additions to this.

[1] [So in both MSS., but Malet's translation has "926" (1520 A.D.). which is correct.]

Book III.

The Wonders of Síwí.

* * * * * * *

The fort of Síwí, which is situated on a small hill, is built of round stones, of a kind which is found wherever the earth is dug in that neighbourhood.

In Kor-zamín and Chhatur, which are districts of Síwí, cotton plants grow as large as trees, insomuch that men pick the cotton mounted. On each cotton plant there are one or two hundred snakes, of a span long, so that men are obliged to brush them off with sticks and drive them away before they can pluck the boles. If any one is bitten by a snake, they immediately open the wound with a razor and suck out the poison, otherwise death would supervene.

The little river which runs by Síwí rises apparently from a sulphureous source, and any one who drinks the water of it falls sick. Many men have died from that cause, but it does not affect the inhabitants who are accustomed to it. Notwithstanding that the garrison was changed every year by Sultán Mahmúd, most of the soldiers died from its bad effects, and only a few escaped. In the time of Akbar, a flood came and purged the sources of the river from the sulphur, since which time the sickness has been less. This river runs fifty *kos* beyond Síwí, collecting at Sarwáh, where it is used in irrigation, and the water which is not expended for that purpose flows into the lake of Manchhúr, which is near Síwistán.

On that lake also there are many snakes[1], very long and thin, the bites of which few survive. The men in that neighbourhood wear long drawers to protect themselves against their bites. I myself, when I was there looking at the men irrigating their fields, saw several at every step my horse took. As it was hot, I wished to dismount on the shore of the lake, but for fear of the snakes, I was compelled to do so at a distance on the plain beyond.

In the plain of Síwí there were formerly many forts and much cultivation, but all is now waste; the hot wind (simoom) blows

[1] ["*Már.*" The description seems perhaps more applicable to *leeches.*]

there. Between Síwí, Dehra, and Kasmúr,[1] there is a tract of land called Bárgán, which breeds horses not inferior to those of 'Irák. The young colts are made to walk upon gravel for a year, by which their hoofs become as hard as a stone, and there is no occasion to shoe them, for they can go unshod even amongst the hills.

At Chhatur there is a tribe called Kaharí, so called from the tree named Kahar, on which one of their ancestors mounted, and when struck with a whip, it moved on like a horse.

Near Ganjáva, which is a district of Síwí, water springs from a hill, and covers a large extent of ground. Fishes are found in it. Amongst the hills of Ganjáva there is a lofty one from which hangs an iron cage, in which they say there is something placed, but it cannot be got at. If any one descends to it from above, by a rope, it moves away, and if they attempt to reach it from beneath, the summit rises to the stars, and the earth recedes.

The hills of Sitúr and the river A'bkashída run in a sort of semi-circle from Síwí to Ganjáva.[2] Between these places there is a waste, through which the road to Kandahár runs. Its length from the river to Síwí is a hundred *kos*, and its breadth sixty. In summer the hot wind blows over this track for four months.

The Wonders of Kandahár.

* * * * *

At the hill called Síbúda[3] the rock was scarped, and a lofty arched recess called Peshták was cut by order of the Emperor Bábar. Eighty stone-masons were employed nine years in its completion. It is indeed a very pleasant place, overlooking the waters of the Arghand, gardens and cultivated fields. In spring many people resort there, but it is difficult to reach on account of its steep ascent. Within this recess are inscribed the names of Bábar Bádsháh, and of his trusty adherents, Mírzá Kámrán, Mírzá 'Askarí, and Mírzá Hindál. As his majesty Humáyún had never visited the spot, his name was not included in that inscription. Of all his dominions

[1] [This name is so written by Malet. One MS. writes it "Mastúr," the other is illegible.]

[2] [The MSS. differ here and the meaning is somewhat doubtful.]

[3] [So in MS. *A*. The other MS. has "Sarmúr," and Malet "Sípúza."]

Kandahár was the only place mentioned.[1] When I visited the spot it came into my head that I would inscribe his name there, as well as that of his august son (Akbar) with their thousands of tributary cities and kingdoms, like Kandahár and Kábul. I therefore sent for some stone-cutters and engravers from Bhakkar, and had the names of these kings engraved, with those of their dependent cities and provinces, from Bengal to Bandar Láharí, from Kábul and Ghazní to the Dekhin, without any omission. It took nearly four years to complete this work, which indeed excited great admiration. Below the hills there is a cavern not far off. It was from the other extremity of this, that Bábá Hasan Abdál brought out the golden brick. The distance between these two ends is seven or eight kós.

On the same hill near Kandahár, *mukhlisa* is found, which is an antidote against snake bites and other poisons, and it is found nowhere else in that country. On that hill also there is a fire temple of a very ancient date. It is built of unburnt bricks, each two yards long and broad, and one span thick. The temple exists to this day, and has sustained no injury.

In Kandahár there used to be plague[2] and sickness every year, till Sháh Tahmásp directed Sultán Husain Mírzá, governor of that province, to plant canes on the stream which flows near the town, and the water of which the people use for drinking. Since that, the sickness has abated, but even now in some seasons plague and disease break out with great intensity; blood being passed from the belly, nostrils, ears, and mouth. When I went there, in the reign of his late majesty, Akbar, to render assistance, it was at its height, and in the year 1007 H. (1598 A.D.) nearly two hundred soldiers died of this disease.

With the Hazára tribes near Kandahár, it is not the practice to wear coloured clothes such as white, red and black, * * * * nor is there any trade in clothes and shoes of this kind. Among the saints buried near Kandahár may be mentioned * * * * Bábá Hasan Abdál, a descendant of the Saiyids of Sabzawár. After a pilgrimage to the holy cities, he accompanied Mírzá Sháh Rukh, son

1 [A negative seems to be required here. If supplied, the sentence will read, "Kandahár was not even mentioned as forming part of his dominions."]

2 ["*Wabá*"; also used to designate Cholera.]

of Sáhib-Kirán (Tímúr) to Hindústán. On his return he spent some years in Langar Kandahár, and died there. His tomb is on an elevated spot surrounded by villages, and overlooking the Arghandáb, and to it, as to a place of pilgrimage, men and women, little and big, low and high-born, resort on Fridays in great crowds, so that the city is sometimes empty. It is certainly a charming retreat, and travellers say they have seen few spots to compare with it.

Book IV.

Account of the country of Sind passing into the hands of the officers of the Emperor Akbar after the death of Sultán Mahmúd Khán.

I have before related how Kísú Khán came to Bhakkar on the 12th Jumáda-l awwal 982 Hijrí (August 1574) bringing with him an imperial farmán, in which he was directed to divide Bhakkar equally between Muhib 'Alí Khán and Mujáhid Khán, and then to proceed to Thatta and make Muhammad Bákí Tarkhán prisoner.

At that time Mujáhid Khán was in the country of Ganjáva, but when he heard of Kísú Khán's arrival at Bhakkar, he hastened to meet him there. But before he arrived Kísú Khán sought to clear out the fort of Sakhar.[1] Mujáhid Khán's men procrastinated, but Kísú Khán disapproving of this, sent off a force to Sakhar. Wakíl Khán who was the representative of Mujáhid Khán, fought upon the wall which Mujáhid Khán had built round Sakhar, and several persons on both sides were killed, and more were wounded. Three days after the fight, Mujáhid Khán arrived and took away his men to Loharí. Sakhar then reverted entirely into the power of Kísú Khán, but towards Loharí the *pargana* of Bhakkar was in the possession of Muhib 'Ali Khán and Mujáhid Khán.[2] The men who had assembled (to support them) were broken-hearted. At this juncture, some of the Arghún people deserted them and came to Bhakkar, where Kísú Khán had them put to death upon the malevolent suggestion of Sháh Bábá, son of Ján Bábá Turkhán. Kísú

[1] [MS. *B.* says "Bhakkar."]

[2] [So according to MS. *A.*; a whole line is omitted from *B.* by mistake of the copyist. Malet says "Muhib 'Ali and Mujáhid Khán held Rori and Tiggar."]

Khán was a severe harsh-tempered man, and one day Barjí Tawají having been guilty of some fault, he had irons placed upon his feet in the presence of his court.

Two months afterwards, Mujáhid Khán went up against Thatta, leaving Muhib 'Alí Khán in charge of their families. He halted for a few days at the town of Ránípúr in order to outfit his force. Kísú Khán, at the instigation of the men of Bhakkar, sent an army against Loharí. On Friday, the 2nd of Ramzán 982 A.H. (December 1574), having divided his army into two parts he crossed over the river. One division he directed by way of the gardens of the city towards Loharí, and the other he embarked in *ghrábs* and boats and sent them firing and fighting towards the shrine of Khwája Khizr. Muhib 'Alí Khán's men mounted and went towards the *'id-gah.* Kísú Khán's followers arrived in their *ghrábs* and set fire to Mujáhid Khán's boats, and when the flames rose high, the horsemen fell back and went towards their homes. At this time Kísú Khán's horsemen came up and threw rockets[1] into the city and set it on fire in several places. Muhib 'Alí Khán then mounted his horse and fled. The men of Bhakkar now entered the city and pillaged until evening, capturing the standard and kettle drum of Muhib 'Alí Khán which they bore off with them to the fort. When the intelligence reached Mujáhid 'Alí Khan he returned by forced marches to Loharí, but he was greatly dispirited, and in consideration of the royal power he refrained from molesting Kísú Khán.[2] The latter established himself in the fort of Bhakkar and practiced great injustice. When the Emperor Akbar became acquainted with these facts he placed the country under the charge of Tarsún Khán, and in the beginning of Muharram 983 A.H. (April 1575) Muhammad Táhir Khán, son of Sháh Muhammad Saifu-l Mulk, and Muhammad Kásim Khán and Mírza Muhammad Sultán arrived at the town of Loharí, and sent to Kísú Khán a copy of the *farmán* conferring the *jágír* of Bhakkar (on Tarsún Khán). Kísu Khán was at first inclined to resist and to set these men at defiance, but when the matter came to be talked over, he went to the chief of the

1 [*Hukkahde átish.*]

2 [The MSS. differ slightly here, and the text is not clear, but the meaning appears to be as rendered.]

saiyids, who sent some priests and a party of men to the three *sardárs* to give them counsel. The *sardárs* detained them all, and desired them to write a true statement of affairs and send it to the Emperor. The priests begged to be excused, but said they would write if both parties were present. The *sardárs* replied that Kísú Khán's agents were present, and that if the priests would write the truth in their presence, no further trouble would be given them. The priests then entered upon the business. As soon as Kísú Khán heard this he was alarmed, for he saw that matters were going wrong, and that the forthcoming memorial would be ruinous to him. He therefore sent to say that he would give up the fort, and that they need not write. The Kháns sent word back that the memorial was written, and that they would keep it ready. If he did not surrender the fort the letter should be sent to the Emperor —so Kísú Khán having no other remedy, conducted the Kháns into the fort.

An order had been issued by the Emperor that Kísú Khán, in concert with the brethren of Tarsún Muhammad Khán, the *saiyids*, and the chief men, should make enquiry about the treasure, houses, and effects of Sultán Mahmúd Khán, and send a detailed account thereof to the Court, In obedience to the Royal orders, the people of Sultán Mahmúd's harem were sent to the presence, and his chief wife, sister of Jahán Khán, was sent to Lahore. At the same time, Khwájá Saráí, Rai Singh Darbárí, and Banwálí Das Navísinda arrived for the purpose of settling the affairs of the treasure and of the people of the harem of Sultán Mahmúd. Having afterwards looked into the matter of the treasure at Loharí, they proposed to return by way of Nágor in the beginning of Rajab of the year above-named.

When Tarsún Muhammad Khán received permission to depart from the Court, some of the nobles objected that it was impolitic to place the children of Saifu-l Mulk on the borders of the country, so he was appointed governor of A'gra and a change was made in respect of Bhakkar, for Banwálí Dás was sent there to take charge of the revenues and general affairs. Afterwards, for better security, Mír Saiyid Muhammad was dignified with the office of *Mír-i 'adl* (Chief Justice), with a *mansab* of 1000, and appointed governor of

Bhakkar. On the 11th of Ramzán of the year above-mentioned, he arrived at Bhakkar, and the ministers of religion and the chief men waited upon him to show due honour and respect. He then gave 50,000 *bighas* of land to the *saiyids*, learned men and others in portions suited to the position of each one. The ministers of religion enjoyed a happy time during his administration. In the early part of his rule he sent a force against the Mankínjas of the district of Gágri who were rebellious, and had opposed his officers. He acted oppressively towards the ryots in revenue matters, for he fixed by measurement a payment of five *mans* per *bigha* upon all lands alike, and the revenue officers, whom he appointed, dealt harshly with the cultivators. The troops of the *Mír-i 'adl* arrived at a small fort between Gambaz and Bajrán. The Mankínjas showing no respect, shot arrows at them, and several of the soldiers were killed. There was a well in the fort into which the graceless wretches threw the bodies both of Musulmans and infidels, and filled it up with earth. The *Mír-i 'adl* was enraged at this, and sent for reinforcements from Síwí, to take vengeance. After a short opposition, the Mankínjas left their home and took to flight. Saiyid Abú-l Fazl, the *Mír-i 'adl's* son, who commanded the troops, pursued them for some distance, and then returned to Bhakkar. Some time after this the *Mír-i 'adl* fell ill, he lost much blood and his weakness increased till he died on the 8th of Sh'abán, 984 A.H. (October 1576).

After his death, the Emperor appointed his son, Abú-l Fazl, to succeed him in the government of Bhakkar. In the following year Abú-l Fazl seized and confined the head men of Gágrí, and afterwards caused two or three of them to be trampled to death by elephants. On the 9th of Zí'-l hijja 985 A.H. (Feb. 1578) I'timád Khán, an eunuch, and one of the emperor's trusty servants, came as governor to Bhakkar. He was a man of passionate temper and did not deal kindly with the soldiers, peasants, or nobles. Some of the ministers of religion were troubled by his conduct, and resolved to carry their complaints to the Emperor. The governor thereupon sent a person to them with excuses, but they would not be satisfied, and resolutely determined to proceed. When they reached the royal presence they stated their grievances against that cruel man.

The Emperor replied that if he had oppressed the people in the way represented, he would be killed. And it turned out exactly as the royal tongue predicted, after this manner. He was an habitual jester and scoffer, and would utter vile and filthy expressions before good men; he also dealt niggardly with the troops; so on the 10th Rabí'u-l awwal 986 A.H. (May, 1578) a party of soldiers conspired and slew him in his hall of audience.

After the death of I'timád Khán the Emperor granted the country of Bhakkar in *jágir* to Fath Khán Bahadúr, Raja Parmánand and Rája Todar Mal.[1] In the month of Rajab of the same year, the Khán and the other two grantees came to Bhakkar and took possession of their respective portions. Two years afterwards Parmánand proceeded to the Court in obedience to orders. The Daríjas afterwards quarrelled with his brother Mádhu Dás, and assembled in the town of Alor with hostile intent. Two or three fights followed, and men were slain on both sides. At length some turbulent fellows joined in the attack, so Fath Khán sent his own men to put them down. The insurgents were then beaten and dispersed. Fath Khan then went to Court, where he was received with great favour. His *mansab* was increased, and the *jágír* of Parmánand was assigned to him. Fath Khán was a simple-minded man, fond of money, who paid his thanks with his tongue, but he dealt kindly with the people and provided for their subsistence. He had a *vakil* named Shaháb Khán, a *zamíndár* of Samána, an inexperienced man, who knew nothing of business. At the instigation of one Faríd he attacked the people of Khán Náhar, and led a force against the fort of Kin-kot, which was in the hands of Ibráhim Náhar. A great battle followed, in which Fath Khán's fine men were slain. Shaháb Khán also fell with all his brothers. When intelligence of this reached the Emperor, he instantly resumed Fath Khán's *jágir* and assigned it to Nawwáb Muhammad Sádik Khán together with the duty of capturing Thatta. He arrived at Bhakkar on Tuesday the 12th Rabí'u-l awwal 994 A.H. (Feb. 1586). The priests and others went out to meet him, and he received them all with honour and respect. For some time he stayed in Bhakkar setting its affairs in order, but in Zí-l hijja of the same year, he marched against Siwistán. Before

[1] [MS. *B.* makes no mention of the last, and speaks of "the two" grantees.]

going on this expedition he fought with the men of Mírzá Jání Beg, many of whom were killed. The breeze of victory thus began to blow on the banners of Muhammad Sádik. He then proceeded on his expedition. Meanwhile Subhán 'Alí Arghún, who was in command of the enemy, had constructed a fort on the banks of the river, and had furnished it with munitions of war. He had also collected many *ghrábs* and boats there. When Muhammad Sádik advanced, the Arghún came out in his *ghrábs* and gave battle; but he was defeated and taken prisoner alive, and many of his men were killed and wounded. Twelve *ghrábs* also fell into the hands of the victors. Greatly elated with these victories he laid siege to Síwistán. His operations occupied some time, but he at length sunk a large mine which carried away the gate in front of the fort. Instructions had been given that no man was to enter the fort without orders, so when the smoke and dust cleared off, the besieged set to work, closing up the breach, and maintaining a fire from their cannons and guns (*top o tufang*). The party on the top of the gateway which had been blown into the air fell to the ground uninjured. Mírzá Jání Beg had now advanced with a force as far as Mihrán, which is six kos from Síwán. In consequence of this, Muhammad Sádik raised the siege and went to oppose his progress. When he came opposite the Lakki hills, the *ghrábs* of Mírzá Jání opened fire upon him. They continued fighting for several days, till an imperial *fúrman* arrived stating that Mírzá Jání Beg had sent suitable tribute to the Court, and had made humble and dutiful submission. Muhammad Sádik therefore returned to Bhakkar, and after a short interval he repaired to Court. One year afterward his *jágir* was taken from him. In the two *kharíf* harvests that passed while Muhammad Sádik held Bhakkar, locusts attacked the crops and famine ensued. Many men emigrated in various directions. The Samíjas and Bulúchis plundered both sides of the river and left nothing standing.

At the end of Rabí'u-s sání, 996 A.H. (Feb. 1588), the *jágir* of Bhakkar was granted to Isma'íl Khán, and his son Rahmán Kulí Beg came to the place. This young nobleman was wise, and treated the people with great kindness and consideration, so that through his gentle management they betook themselves once more to cultivation, and by their efforts the wasted land again became fruitful.

When Isma'íl Kulí Khán left Multán and went to the Court, the *jágír* was taken from him and granted to Shiroya Sultán. In the beginning of Muharram 997 A.H. (Nov. 1588), he came to Bhakkar. He was addicted to wine, and left the management of his affairs in the hands of his purchased slaves. Night and day he was engaged in riot and debauchery, and but seldom sat in public court, or allowed any one to have access to him. The pensions and allowances to the fakírs were stopped. At one period Shaikh Sángí received charge of the revenue and State business, and for a time he visited the shops and took possession of their money and business.[1] He sent his son Muhammad Husain Beg to subdue Síwí, but the Afghans assembled and fiercely opposed him. His advanced guard was composed of Bulúchís[2] who fled at the first attack. The main body was then assaulted. Many were slain and many taken prisoners. The rest were broken and put to flight, but the weather was hot, and large numbers died of thirst in the mirage. Those who escaped alive were a long time before they recovered. The wails occasioned by the violence and tyranny of Shiroya at length ascended to heaven, from whence the glad tidings of his removal came to the people of Bhakkar. They escaped from his malignity and once more lived in peace, for Muhammad Sádik Khán again received the *jágír*.

On the second of Rabí'u-l awwal 998 A.H. (December, 1589) Mírzá Muhammad Záhid, son of Muhammad Sádik, came to Bhakkar. He treated the people with kindness and poured the balm of justice upon hearts wounded by tyranny. He was good-looking and good-natured, and he associated with learned and excellent men. He restored the pensions and allowances in accordance with the grants made by his father, and put a stop to oppression. Khwája Muhammad Ma'súm was Muhammad Sádik's *vakíl.* He was a man of excellent qualities, and competent in all business. The people were re-assured and went about their cultivation and building. But a heavenly visitation fell upon the spring crop of that year; notwithstanding the care of the government, evil days ensued, and it was

[1] [A doubtful passage. The two MSS. do not agree.]

[2] [بلوچ يلدي بودند]

impossible to collect the taxes. A scarcity of food again occurred. About this time His Majesty the Emperor had to make a public example. When the Royal Court was removed to Lahore, Mírza Jání Beg, in imitation of Mírzá Sháh Husain, renounced his obedience, and pretended to independence. The Khán-i Khánán was accordingly sent to take Thatta and bring the Bulúchís under control. He reached the place in the month of Shawwál of the year aforesaid, between the autumnal and vernal harvests, and proceeded to set all things in order. At that time, I, the author of this history, proceeded from Ahmadábád in Guzerát to the Imperial Court. By good fortune my mother had sent some little curiosities, which I presented to his Majesty. Thereupon he enquired with great condescension how many years I had been absent from my mother. I replied that it was twenty years. He was graciously pleased to direct that I should go to visit my mother, and afterwards return to my duty. He further ordered the grant of a *jágír* to me. Thereupon, Muhammad Sádik came to my aid, and said that as I was going to Bhakkar, it would be very pleasant to have my *jágír* there. His Majesty said that Bhakkar had been granted in *jágír* to the Nawwáb Khán-i Khánán. The latter was present at the time and said that if His Majesty pleased to make me a grant in Bhakkar he would assign it over to me, but if so he hoped to receive an equivalent elsewhere. The Royal command was then given for a grant in Bhakkar, and the officials assigned to me the *parganas* of Durbela, Gágrí and Chandúka. After this was arranged, His Majesty in his great kindness and consideration gave me a boat and one of his own fur coats, and as he dismissed me he quoted the line—

"Sit not down, but travel, for it is very sweet."

On the 14th[1] Safar, 999 A.H. (Nov., 1590), I reached Bhakkar, where the Khán-i Khánán had arrived before me. The weather was hot and the river high, so he stayed some days there; but when the star Canopus appeared he dismissed me with Bahádur Khán, Mulla Mahmúdí, and some others. We went to Sihwán, and the Khán-i Khánán followed and overtook us there. The people of Sihwán closed the gates of their fort. The Khán-i Khánán then consulted

[1] [12th in MS. *A*.]

with his nobles as to whether it was better to march against Mírza Jání Beg in Thatta at once, or to stop and take Sihwán before proceeding. They all agreed that as Sihwán was in the direct road, and their men and boats must pass that way, it was desirable to secure it before going further. Having so determined, the river was crossed, batteries (*morcha*) were raised, and we began to take measures for securing a passage over the river.[1] But intelligence came that Nawwáb Jání Beg had left Thatta with a powerful force and was advancing against us. So the siege was raised and our forces turned to oppose him. Jání Beg then threw up a sort of fort[2] on the bank of the river at the village of Loharí above Nasrpúr, and there strengthened his position. When the Khán-i Khánán came within about six kos from this fortified post Jání Beg sent 120 armed *ghrábs* and many boats under the command of Khusrú Khán and other officers, and also two armies, one on each bank of the river, to make a simultaneous attack on the camp of the Khán-i Khánán. To meet them our forces advanced a little on the bank of the river, where we raised some sand-works covering five or six *jaríbs* of ground. Muhammad Mukím Khán Bakhshí, 'Alí Mardán Khán, Muríd Khán Sarmadí, and the writer of this history, with several other noblemen, were appointed to that humble fortification.[3] Our instructions were, that when the *ghrábs* came up they must necessarily pass in front of our fortified position, because just in front of it there was a large sand-bank from which they must cross over to reach our camp,[4] In fact, when Muhammad Mukím was sent there he was told that his business was to prevent any danger to the camp on that side. In the afternoon the *ghrábs* came up, when they perceived that on one side there was water with a sandbank, and on the other side water with a fort, so they arrested their progress, and guns from both sides announced the opening of the fight. In the course of the night the Khán-i Khánán sent a party over to the opposite side. The force which Jání Beg had appointed for the

[1] [The text says در مقام ساختن پایاب شدند The word *páy-áb* commonly means "a ford."]

[2] [طرح قلعه انداخته]

[3] [قلعچه]

[4] [ناچار بایستي از چهله عبور نموده باردو رسید]

purpose assaulted our gate, but it had been well secured, and their efforts were vain. In the morning, the *ghrábs* came up in front of the camp. The guns in our fortification were pointed too high, so that the balls passed over the *ghrábs* and fell among our friends on the other side, killing several of them. The muzzles of the guns were then depressed, so that the balls passed through the *ghrábs* on our side of the river, and then touching the water rose again and crushed eight or nine boats (*kishti*) killing a number of men.[1] But they were prepared for this—for in each *ghráb* there were carpenters who quickly repaired the damages. The fight was carried on and the firing continued in this way for that day. On one side was the fort and army of the Khán-i Khánán, on the other the sandbank, and the *ghrábs* must pass between them against a strong current. The battle continued till after mid-day, and the enemy had many men killed by the guns. They then saw that they could not pass the fort, and that they were losing many men, so they were compelled to retreat. The Khán-i Khánan's boats followed in pursuit and the army harassed them from the shore. Khusrú Khán acted judiciously: keeping his own *ghrábs* in the rear he sent others in pursuit, and several of the enemy's vessels with soldiers and Firingí fighting men on board fell into his hands. The royal *ghráb* had accompanied the *ghráb* of Khusrú Khán and unfortunately some fire from the latter reached the magazine of the royal vessel, and all it contained was burnt. Some of the crew escaped into other vessels which happened to be near, but a large proportion was killed. Still a great victory was won.

Next day we marched against the fort of Jání Beg in which he had fortified himself. There were some little sand-hills (*chihla*[2]) around, and the place seemed difficult to take. When we tried to invest the place, the Khán-i Khánán and his officers found the work impracticable. One night we made a general assault upon the place on every side, but it was too strong and we gained nothing. It was then determined by the Khán-i Khánán that he would pro-

[1] [The MSS. differ, and the whole passage is not very intelligible.]

[2] [This is the same word, variously written, چہلہ, چہیلہ, and جہلہ In a previous passage it has been rendered "sand-bank." It is perhaps allied to the Hindústáni *chihlá*, "mud."]

ceed with a force to Síhwán and take possession of the country of Thatta,—that another force should go to Badín and Fath-bágh, and that Sháh Beg Khán should march to besiege Sháh-garh, a place that had been built by Sháh Kásim Arghún. The Khán-i Khánán accordingly proceeded to Thatta, another force went against Badín, Fath Khán and Jún, and Sháh Beg besieged Sháh-garh. Saiyid Baháu-d dín, the author, and several other attendants of the Khán-i Khánán, went to Síwán, where many of the defenders were killed. When the garrison found that matters were going hard with them they wrote to Jání Beg that unless he came to their aid, the place must be lost. Upon learning this the Mírzá marched with great alacrity to Síwán. When he had reached a point about twenty kos from us, we received intelligence of his advance. We held a council, and determined to fight him; so we raised the siege and marched to oppose his advance. When the Khán-i Khánán heard this he sent Muhammad Khán Niyází and some other of his officers with reinforcements for us. We were near the Lakkí hills when they joined us, and our united force then amounted to 1200 horse. Jání Beg was advancing through the hills with 10,000 horse, together with a numerous body of infantry and archers, and he had *ghrábs* and cannon coming up the river. When he was six or seven kos distant, our leaders perceived that if we remained where we were, we might be attacked on every side. Jání Beg might attack us from the hills, the *ghrábs* from the river, and the men of Síhwán from the rear, so that we should be in a critical position. We therefore resolved to march on and meet him, and our forces were accordingly set in motion. Jání Beg received intelligence of our movement through his spies, but could not credit it, for he asked what our numbers could be, and what must be our presumption to venture on such a step. But the dust of our march then became visible to him, and he instantly proceeded to set his army in array. It was noon when the contending forces met. When our van-guard became engaged, some of the men took flight and fled. The enemy pursued, and coming up with our main body the battle became general. Three or four fierce charges were made, but at length the enemy were defeated. Jání Beg stood his ground and fought desperately, but seeing that all was over, he also fled. The enemy lost many men in

killed and prisoners. Jání Beg retreated to Unarpur,[1] twenty kos from the battle-field, where he raised a small fort and strengthened his position. We besieged the place, and after some days the Khán-i Khánán arrived in person. The batteries were pushed forward, and fighting went on every day, in which many on both sides were killed. Digging approaches to the fort, we reached the edge of the ditch, and raised there a mound of earth. Jání Beg was then reduced to despair, and offered terms. His proposal was to give over to us thirty *ghrábs* and the fort of Sihwán. He himself would return to Thatta but would meet us again afterwards. The Khán-i Khánán consulted with his officers, and they all agreed that Jání Beg was reduced to extremities, and that no terms should be made with him—it was a mere question of a day or two—and if he were allowed to return to Thatta he would probably change his mind. The Khán-i Khánán observed that if we assaulted the fort, many men on both sides would be slain, and that the wives and families of the garrison would fall into our hands and might be treated with indignity, for these reasons he would accept the terms, and would further obtain a *mansab* of 5000 from the Emperor for Jání Beg. No doubt his decision was sound. The representatives of Jání Beg then came into our lines, the terms were settled, the *ghrábs* were given up, a person was sent to Síhwán to secure the surrender of the fort, and Jání Beg himself set out for Thatta. The Khán-i Khánán stayed in the village of Sann during the inundations, but in the winter he departed for Thatta. When we approached Fath-bágh Jání Beg came forward to meet us, and there was an interview and friendly intercourse between the two chiefs. Leaving Jání Beg at this place the Khán-i Khánán proceeded to Thatta, and there he distributed among his officers and soldiers all the effects (*basát*) he had with him. He next went to Láhorí-bandar, where he gazed upon the sea (*dáryáe shor*). When he departed from this place he left Daulat Khán and Khwája Mukím in charge. A royal mandate had arrived directing him to bring Jání Beg to Court,—in consequence of this he started off, taking Jání Beg with him, and hastened by forced marches to the Imperial presence. Every kindness and consideration was bestowed upon Jání Beg through the friendly

[1] ["Amarpur" in MS. *B.*]

statements of the Khán-i Khánán. The country of Thatta was graciously restored to him, and he was received into the royal service with a *mansab* of 5000. Still further favour was shown him, and Khusrú Khán was named to be his son-in-law.

When His Majesty set out for the Dekhin,[1] intent upon the conquest of Ahmadnagar and the fort of Kásim, on the 25th Rajab Mírzá Jání Beg died of brain fever, and upon the solicitation of Nawwáb Allání, the country of Thatta was granted to Mírzá Ghází Beg, son of the deceased Mírzá.

[1] [It is at this point in MS. *B.* that there comes in abruptly the passage relating to Dúda, upon which some remarks have been made in page 215.]

V.

TA'RI'KH-I TA'HIRI'.

This work is named after the author, Mír Táhir Muhammad Nasyání, son of Saiyid Hasan, of Thatta. The author, his father, and grandfather, were intimately acquainted with the affairs of the Arghúns and Tarkháns, and were dependants of the members of the former family. Táhir Muhammad, indeed, dedicates his work to, and writes it at the instigation of, Sháh Muhammad Bég 'A'dil Khán, son of Sháh Bég 'A'dil Khán Arghún, governor of Kandahár. The *Tuhfatu-l kirám* (p. 74), styles Sháh Bég a Tarkhán, not an Arghún, and states that it was to him that the *Táríkh-i Táhiri* was dedicated.

The author, independent of what he says in his rambling preface of twenty pages, which is replete with the most fulsome adulation, gives us several incidental notices of himself and family in the course of his work.[1] We learn that in 1015 H. (1606 A.D.), when Kandahár was beleaguered by the Persians, he went to Thatta to complete his education, and that he was then twenty-five years old. He placed himself under Maulána Ishák, a celebrated teacher, who was well instructed in Sufyism by an attentive perusal of Shaikh Sa'dí, Jámí, Khákání, and Anwarí.

His maternal grandfather, 'Umar Sháh, and his son Dáúd Sehta, Chief of the Pargana of Durbela, afforded such effective aid to Humáyún, in his flight from Shír Sháh, that the Emperor wrote a document expressive of his satisfaction, and of his determination to reward their fidelity with a grant of their native district of Durbela, should he succeed in his enterprises and be

[1] See pages 63, 73, 86, 139, 167, 224, 228, of the MS.

restored to his throne. At the instigation of Mahmúd Khán, the governor of Bhakkar, they were both put to death for this injudicious zeal; one being sewn up in a hide and thrown into the river from the battlements of Bhakkar; the other flayed alive, and his skin sent, stuffed with straw, to Mirzá Sháh Hasan Arghún. The family fled to Ahmadábád in Guzerát. The document above alluded to was unfortunately destroyed, when Mírzá Jání Bég ordered Thatta to be fired on the approach of the imperial army. The author, nevertheless, hoped to meet with his reward, should it ever be his good fortune to be presented to the reigning Emperor Jahángír. In one part of his work he calls 'Umar Sháh by the title of *Jám*, from which we may presume that he was a Samma. Dáúd, 'Umar's son, is also styled Sehta, and, from a passage in the Extracts, it will be seen that Jám Sehta, one of the descendants of the Samma refugees, is spoken of as one of the Chiefs of Kach.

Táhir Muhammad informs us that, notwithstanding all the enquiries he made, he was not able to procure any work which dealt with the periods of history which he had undertaken to write. There might, perhaps, have been some written in the Hindí character, but on that point he was ignorant. This is disingenuous, for his early history must be derived from some written source, though he does not choose to declare what it was. He quotes a poem by Mír Ma'súm Bhakkarí, and is, perhaps, indebted to his prose also, but to no great extent, for in describing the same events, our author is fuller, and his credulity induces him to indulge in strange anecdotes, which the other rejects. His later history, in which he is very copious, is derived not only from his father, who was himself an actor in some of the scenes which he describes, but from other eye-witnesses, as well as his own observations. His residence seems to have been chiefly at Durbela, but we hear of his being, not only at Kandahár and Thatta, as previously mentioned, but at Multán and Lahore; so that, for a Sindian, we may consider him what Froissart calls a "well-travelled knight."

The *Táríkh-i Táhirí* was completed in 1030 H. (1621 A.D.), in the fortieth year of the author's age. Its style is bad and confused, and occasionally ambitious. We are told that it is divided into ten chapters (*tabka*), but they are not numbered beyond the fourth, and only seven can be traced altogether. The first, consisting of sixteen pages, is devoted to the Súmra dynasty. The second, of ten pages, to the Samma dynasty. The third, of 30 pages, to the Arghúns. The fourth and all the others, comprising 172 pages, to the Tarkháns—so that it is evident that to them he directs his chief attention, bringing their affairs down to the latest period, when Mirzá Ghází Bég was poisoned at Kandahár, in 1021 H. (1612 A.D.), and the power of the Tarkháns was brought to a close even as *Jágírdars*—a title they were suffered to retain after their entire loss of independance under Mirzá Jání Bég. We have nothing on the subject of the Arab dominion in Sind, and the chapters upon the Súmras and Samma form no continuous narrative of their transactions. Even the later chapters are very deficient in dates, though there is no break in the history of the Arghúns and Tarkháns. Where dates are inserted they are not always correct.

Besides the present history, it would appear from one of the Extracts given below, that the author composed another work upon some of the Legends of Sind. The name of "Nasyání[1]" is not a patronymic, but, as we are informed in the *Tuhfatu-l kirám* (p. 192), a mere poetical designation, assumed by the author. The same passage gives us also some information respecting his descendants.

This work is rare out of Sind, where it is procurable without much difficulty. The Amír of Khairpur and the Saiyids of Thatta have a copy. I have not met with it anywhere else in India, and I believe there is no copy in Europe. Size, quarto (12 × 9 inches) containing 254 pages, each of 17 lines.

[1] *Nasyání*, the forgetful? or *Nashyání*, which signifies the drunken, or, a seeker of news?

Extracts.

The Destruction of Alor.

From the year of the Hijrí 700 (1300 A.D.), until 843 (1439 A.D.), that is to say, for a period of 143 years, the Hindu tribe of Súmra were the rulers of Sind; and that portion which is now flourishing was then a mere waste, owing to the scarcity of water in the Sind or Panjáb river, which is known by the above name below Bhakkar.[1] No water flowed towards those regions, and water is the very foundation of all prosperity. The capital of this people was the city of Muhammad Túr, which is now depopulated and ís included in the *pargana* of Dirak. Not I alone but many others have beheld these ruins with astonishment. Numbers of the natives of that city, after its destruction, settled in the *pargana* of Sákúra, which was peopled in the time of the Jáms of Samma, and there they founded a village to which they also gave the name of Muhammad Túr.[2] In this village resided many great men and *zamíndárs*, disciples of the Shaikh of Shaikhs and defender of the world, Makhdúm Shaikh Baháu-d dín (Zakaríya) Mullá Khalífa Sindí, so well known in Hind, who sprang from them and that village. The cause of the ruin of the above-named city, and of its dependencies, which had flourished between nine hundred and a thousand years, was as follows :—Below the town of Alor flowed the river of the Panjáb, which was indefinitely called by the three names of Hákra, Wáhind, and Dáhan, and by others—for its name changes at every village by which it flows. After fertilizing the land, the river pours its waters into the ocean. Dalú Ráí governed the country between the two above-mentioned cities (Muhammad Túr and Alor). He was a tyrant and an adulterer: every night he possessed himself of a maiden. From the merchants who brought their goods that way in boats from Hind to the port of Déwal,[3] he levied a toll of half their property; traders thus suffered incalculable injury. At length, a certain merchant[4]

[1] [بواسطه كمي آب سند يعني پنجاب كه اورا از بهكر پائن بهمين مي نامند]

[2] See Note A in Appendix upon Muhammad-Túr.

[3] Captain McMurdo places Dalú or Dillú Ráí early in the second century of the Hijra.—*Journ. R. A. S.*, Vol I. p. 28.

[4] The *Tuhfatu-l kirám* (p. 35), calls him Saifu-l-mulúk, and says he was on his way to Mecca, and that when he returned thence, he lived and died somewhere about

reached the place with a vast amount of goods, and was much astonished at this tyrant's proceedings. When the customs' officers perceived the valuable nature of his merchandise, and found him to be a traveller from distant parts, they resolved to exceed their usual demands. The merchant had also with him a handmaiden, young, and beautiful as the full-moon. When the impious tyrant was informed of this, he determined, according to his odious habit, to get her into his possession. The traveller, who was a wise and God-fearing man, said to himself that it was impossible to escape from the tyrant with honour and without distress, and hence it would be better to make some bold effort; in which, by God's help, he might succeed, and which would stand recorded on the page of destiny until the day of judgment. He prayed for and obtained three day's grace to forward the amount of duties along with his beautiful damsel. During this time he collected a number of skilful and expert artizans, men who excelled Farhád in piercing mountains, and could close a breach with a rampart like Alexander's. To these men he gave whatever they desired, and rewarded their labour with gold, jewels, and stuffs. His intention was to erect a strong embankment above[1] the town of Alor, and turn the course of the waters towards Bhakkar. Night after night these strong and able workmen laboured to dig a new channel and erect an embankment. The river was thus turned from its old course and flowed towards Síwán and the Lakkí Hills, with such force that the merchant was, by God's mercy, quickly carried with his ships and goods far away beyond the oppressor's reach. When the people of the tyrant's country awoke in the morning, instead of several fathoms of water, they found nothing but mud and muddy water. All were amazed, and informed their master of the mode of the merchant's escape, and of the ruin that had come on the country. He ordered them to turn the river into its old channel, but they all replied that it could not be done now the water had flowed else-

Déra Ghází Khán and Sítpur. It is added, that his handmaiden Jamíl or Badí'u-l-Jamál, bore him two sons, Ratta and Chhatta, whose tombs, with that of the father, stand near Ratta, which in olden times was a large city in Dalú Ráí's territory, of which the vestiges still remain.

[1] [The text says زیر قصبهٔ الور, but this is an obvious blunder.]

where. The Rájá's regret and repentance were all too late. "When the evil is done, oh fool! what avails your regret? Stuff not cotton in your ears, but be alert—sleep not at the hour of action." In short the scarcity of water soon caused the grass and the fields to wither, and death laid its grasp on men and cattle, but the tyrant paused not in his evil career, until his crimes destroyed both himself and his people.

Destruction of Bráhmanábád.

It is related by old historians that this Dalú Rái had a brother called Chhata[1] Amrání, whom it had pleased God to dispose, from his youth upwards, to virtue. Amrání often remonstrated with his brother against his evil ways, but without success; he, therefore, left his country and applied himself to the study of the Kurán. When, having learned the holy book by heart, he returned to his home, his friends urged him much to marry; but he was displeased with their wicked ways, and therefore refused. His relatives repudiated and derided him, exclaiming that he had turned Turk, that is to say, Musulmán, and would next be going to Mecca to marry the daughter of some great man there. Amrání's star was in the ascendant, and his heart inclined to God, so their taunts took effect on him, and he resolved to proceed to the Kaa'ba. When he reached the place of his destination, he beheld a woman standing with a loaf in her hand. After he had looked at her several times the maiden perceived him and asked him what he sought in that town. He replied that by her means, he hoped to be able to read the Kurán. She told him that the daughter of a certain venerable man was much better acquainted than herself with the holy book, and was in the habit of teaching many young girls, and that if he changed his dress and attended upon her with the girls, he might obtain the wish of his heart. Amrání answered that all would be accomplished through her kindness. He made her a small present, and joined the scholars. After a time he became again perfect in the Kurán, when, one day, a woman came to see the teacher, who

[1] [The word is here and in a few other places written *Jhata*, but as frequently *Chhata*, and this is nearer the Tuhfatu-l Kirám, which has "*Chhota*." It is probably the Hindí word, and signifies that he was the younger brother.]

was also skilled in astrology. The visitor said: "I have a young daughter whom I wish to marry to a certain person; pray see if the match will prove a happy one; for if not, I will wed my daughter elsewhere." The fates were consulted, a favourable answer was returned, and the woman departed. Chhata who, in woman's disguise, had been taught by the fair sage, without her knowing his sex, now said that, as she could ascertain other people's destiny, he begged she would also consult the stars on her own account, and find out who should be her husband. "This enquiry," she replied, "will be very pleasing to me; up to this moment I have never thought of what concerns myself." The fates were again consulted, and the answer which she delivered was: "a person called Chhata will come from Sind, and I shall be given unto him." Amrání asked if the person had as yet left Sind, and proceeded towards Mecca or not. She answered, that he had arrived in the city. "Where is he?" "In this house," was the reply, "and you are he." Chhata left off questioning and began to read.

The girl informed her mother of these events. The relatives gave their consent, and the two were united. Amrání dwelt there some time, after which he returned to his own country to Páín-wáh where his brother ruled.[1] Between Chhata and his wife Fátima, in their devotion to God, nothing was concealed, and they looked upon each other with fond affection. One day Chhata's brother sent him away on some business, with the intention of getting a look at his wife in his absence. This virtuous woman was in her bath, and there the wicked man saw her. At the same moment, Fátima and Chhata, who was far away, became cognizant of this fact. Chhata immediately returned, and, abandoning his relatives, left the country with his wife, and proclaimed that whoever remained in the city would ignominiously perish. The very night they left, destruction hovered over the city, but was kept off by the watching of an old widow, who was spinning. The second night they were saved by the watching of Gunígír,[2] but on the third night, which was the time appointed for the destruction of those wicked people, the whole

1 Or, more probably, "Bahmanwá;" in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* the place is named Bhámhara, or Brahmánábád. See note, supra, p. 189.

2 [كنيكير In the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* كينكيري]

place was swallowed up by the earth,—men, buildings and all,—the only sign of them left was a minaret, which stands there to this day. Chhata Amrání and his wife Fátima reached in safety the town of Síwistán, which is now known as Síwán. There he passed his days in prayer and worship. When he left this transitory dwelling-place to seek a wished-for and eternal home beyond the chambers of death, as during his life-time, he had performed miracles, and his prayers had been granted, so was it still after his decease. Whoever approached his shrine obtained the wish of his heart. His tomb is to be found in the city of Síwán; many people flock to it on Fridays, and place full belief in its powers.

The Dynasty of Súmra.

Be it known to wise and intelligent men who can solve knotty points, that the history of this ignorant Hindu tribe has been related by old chroniclers as follows:—"Every man of them considered himself a chief and leader, but 'Umar Súmra was their ruler. It is not known over how long a period his reign extended, but in all his years this chieftain, unworthy of his sacred name,[1] practiced unworthy acts. He was in the habit of laying violent hands on the females of his subjects. Among other married women he seized a beautiful woman named Márúí, who belonged to the tribe of the Márúis,[2] who resided near the forts of 'Umar-kot. She had been betrothed to a person named Phog,[3] but was, by her parents, when her beauty had developed itself, united to another of her relatives. Phog laid a complaint before 'Umar,—"I have given up all hope," said he, "of obtaining her, but she is well fitted for your own harem. If you could but once see her, you would never wish to part from her again." This speech of that dweller in the desert induced the chieftain to change his dress, and to mount an active camel,[4] fleet as the wind, on which he repaired to the woman's residence. He was captivated at first sight, and remained there some days. At

[1] عمر Alluding of course to the Khalif 'Umar.

[2] Wanderers of the desert.

[3] [The text has نببوک "Nababúk," but Sir H. Elliot has substituted "Phog" in the translation. His authority for this change is not cited.]

[4] [The text has بارہ, but immediately afterwards the animal is called اشتر, so that a camel, not a horse, must be intended by the word.]

length, finding an opportunity, he placed the woman on his own camel, and returned to the seat of his government. But all praise to the virtue and chastity of Márúí, for though gold and jewels, robes and apparel were offered her, and though she was made to taste of severity and anger, nothing could induce her to listen to his proposals. "In what creed," said she, "is it considered lawful that we should, for the sake of a little brief authority and worldly riches, which avail us not when all is over, put aside the duty owing to a husband, and thus at last, heap infamy on our heads. The tenderness of her language took effect on the abductor; for a year he detained her and beheld her fidelity. He then sent for her husband and returned her to him, with as much gold and jewels as he could give, and told him of his wife's chastity. Doubt, however, remained in the husband's mind; he kept aloof from her, and constantly addressed reproaches to her. 'Umar was one day informed of this conduct, of the doubts which the husband retained of Márúí's chastity, and the disgrace which was thus reflected on himself. An army was ordered to attack and plunder the tribe, but they fled on receipt of the news. When the fact became known, he ('Umar) said "Why does the husband of this chaste woman seek to distress her, and in suspicion of a wrong which has not been committed, why does he injure both her and his ruler, causing a personal and general scandal—instigating all this disturbance." That paragon of fidelity, comforted the women of her family, and, strong in her own virtue, went to 'Umar and spoke as follows: "You are the lord of this country. If before this you had not conceived such designs, you would not have entailed such disgrace on yourself and on me; but, you have kept a man's wife confined for a twelvemonth in your own house, and after exposing her to suspicion, have sent her away. What wonder is there then that people, who know not right from wrong, should entertain doubts, and what wonder if her husband kill her through jealousy. The redress were worse than the fault itself, should you punish the oppressed family. Consider your own errors, be just, and say at whose door lies the blame." This was said with so much earnestness that it took effect. 'Umar, ashamed of his misdeeds, recalled his army, and caused the husband to be brought to his presence, when he sought by an oath, according to the Hindú

custom, to remove all doubt from his mind. But that pattern of excellence anticipated him, and urged that she was the proper person to take the oath, for thus the foul stain would be washed away from herself and from her whole family. So it was settled that a fire should be kindled and an iron heated therein. As soon as the fire burned and flames like lightning issued from the iron, the woman raised it, and came out pure from the trial, and in the eyes of the Hindus all stain on her honour was removed. The thought now entered 'Umar's mind that it was not easy to clear himself of the guilt of the abduction. God is just; injustice pleaseth him not, and never has he, nor will he ever, disgrace any but the guilty. This cruel obstinate husband, thought he, has abased me in the eyes of the world; is it not better that I should pass through the fiery ordeal and truth be brought to the light of day! He did as resolved. Glory to God who maketh truth to triumph! Not a hair of his head or a thread of his garments was singed, and he issued scathless from the raging flames—which consume alike friend and foe. 'Umar and the relatives of the virtuous wife, whom idle talkers had calumniated and reviled, were now raised in public opinion; the doubts, which day and night had tormented the husband, vanished, and his unkind treatment ceased.[1]

Account of this event as related in the presence of the Emperor Akbar.

When the powerful Nawab Mirzá Khán-i Khánán had made himself master of Tatta, he summoned to his presence the great men of the country, and amongst others selected the most noble of them, Mirzá Jání Beg Tarkhán, 'Áriz of the Tarkhanía, to be presented at the court of his majesty, and he proceeded thither with a party of Sindí friends. At an interview the conversation happened to turn upon Márúí, which induced the Emperor to enquire of Jání Beg the particulars of this story. The latter replied that he had with him a poet named Mukím, conversant with both Persian and Sindí, who was well acquainted with the whole story, and whom he would send for if permitted to do so. Mirzá Jání Beg himself was per-

[1] This popular legend is given in a different form by Lt. Burton, from the metrical version current in the country.—*Sindh*, pp. 107-113.

fectly informed of all the circumstances, but he wished to bring the poet to the notice of his majesty. The bard was introduced, but he knew so little of the case, that, contrary to the fact, he said the heroine had a child by that tyrant, misnamed 'Umar.[1] His Highness was much displeased at this misrepresentation, and the bard withdrew crestfallen. Jání Beg then related the story correctly, and some of the auditors repeated verses in the Sindí language in praise of the Márúí. The late Mír Saiyid Ma'súm Bhakkarí, of blessed memory, has recorded in verse the story of Sassaí and Pannú and called his work "Husn o Náz," (beauty and coquetry); Mír Abú-l Kásim, (son of Sháh Abú-l Kásim, son of Sháh Kásim Arghún) has likewise versified the story of Chanesar and Lílá and called it "Chanesar;"[2] I also have written (these legends) in prose and named my work "Náz o Niyáz" (coquetry and supplication). May men of genius view it favourably![3]

History of Gangá and 'Umar Súmra.

I write for the information of men of enlightened minds,—friends to literature, and delighting in the sweets of learning. A maiden named Gangá, of the tribe of Tamím, had been betrothed to 'Umar. The latter happened to see her at a time when the spring of youth had not filled the cup of her beauty, and the unopened bud of her cheeks was as yet without fragrance. She did not please him, and his heart was averse to her, so he relinquished all thought of making her his wife, and gave permission that she should be united to any one they chose. 'Umar Tamím, a relative of the girl's, and a companion of 'Umar Súmra, without whom the latter never drank (or eat), became her husband. After a few years, this unopened bud, fanned by the zephyr of youth, became a very stem of blooming roses. She imported such fragrance to the breeze, that fascination penetrated the core of every heart.

1 In allusion to the Khalífa 'Umar, better known to us as Omar. It is to be observed that the author throughout spells the Hindú's name with an *ain* عمر. [Amarkot is also generally written 'Umarkot.]

2 The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (p. 74) says that Mír Táhir is here in error, the real author being Idráhí Bég.

3 The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (p. 31) says that Muhammad Táhir's *Náz o Niyáz* is in verse and relates to the story of Márúí. Zamíri has written a poem of the same title.

One day, when the washerman had put out her clothes to dry near the road, the chief happened to pass by the scented garments. Such perfume hung in the breeze that for miles it entered the brains of the wayfarers. The scent of the musk caused blood to flow from his nostrils, and he wondered whose garments these could be. He enquired of the washerman, and ascertained, after a good deal of trouble, as the man had been ordered not to mention the owner's name, that they belonged to a certain woman married to 'Umar Tamím, and whom his highness had formerly rejected. Longing and regret now took possession of his soul, and so great was his fascination that he proceeded to the woman's house, intending, if the master should not be within, to delight his eyes and heart with a glimpse of that heart-enthralling creature. The husband was not at home. Deceivers employ many stratagems, so 'Umar found nothing better than to pretend that he had discharged an arrow at some pigeons, and only entered the house to pick one up. The fair lady, who knew nothing of all this, being suddenly disturbed, rose to screen herself from view, and enquired what the intruder sought, but the latter obtained what he had come for and departed. A dart of love from the bow of her eyebrows had pierced his heart and he writhed like a wounded snake. The love which had suddenly been implanted in the innermost recesses of his heart disturbed him so much that he threw himself madly on his couch, abandoned food, drink, and sleep, and spoke to no one. His ministers were much astonished at this conduct, but having learned the cause of it, they respectfully informed him that the difficulty could very easily be overcome; that he should be of good cheer and not grieve. The ministers agreed that it was necessary, by some means, to separate the woman from her husband, and bring her to their master's palace. To further this scheme, it was settled by these godless men that 'Umar should make a show of more than usual cordiality and affection to that young man. The husband was astonished at these unwonted demonstrations, and one day asked his confidential friends what could be the object of them. Being all in the plot, they answered that a wish seemed to have entered the chieftain's mind to give him his sister in marriage, and by this connection, bind him more closely to himself in the bonds of fraternity and love, for he

was highly pleased with his services, and placed great reliance on him. 'Umar Tamím heedlessly believed this falsehood; he was transported with delight by these tidings, which ought to have saddened him, and he expanded like a rose, so that his robe could scarcely contain him. The simpleton dreamed not that his friends were foully conspiring to deprive him of his wife. One day the friends met. Wine, that source of so much evil, was administered in such quantities to the unhappy husband, who had not strength to bear it, that he quite lost all mastery over himself. The associates perceived that they would never find an opportunity more favourable for the execution of their designs, so in furtherance of their scheme, they spoke to this foolish and helpless being of that impossible marriage. At length, he agreed that he would divorce his present wife, in order to obtain that higher object of his wishes; and he did so. The plotters having so far succeeded, now told him that this divorce alone was not sufficient, that he must offer the woman as tribute to 'Umar. The drunkard hesitated not to give away his cast-off wife. Then, as a finish to the business, he himself was turned out of the assembly, and his wife conveyed to the house of him who had instigated this vile proceeding. On the morrow, when the husband shook off the sleep of intoxication, he thought of his spouse, and remembered the sad events of the past day. Then, uttering cries of grief, he rent his garments, and proceeded to Dehli to lay a complaint before 'Aláu-d dín Sultán.

The people of this country relate, that when the husband laid his complaint before the Sultán, this guardian of justice sent that very night an order to 'Umar to appear before him, stating that if he came and satisfied the complainant, he might escape punishment, otherwise, an avenging force should be sent to plunder and overrun the country, and his wives and children should fall a prey to the soldiery. 'Umar prepared to depart the moment the messenger arrived. After a journey of some days, he reached the royal presence, and made numerous offerings. When the complainant and defendant were confronted, the Sultán's anger rose to such a pitch that he caused the guilty man to be thrown into a prison to end his days, in order that his fate might be a salutary warning to all wicked doers. For a long time he suffered in prison, but at length

obtained his liberty through the intercession of his friends, on the payment of a heavy fine, and by binding himself to pay an annual tribute. He now returned to Sind, and from that time the rulers of this country have been tributary to the kings of Hind. 'Umar soon forgot his imprisonment and sufferings, and stretched forth the hand of tyranny over the people of Samma, the ancient tenants of the soil. Many families were driven by his exactions to abandon the land of their birth and seek refuge in Kach,[1] which lies between Guzerát and Sind, and this land by God's mercy they have occupied to the present day.

The dynasty of Samma.

Old story tellers relate that when God resolved to destroy the people of Súmra (who occupied the city of Muhammad Túr and its vicinity, where ruin had followed the erection of the *band* of Alor) so utterly that not a sign of them should be left in the land, he decreed that their lives should be passed in the commission of unworthy acts and of crimes. Young and old became intent on violence and mischief. They belonged to the Hindú faith, yet they ate the flesh of buffalos, although eating the flesh of the cow is held in abhorrence according to that religion. The labouring classes and landholders of the Sammas also held the same belief, yet never drank wine without partaking of a young buffalo calf. One of these animals was taken openly and forcibly by the Súmras from the house of a Samma at a time when the latter had gone out, and the wine cup passed freely. When the owner returned, his wife taunted him with what had occurred; "To-day," said she, "they have seized a young buffalo to roast, and to-morrow they will take away your women in the same disgraceful way. Either give us, your wives, freely to these men or quit the place." This person was a man of rank and honour; so collecting his friends and relatives, he raised a great cry and sallied forth. A number of the people of Súmra were assembled at the time; he fell on this body and killed several of them; then, packing up all his valuables, he set out for Kach with as many of his relatives as could accompany him.

[1] [The text has "Kanj."]

They had hardly reached the Rann, or desert, which extends from the ocean between the countries of Sind and Guzerát, when a powerful army of Súmras overtook them and tried to pacify them, but the fugitives dreaded them too much to have any wish to return. Fighting commenced, and many fell on both sides. The fugitives nevertheless reached the land of Kach, which was occupied by the tribe of Cháwara, and they settled there in the desert with their property. After a time, when they had ascertained who were the chiefs in those parts, they represented to them that they were numerous and had come there for protection, that they craved a portion of land to cultivate, the produce of which would suffice for their wants, and free the community from all expense on their account. A small tract of uncultivated land was given to them by the Cháwaras under the conditions that whatever grain they grew thereon should be theirs, but that all the grass should be sent into the government forts, as the former would suffice for them. The agreement was entered into, and the land was brought into cultivation.

It appears that finally the settlers became masters of the soil by the following stratagem, For some years after their immigration, they went on settling and cultivating the land faithfully, according to treaty; they sending the grass grown on their lands to the forts of the chiefs of this country of desert and hills.[1] When they had got a firm footing and become thoroughly acquainted with the state of the country and the resources of its chiefs, it appeared to them that, if, with one accord, they managed their affairs with discretion, they might succeed in getting the upper hand. They therefore resolved to put into execution some carefully matured stratagem for this purpose. This was the plan: that in every cart-load of hay two armed men should be concealed and sent into the fortress. Five hundred loads formed the yearly contribution. This hay was now conveyed in that number of carts; in each were concealed two armed men, and a third sat on the top; so that about fifteen hundred men were all sent off together, and those who remained outside held themselves in readiness and listened for the shouts of the others. At the fort gate was always kept a learned astrologer, whose duty

[1] برو بوم دشت وجبال

it was, from time to time, to warn the guards of coming events. As soon as the leading carts reached the entrance, the astrologer discovered that raw meat was concealed in them and proclaimed it with loud cries. The guardians of the gate jumped up and drove their spears into the hay in such a manner that the points entered the breasts of the enterprising youths within. But, oh, the heroism they displayed! As the spears were withdrawn they wiped the bloody points with their clothes, so that not a speck of blood appeared upon them; and all the day that truthful soothsayer was disbelieved, no further search was made, and all the carts entered the fort. When night came on, these resolute men, both within and without the walls prepared for action as had been previously concerted. Sword in hand, those who were inside fell upon the commandant of the fort and slew him. They then beat the drums to announce their triumph. Their friends without, hearing the signal, and knowing all was right, rushed at the gate and smote every one of its defenders who had the bravery to resist them. So great was the carnage, that words cannot describe it.[1]

Thus the country which lies along the sea became subject to the people of the Samma,[2] and their descendants are dominant there to this day. Ráí Bhára and Jám Sihta, the Rájás of both Great and Little Kach, are descended from the Samma tribe. Among these people the tíka is conferred upon the Ráí. When one of the Jáms of Little Kach dies, another is appointed in his place, but the sovereignty and the tíka are not bestowed upon him until such times as the Ráí of Great Kach dies. When a successor has been appointed he is obeyed by all; and all those who assemble to appoint the Ráí present to him horses, honorary dresses, and many other things, according to ancient custom. Whenever a well or a tank is dug in either of the divisions of Kach, the Cháwáras—formerly the masters of the soil, now the ryots—are consulted and brought to approve of the project before it is carried into execution.

[1] The scene of this stratagem was Gúntrí, in Kachh, of which the remarkable ruins are well worthy of a visit.—See *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Feb. 1838, p. 102.

[2] Respecting the Samma migration to this province, see *Dr. Burnes' Hist. of Cutch*, Introduction, pp. xi , xiv.

Strange customs of the Tribes.

Be it known to men of enlightened minds that these people had many strange customs, such as the strong branding the stamp of slavery upon the shoulders of the weak. As an instance of this, a man named Dúda Súmra attempted to enslave his own brothers, and when any one of them resisted, sought means to kill him. Such was the prevailing stupidity of these people, that whenever they placed themselves in the barber's hands, they had the nails of their hands and feet extracted by the roots, and this violent process caused such distress, that they lost all recollection for a time. A sensible man one day enquired why they inflicted such tortures on themselves. They replied, that there was this wide difference between them and other people, that they did what others could not.[1] The clothes which they had once worn were never again put on. To wear them a second time would have been held highly improper. A woman who had brought forth a child was no longer allowed to share her husband's bed. At length, one of them, a fond and clever wife, becoming pregnant, revolved in her mind that, after the birth of the child, she would lose the society of her husband, and that she must therefore think of some means to convince him that childbirth did not render a female impure, and to banish all such ideas from his mind. This was her plan: whatever clothes her husband took off she gave to the washerman, with orders to wash them most carefully. One day the husband took a bath, and asked for cloths wherewith to dry his limbs. He was supplied with some of those which had been washed and put aside. These appeared to him so unusually soft, that he enquired what kind of fresh cloth it was. His wife told him, and he so much approved of what she had done, that he declared his intention of wearing washed clothes for the future. The wife, on hearing this, exclaimed that such also was the condition of women; why, then, should men cast them off? The husband abandoned both of these foolish practices, and all the tribe followed his example.

[1] The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (p. 36) ascribes to them a more probable answer, viz., that the chiefs alone did it to distinguish them from their inferiors, It is curious that Bírúní ascribes to Indian chiefs the Chinese practice of allowing their nails to grow so that it might be understood they had the means of living without manual labour. *M. Reinaud, Mémoire sur l' Inde, p.* 288.

All that remain of them at the present day are good Muhammadans and God-fearing men; so much so, that Darwésh Dáúd, Mián Hamúl and Mián Ismáíl Súmra, who were among the chief men of the town of Ákham, in the Pargana of Samáwátí, entertained five hundred students of the Kurán, in the college, feeding and clothing them all, for the love of God, at their own expense. The late Mírzá Muhammad Bákí Tarkhán, notwithstanding his parsimony and economy,[1] which will be described when I speak of him, gave away, in charity, the produce of his husbandry. His collectors once complained to him, that a certain darwesh, not content with having tilled every bit of land in the district, sought to appropriate all their lord's possessions to his own use. Find therefore, said they, some other employment for the present cultivators. The Mírzá replied: "that he should till my lands is but little, were he to drive a plough over my head, I should deem it a favour." Fakírs, widows, and the poor were the recipients of his bounty. A well-provided table was at all hours spread for his guests,—but he himself constantly fasted. When the hour came to break the fast, a barley-loaf, without salt, constituted his only food. A guest coming to him one day, a sumptuous meal was ordered for him, but the guest did not partake of it. "Why," asked the Mírzá, "do you not like the food?" "I wish," replied the stranger, "to eat off the same plate with your majesty." "Oh, what happiness," exclaimed the latter. When evening came, he bid his guest to come and share with him the barley-loaf—that being all his meal. "Oh," said the man, "I thought your own meal would have been better than what you gave your guests; this was the cause of my indiscretion, but pray pardon me; I am satisfied to partake of the former repast." The host replied: "Yes, the dainty repast is best suited to your taste, the mere loaf is plenty for mine; for it is no light task to conquer the flesh and abjure the world—the world, that faithless creature, that slays her husband and devours her sons-in-law. No true man will give her a place in his heart. To do so is the act of the mean-spirited. Renounce the faithless harlot in the four extremities of the universe, and cleanse the skirt of your robe from all desire of her."

[1] امساك و عملداري

Religious men love not the world,
For they seek not women.
If you are bound in the chains of a woman,
Boast not again of your manliness.
Have you not read in the ancient book,
What befel Husain and Hasan, owing to a woman?
A woman, be she good or bad, should be thus treated:
Press your foot upon her neck.

Depopulation of the country of the Súmras.

When through the tyranny of Dalu Ráí, the river of the town of Alor became dry, the passage of the river of the Panjáb came to be made near Síwán, and that town, which is still flourishing, became populated. The want of water ruined the lands of the tribe of Súmra, and the tyranny of Dúdá Súmra drove many complaining to the Sultán 'Aláú-d dín, at Delhi. This monarch sent back with them a powerful army, under the command of the royal general named Sálár. The men of Súmra prepared themselves to die, and sent off their children in charge of a minstrel, to be placed under the protection of Ibra Ibrání. This Ibra was one of the very Sammas who had fled from the persecutions of the men of Súmra, and had made themselves masters of Kach in the manner which has been related above. It is a custom of these people to hold in high respect their minstrels, such as the Katriyas, the Chárans, the Dóms and the Márats (?). After the departure of their families, numerous engagements took place between the men of Súmra and the Sultán's army. Sahar Sultání, the Súmra commander, was slain in the field of battle, and the remainder sought safety in flight. The royal army advanced in pursuit of the women and children. From the capital, Muhammad Túr, to Kach they proceeded march by march, digging every night a deep trench round their camp, through fear of their foes.[1] Such was the extent of these trenches, that, to this day, great pools still remain. When they reached the confines of Kach, Ibra Samma, the ruler of the country, fought stoutly in defence of the children and fugitives, but fell at last in the field. The women, whose countenances no stranger had ever beheld, were now surrounded on all sides. These virtuous women saw that the royal army had come to carry them into captivity,

[1] [ازبیم آن زمین دار]

and that there was no refuge for them but in God's mercy; then, raising their hands in supplication, they exclaimed: "We have no other help, oh God! but in thee. Cause this mountain to protect us, poor helpless creatures, and save us from the hands of our cruel enemies." The prayer of these women was heard by Him, the nearest and dearest friend: the rock burst asunder, and showed openings, through which they all entered, and before the enemy could reach the spot they were all hidden; but fragments of their garments remained without, showing where they had passed. The pursuers were struck with awe, and retraced their steps. That mountain, and traces (of this event) may be seen to this day, in the land of Kach. In short, as no man was left in Sind, among the Súmras, of sufficient power to govern the country, the Samma people set to work to cultivate new territories on another part of the river.

The Sammas, after the expulsion of the tribe of Súmra, found the town of Sámúi-ábád.

After the destruction of the power of the above-named tribe the dynasty of the Samma ruled from the beginning of the year 843 H. (1439 A.D.) until the date of the total ruin of Sind.[1] The Samma people, who had been subject to the Súmras in the days of their rule, founded a town and fort below the Makalí mountain. The former they called Sámúí,[2] and the latter Taghurábád, of which Jám Taghur had laid the foundation, but had left unfinished.[3] Other towns and villages, still flourishing, were also built by them,—but the spots cultivated during the dominion of the former masters of the soil soon ran to waste for want of water. Lands hitherto barren, were now carefully cultivated; there was hardly a span of ground untilled. The divisions into *súbas* and *parganas*, which are maintained to the present day in the province of Tatta, were made by

[1] The text says 849 H. (1445 A.D.), but it was stated above that the Súmra dynasty closed in 843 H. And again at p. 51 of the original, it is stated that the Samma dynasty lasted 84 years, closing with the establishment of Sháh Husain Arghún's power in 927 H. (1521 A.D.), the invasion of his father in 921 H. counting for nothing. We must, therefore, necessarily assume 843 H. to be the correct reading, incorrect as it is in fact.

[2] [The name is here written "Sáí."]

[3] See Appendix respecting these places. Taghurábád is in other works called Tughlikábád.

these people. When the labour and skill of each individual had brought the land to this state of prosperity, Jám Nanda bin Bábiniya was acknowledged by all, great and small, as their chief, and received the title of Jám, which is the name of honour among these people. Such splendour spread over what had been but dreary solitudes, that it seemed as if a new world had sprung into existence. Before his time, there was nothing worthy of being recorded, but his reign was remarkable for its justice and an increase of Muhammadanism. I have omitted none of the events which occurred in his reign and in after years, as they have been related to me by old residents of those parts. This chieftain passed his days and nights in devotion. He permitted no one man to tyrannise over another; the poor were so happy that all the day long his name was on their lips. Peace and security prevailed to such an extent, that never was this prince called upon to ride forth to battle, and never did a foe take the field against him. When, in the morning, he went, as was his custom, to his stables to look at his horses, he would caress them, kiss their feet, and exclaim: "Heaven forbid that an invader approach my dominions, or that it ever be my fate to saddle these animals, and engage in war! May God keep every one happy in his place!"

The foundation of Tatta.

After he had dwelt some time in the city of Sáí, the thought entered his mind to build, at some auspicious moment, a new town, where happiness might remain for ever. Brahmans and astrologers having settled a lucky day, and having sought a spot in the neighbourhood of Sámúí, they selected an eligible place, where now stands the city of Tatta, and there, with the assent of the Jám, the foundation was laid. A division of the land having been made, mansions and houses were constructed. In truth, at such a fortunate moment was the foundation of this place laid, that trouble and affliction have never visited its inhabitants. Contented with what they possess, they carry on their affairs in luxury and ease. The cheerfulness and happiness which reigns among these people has never yet been, nor ever will be found elsewhere. Each month has several *'Ids* for

them; the first Friday after the new moon, they call in their Sindí language, *Máh-pahra Jum'a.* Such a crowd of men and women flock, on this day, to the Makalí monntain, that there is scarce room to stand. It has become a custom, among many classes, to consider the similar festival of *Máh-pahra Somár*—or the first Monday in each month—a great day for making pilgrimages. The pleasure of visiting each other, induces them to go in large parties, taking with them abundance of sweet river water and food such as they can afford. The day is spent in amusements, and visits to the shrines. The reason why they take water with them is, that the rain-water found in the tanks contiguous to the tombs is brackish, owing to the nitrous nature of the soil, and consequently, though fit for oblations, is not fit to drink. When evening puts a close to these pleasures, they seek their own abode. Besides the shrine of the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Shaikh Patta, there are some ten or twelve other places, where darweshes perform their dance. These excitable men often work themselves into such a state of holy ecstacy, that they cast themselves on the rocks of the mountain of Makalí; but by the blessing of their learned doctors and teachers, no harm befalls them. This custom, however much opposed to the laws of Islam, has been transmitted from generation to generation, and all the attempts of wise teachers and just governors have never succeeded in putting a stop to it. More wonderful still, is the fact that, during the rainy months, only a few showers fall on the mountain. At its summit is a pond, which they call "*Kira tal,*" or sweet tank; so long as the water of the heavens fills it, men and women of all classes, Hindús and Musulmáns, crowd there from morning till night; there they cook their meals, and feast, What *'id,* what wedding can ever boast of so numerous an attendance? He alone, who has seen and tasted of these pleasures, can understand this! The custom has long prevailed among these people, and what time has sanctioned they never relinquish. Other nations possess greater wealth, and greater skill; but such light-heartedness and contentment, as to labour for one day and repose for the rest of the week, to have but moderate desires and enjoy boundless ease, this has been reserved for the people of Tatta alone.

Elevation of Daryá Khán by Jám Nanda, who had purchased him from Lakzhír.

When Jám Nanda, son of Bábiniya had to the gratification of his friends, become the occupant of the throne of Tatta, he embellished the new city and ruled with so much justice and moderation that every citizen found happiness at his own hearth.

"That spot is Elysium where oppression comes not
Where no one interferes with another."

One day he went out to hunt, taking with him his minister Lakzhír.[1] The latter had with him a young slave named Kabúla, to whom was entrusted the care of his master's drinking-water. This boy was in reality the son of a Saiyid, but having fallen into captivity, he had been purchased by the minister. The Jám, becoming thirsty during the chase, called for water. His own water-carrier not being on the spot, the minister ordered his boy to fill a cup for the king. The lad, young in years but old in wisdom, filled the cup and threw in it some small blades of grass. The Jám put down the cup, and asked him what grass had to do in drinking water. The slave replied: "I saw your highness was very thirsty, and I feared lest you should drink too large a quantity and suffer from it in riding; I therefore put in the water these small obstacles, that you might drink in moderation." There was nothing so wonderful in this, but the boy's destiny befriended him, and the Jám was much pleased. He took Kabúla from the minister and made him one of his personal attendants. Day by day his affection for the youth increased, and finding him possessed of sufficient abilities to administer the affairs of the kingdom, or even to govern one, he soon conferred upon him the title of Mubárak Khán and employed him in all difficult matters. He loved him better than his own children and relatives. The Jám had many good men around him, such as Wazír Dilshád, who in the year 912 H. (1506 A.D.) carried his victorious arms from Tatta as far as the city of Uch, yet Mubárak carried off from all of them the ball of good fortune, and was honoured by the king with the management of the affairs of the State in preference to his own son, Jám Fíroz. He brought the country, from Multán to the borders of Kandahár and

[1] The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (p. 40) is doubtful about the real name, saying it is "Lahakdír," or "Lahgír."

from Kach to Makrán, into such subjection, that if at midnight one of his officers carried an order to any of the *Zamíndárs* and *Búmiyas* of these territories, it was instantly and gratefully obeyed. Such was the terror of his name in these turbulent provinces, that a pregnant woman miscarried if she heard of his approach. So far had spread the fame and dread of his incursions, that the words—"Silence, the terrible chieftain is coming," were enough to stop the crying of a wayward child.[1]

When at length, after a reign of seventy-three years, Jám Nanda passed from this perishable world to the abodes of immortality, he confided the care of the kingdom, of his treasures, his family, and his son Jám Fíroz, to Daryá Khán. "The management of the affairs of this kingdom," said the dying ruler, "devolves on thee. Discharge thy duty to Jám Fíroz with zeal and self devotion."[2]

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Sack and burning of Thatta[3] by the Firingís.

In the year 973 H. (1565 A.D.,) near the end of his life, Mirzá 'Isa Tarkhán, proceeded with his son, Mirzá Muhammad Bákí, in the direction of Bhakkar. As they drew near the town of Durbela, a dependency of Bhakkar, Mahmúd Khán, having strengthened his stronghold, sent forth his army to meet them, for, thought he, what breach of contract is this? They bring an army into my territory! What can be their object? It was the intention of Muhammad Bákí, to detach the *Parganah* of Durbela, from the province of Bhakkar, and to incorporate it in that of Síwán; but he was frustrated in this design by the army of Mahmúd Khán, which was powerful, and was everywhere prepared for fight. Blood had not yet been spilled, when, suddenly, news came from Thatta, that the Firingís had passed Láhorí Bandar, and attacked the city, The gates

[1] See Appendix.

[2] The author does not distinctly inform us that Daryá Khán was the same person as Mubárak Khán, but the heading of the section implies that he was, and we are explicitly told so in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*. *Mír M'asúm* and the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* say that Daryá Khán was the Jám's adopted son. Firishta calls him a relation of the Jám's, and speaks of Mubárak Khán and Daryá Khán as two individuals.

[3] [The author has hitherto used the Persian form "Tatta."]

were closed, said the despatch; if the army returned without delay, the place would be delivered; otherwise, the enemy was strong, and would effect his object. This intelligence caused the Mirzá to desist from prosecuting the quarrel any further. Leaving the country under the rule of the Khán, he speedily embarked in his boats, and departed. Before he could arrive, the Firingís had sacked the city, and filled it with fire and slaughter. Many of the inhabitants had found an asylum in the Jáma' Masjid of Mír Farrukh Arghún, which they quitted, on hearing of the Mirzá's approach. The mode of the Firingís coming was as follows:—Between the town of Thatta and Láhorí Bandar is a distance of two days journey—both by land and by water; beyond this, it is another day's march to the sea. There is a small channel, (called *nár* in the language of Thatta), communicating with the port; it is in some places about ten *tanábs* wide, in others, something more. It is unfordable. Between the port and the ocean there is but one inhabited spot, called Súí Miání. Here a guard belonging to the *Mír Bandar*, or port-master, with a loaded piece of ordnance, is always stationed. Whenever a ship enters the creek, it intimates its approach by firing a gun, which is responded to by the guard-house, in order, by that signal, to inform the people at the port, of the arrival of a strange vessel. These, again, instantly send word of its arrival to the merchants of Thatta, and then embarking on boats, repair to the place where the guard is posted. Ere they reach it, those on the look-out have already enquired into the nature of the ship. Every vessel and trader must undergo this questioning. All concerned in the business, now go in their boats, (*ghrábs*) to the mouth of the creek. If the ship belong to the port it is allowed to move up and anchor under Láhorí Bandar; if it belong to some other port, it can go no further, its cargo is transferred into boats, and forwarded to the city. To be brief, when these Firingí traders had got so far, and learned that the king of the country was away on a distant expedition, they felt that no serious obstacle could be made to their advance. The *Mír Bandar* wished to enforce the regulations, but he was plainly told by the foreigners that they had no intention of staying at the Bandar, but that they intended to proceed on to Thatta, in the small boats (*ghrábs*) in which they had come. There they would take some relaxation, sell

their goods, buy others, and then return. The ill-provided governor, unable to resist them by force, for their plans had been well laid, was fain to give in; so, passing beyond the Bandar, the Firingís moved in boats, up the river Sind towards Thatta, plundering as they went all the habitations on the banks. The ruler of the country being away, no one had sufficient power to arrest the progress of the invaders. They reached the city unmolested; but here the garrison, left by the Mirzá, defended the place with the greatest gallantry. A spirited contest with artillery took place on the banks of the river. In the end the defenders were overpowered; the enemy penetrated the city, and had made themselves fully masters of it, when the Mirzá arrived in all haste. As soon as they heard of his being near, with a powerful army, they loaded their boats with as much spoil as they could contain, and withdrew.[1]

The Mirzá, who had previously laid the foundation of a citadel for protection against the Arghúns, now deemed it necessary to encircle his palace and the whole city, with fortifications.

His reign ended with his life in the year 984 H. (1576 A.D.) His wealth and kingdom passed into the hands of his son—Muhammad Bákí.

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Extermination of the principal Inhabitants of Thatta.

Mirzá Muhammad Bákí ruled with a strong hand, and ruin fell upon the houses and property of the people. No one dared to oppose his improper proceedings. He did not consider it expedient, that any one with pretensions to eminence, learning, or genius, should be left in undisturbed tranquillity. Nobles and plebeians, men of rank, and men without rank, *Saiyids*, *Shaikhs*, *Kázís* and Judges, were all driven from their time-honoured abodes, and ordered to dwell without the city, as the Mirzá was of opinion that they were disaffected. To the eldest son of Míyan Saiyid 'Alí, although married to the daughter of Muhammad's brother, Mirzá Sálih, no more leniency was shown; he experienced the same treatment as the rest. Tyranny became the rule. Of the travellers from all parts who passed through the country, those whom he deemed worthy of notice were

[1] See further in the Appendix on the subject of the Portuguese proceedings.

summoned to his presence. So affably were they received, and such the apparent kindness shown to them, that it served as a balm to the weariness of travel. The beguiled stranger was deluded into the belief, that, in the wide world, there could not exist so benevolent a patron to travellers. When the visitors were preparing to depart, the Mirzá would say to his *Mír Bahr*, or superintendent of his Boat Department, that, as the breezes of his kingdom were soft and balmy, and river-excursions tended to cheerfulness, he must place a handsome boat at their disposal. As soon as they had been thus politely enticed into the middle of the stream, a plank was taken out of the bottom of the boat, and the unhappy travellers were drowned. This was done to prevent the chance of anyone talking of this favoured land elsewhere, so that the country, which had required such labour and pains to subdue, should find another conqueror. Any poor traveller, not considered fit to appear in the presence, was simply put to death.[1] Such was the meanness of this prince, that, only once a week, on Thursdays, was a meal prepared in the *Díwán -khána;* beyond this, he gave away nothing. If he heard of any person living generously in his own house, it mattered not whether he were a relative or otherwise, a citizen or a soldier, he laid the hand of tyranny on his possessions, nor withdrew it so long as a thing was left to take. Cunning showed itself in every word he spoke. Seated in the audience-tent, hardly a moment passed, but he said to his nobles: "Bring me gold, bring me grain; let this be your sole occupation, for these form the basis of power." The privations which he had formerly endured led him to heap treasure upon treasure, and grain upon grain. Not a corner of the citadel of Thatta but was filled with rice. Often the grain got clotted, and the heat arising therefrom occasioned spontaneous combustion, but the Mirzá would not have it removed from the fort, nor allow it to be given away. At harvest-time he held a revenue audit, and collecting all his dependents, he paid them, according to their dues, by assignments, partly in grain and partly in money. At length, one day his

[1] Several other instances of this wretch's cruelty are recorded in the *Tárikh-i Táhiri.* He delighted in eradicating beards, slitting ears, cutting off women's breasts, and trampling men to death under elephants; until at length both Musulmans and Hindús prayed to be delivered from his tyranny. [According to this author he died by his own hand.]

officers respectfully informed him that the fort was so full of old and new grain, that no room could be found for the produce of the coming harvest. The grain was getting clotted and burnt, so that it was best to assist the people with it, for, by this means, something would be saved at all events. The Mirzá replied, that they should have his answer on the morrow. During the night, he ordered some loaves to be made of clay. When the nobles came in the morning to pay their respects, the Mirzá ordered the cloth to be spread, and, contrary to custom, invited them to eat. They screwed up their courage, and wondered what evil was impending. For any officer of the state who incurred the ruler's displeasure was usually cut into pieces, which were placed in dishes, and carefully sent to his officers' houses, as a warning, to keep up a perpetual dread of his punishment. As the wondering and terrified nobles removed the dish covers, and beheld the strange-looking loaves laid out for the woeful meal, they cast glances from one to another, as if to say, what can this mean? Their host asked why they did not partake of the food before them. "You have all I can give you," said he; "perchance you are wealthy men, and do not like my simple fare." Impelled by fear, some of the ministers took the burnt rice-loaves. The Mirzá angrily enquired why they did not also partake of the other loaves. They replied: "Sire, your prosperity and wisdom are great: but to eat clay is difficult. In his fierce anger he became abusive, and exclaimed, "Oh! ye simpletons, how long will your wisdom ensure the welfare of my kingdom? Useless grain may at times render good service, for is it not better than clay? It may serve as food for the maintenance of life. Of what good are you, since the mere sight of clay-bread has half killed you! and you give me unsuitable advice! Have you not heard, how, when Humáyún came into this country, and Mirzá Sháh Husain Arghún laid waste the whole land, and gave orders for the sowing of grain,[1] what hunger and misery were endured; how raw hides and old skins were cooked in hot water and eaten?[2]"

These are facts:—It is indeed related that, at the time of the

[1] [حکم کاشتن غله نموده بود]

[2] The author has previously given an account of this famine at page 61 of the original, where he deals with this particular period of Sind history.

Emperor's flight and the devastation of the country by the Mirzá, extreme misery drove the men of Sind to eat their own kind. A man, having lost a cow, went with some friends to seek for it. They reached a plain where some youths, who had just come there, had placed a pot on a fire and were cooking meat. The owner of the cow and his friends took these people for thieves, and felt convinced that they were cooking some portion of the lost animal, which they had stolen. So they seized and bound them, asking what meat they were preparing, and whence they had procured it. These youths could not answer for fear, but, when the whip was applied, they found power to say that they were brothers and once had a mother. They had been dreadfully pinched with hunger. The mother, in her love, said that death was preferable to such an existence. She could not bear to see her children perish before her eyes, and besought them to kill her and satisfy the cravings of their hunger. They refrained as long as they could from such a cruel expedient, but at length, unable to contain themselves, they killed their mother, and this was her flesh in the pot. The story was not believed. The villagers said, that before they would credit it, their own eyes must have some proof. The unhappy brothers took their captors to the spot where the entrails had been thrown; this sight caused them to be more firmly bound, for the villagers maintained that some other person must have been sacrificed to their cravings, and that this was not their mother. The wretched lads supplicated and swore in vain; their punishment began, and the blows they received drew forth screams and lamentations. Then suddenly those entrails moved rapidly from the spot where they lay, and curled themselves around the feet of their tormentors. This was a warning. Suspicion at once fled before this miracle. What could it portend? An old man of the party spoke:—"These youths told us the truth. How great is the tender love of a mother, since even after death her remains come and cling to your feet pleading for the deliverance of her offspring!"

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The Mirzá sends his daughter, Sindí Begam, to the Emperor.

When the possession of the province of Bhakkar had been secured to the Emperor, by the valour of Mujáhid Ghází, the relatives of Mahmúd Khán became favourites with him. Mirzá Muhammad Bákí—who had, even before this event, entertained most extravagant fears for his own dominions—resolved to strengthen the alliance by giving his daughter in marriage to the monarch. The Mullá, whom I have previously mentioned, related to me, that he was one day secretly sent for by the Mirzá, who addressed him as follows :—"I have often thought, and still think, that Hazrat Jalálu-d dín Akbar Sháh is a mighty monarch. The pettiest of his officers—Mujáhid—with only fifty horsemen, has overcome Mahmúd Khán Kokaltásh, a man who can boast of an iron frame, and of strength equal to that of Isfandyár, who possesses, moreover, a strong fortress, situate between two wide rivers. What if the Emperor should send an army in this direction? desolation would spread over this peaceful land! The province of Bhakkar has been, to this time, a solid barrier against his encroachments, but it is so no longer. It will be wise, ere an army march hither, to send the Begam, accompanied by some of the chief men of this country, to wait upon the Emperor. Such an union may perhaps preserve us from the grasp of these fierce fire-eating warriors. What think you of this plan?" Being entirely and sincerely devoted to the Mirzá, the Mullá replied, that this vain proposal would certainly be attributed to want of courage and manliness. This speech proving anything but agreeable, the chieftain drew his sword, and advanced angrily towards the speaker, asking, how he dared to use such disrespectful language to him? The Mullá replied, with sincere feeling, that the Mirzá was at liberty to kill him, but that he had spoken advisedly. "Did his lord suppose the Emperor had any thought of him? What if the maiden were so little liked, as to be excluded from the royal harem, and sent back again! What shame, what dishonour would be the result! Would the prince, for the sake of a kingdom, bring disgrace upon his whole family." At these words, the Mirzá's anger flashed like lightning; he grew restless as quicksilver, and foaming at the mouth, he exclaimed : Remove this wretch from before my eyes, lest I shed his blood this very day." As the Mullá withdrew from his presence, he unburdened his mind

of what still remained there. "To represent the true state of a case was," he said, "the duty of a loyal servant. He had incurred his master's anger by so doing, but, even in this he felt himself happy and honoured. What imported it to him, if the Emperor sent back the princess! What recked he, if he gave her away to one of his favourites, better men than the Mirzá himself! You, he exclaimed, are a prince. You know no law but your own will: do that which shall be most pleasing to you." This advice, bitter withal, was heard, but not heeded. The opinion of other friends, and his own prevailed. That light of the eyes was sent to the Imperial court, escorted by Saiyíd Jalál, son of 'Alí Shírází, and son-in-law of Mirzá Sálih, Muhammad Bákí's own brother, and by Khwájá Mír Beg Diwán, provided with rich presents, and a suitable dowry. Having reached the Emperor's presence, the messengers kissed his feet, and displayed to view what they had brought. The valuables were then made over to the treasurer, but that most precious gem of all, that paragon of virtue, was introduced into the seraglio. There, the powerful monarch, prince of all things, cast but once a momentary glance on the countenance of this fair and nobly-born maiden, after which he would not see her again. He said to himself, that the daughter of Muhammad Bákí was not[1] of a good disposition, and that he would send her to some other person's harem. Some Arghúns, of the same descent as the Begam, and who had sought to escape from death at the emperor's court, endeavoured, notwithstanding her father and brothers' enmity, to avert an event which would, they thought, lower the dignity of their family. In defence of the honour and good name of their kinswoman, they represented to the Emperor, that never, to that day, had any member of their house experienced such unkind treatment from former rulers. Let the monarch of the world honour them with his universal benevolence, and send back the maiden to that wretch athirst for the blood of his brethren—who, if the monarch acceded to their wishes, would be under an obligation to them. The order of the Emperor, irresistible as the decree of fate, went forth, that Sindí Begam should be sent back to her father at Thatta.

[1] [The negative is wanting in Sir H. Elliot's MS. دختر خوب خوي است]

How Sindí Begam returned from the Emperor's court to her Father's.

At the time the Emperor was taking leave of the Begam, he ordered an elephant for her use, and bid her return to her father, whose ancestors, from father to son, had been vassals of the crown. He also added, that a small tract of land had been assigned to the princess; who, he hoped, would, at the appointed hour of prayer, pray for his welfare and the increase of his prosperity. The party left. A despatch had already been forwarded to the Mirzá, in which all these events had been detailed. He might, it was said, consider them as arrived. They had been placed in most critical circumstances, but providence had vouchsafed to preserve his name from disgrace. The Mullá relates that he was sent for by the Mirzá, who threw him the document itself, saying: "Read this sad news; what you foretold has come true." He perused the despatch of the nobles escorting the Begam, and found it was even so. He said, "Peace be with you, oh mighty lord! bow down your head humbly before the One incomparable Being; render thanks unto God, who has vouchsafed to maintain your honour, and be grateful to your blood-thirsty brethren, the Arghúns, as long as you live. Be kind to those of them still left here, and thus dispel the old enmity subsisting between you. The Mirzá, rendered wise and devout at length, was pleased with this speech, and said a few words which he deemed appropriate in thanksgiving. He also sent epistles to the Arghúns, wherever they could be heard of, calling upon them to lose no time in returning; and promising that compensation for their former sufferings should be afforded them to the utmost of their wishes. Some of them were slow to return, being doubtful of the chief's intentions; others, in whose hearts still lived the recollections of their fatherland, were content to brave even death. The excessive kindness they experienced proved a balm to the wounds of past persecutions, and surpassed their expectations.

About this time the *Jágírdárs* of the province of Bhakkar, owing to the Emperor's approach, resolved to send their army into the province of Síwán. This territory often suffered from their depredations, but they now sought to take it from the Mirzá. Fat'h Khán, a slave, ruled that province, but he had made a Hindú called

Júna his agent; and to any person wishing to address him on affairs of the state, he stupidly said: "I know nothing of this: go to Júna." His son Abú-l Fat'h led a most dissipated life. He clothed his companions in female apparel, with bracelets on their arms, and kept them hidden in his own abode. He would not eat of food on which a fly had lighted. His associates were usually made to bring many kinds of dishes, and by this means, he plundered them. From the 13th to the 16th of every month his friends were called together, and the time was spent in debauchery. Whole nights passed in the enjoyment of sweetmeats, fruit, and wine; he gave presents to his guests and attendants. But of all his absurdities this was the greatest: if a flight of birds happened to be pointed out to him, he commenced counting them, throwing in the air either a *larí*[1] or a Firingí gold coin as each passed by. In short, as this miserable state of things prevailed, the Mirzá resolved, in order to put a stop to it, to remain himself at the head of affairs in the capital, and send away his children to the frontier and the provinces.

* * * * * * *

Arrival of Nawwáb Mirzá Khán, in Síwán, and his wonder at the Lakkí mountain.

When the illustrious Khán, leaving Bhakkar behind him, arrived in Síwán, his first though was to invest and capture the fort before proceeding any further; but, after-consideration showed him that no substantial benefit could accrue from the possession of a few mud walls, until both the capital Thatta and the ruler of the country were in his hands. The root is the support, not the branches. The Nawwáb thought it best to leave a detachment behind and move onwards in person with the remainder. This plan was carried into execution. Leaving under his officers some ships which he considered equal to the destruction of the fort, the Khán marched against Mirzá Jání Beg.

When he drew near the Lakkí mountain, which wise men hold to be the key of the country, what a sight opened upon him. From the river Sind, stretching away towards the setting sun, rose the above-

[1] A silver coin.

named mountain, its summits high as the star Aiyúk, and along the face of it ran a path narrower than a hair. Those who pass over climb like a string of ants. If ten resolute men defended this passage, not the world combined could dislodge them, without suffering severely from the stones they could throw down. Adjoining these mountains are many others, on which dwell the tribes of the Bulúch and Nahmrúí, of the Jokiya and Jat, extending as far as Kích (Kíz ?) and Makrán. To the eastward of the river are the Mawás and the Samíja tribes, spread as far as the sand-hills of Amarkot; and these are men who have never acknowledged a master. For an army to pass in either of these directions is impracticable. The Nawwáb made enquiries about the country and was greatly troubled with what he heard, for if an ambuscade were laid in the valley it would be exceedingly difficult for him to proceed, this being the key of the whole country. Just as orders had been issued for this post to be fortified (as by this means, and by well-laid plans, a secure advance might be made) it was discovered that the enemy had taken no measures to defend the pass. The Khán was delighted, and exclaimed that the star of the monarch of the world had indeed outshone that of these people, since they neglected to make a stand in so formidable a position; of a certainty now the country had passed away from their hands. When this saying reached the ears of the Mirzá (Jání Beg), keen indeed was his regret for the neglect he and his counsellors had been guilty of. "Truly," said he, "have we committed a great fault of generalship. In short, the Khán advanced without meeting with any obstacle, and, in presence of the Mirzá, threw up an intrenchment and constructed batteries. Morning and evening, valiant, lion-hearted youths, worthy descendants of Mars, came forth from both sides. With such activity did destiny send forth death to do its work in the field, that no symptom of backwardness appeared there; energy filled every breast, as the warriors strove their utmost. The happy star of the Emperor, and his own genius, inspired the Nawwáb to send detachments against various places in the same way that he had encompassed Mirzá Jání Beg and the fort of Síwán. Sháh Beg Khán was selected to act against the fort of Sháhgar, in the province of Nasrpúr, where resided Abú-l Kásim. Another party of veterans was told off to

march into the Jágir country, against the fort of Nírankot. In this war, for every province of the country a force was appointed, although it was not despatched.

Mirzá Jání Beg Sultán made this agreement with his soldiers, that every one of them who should bring in an enemy's head should receive 500 *gabars*, every one of them worth twelve *mírí's*, called in the Mirzá's time, *postanís*, of which seventy-two went to one *tanka*. The poor people of Sind, already prepared to give their lives for their lord, were pleased with this show of kindness, and went out daily to bring in heads or lose their own. This style of warfare continued for several months. Giriya, the Hindú, who well knew how matters stood, and the state of the treasury, and had a regard to future exigencies, gradually reduced the reward from 500 to fifty *gabars*. Even for this small sum, the starving people were content to throw themselves without hesitation against the scimitars of the foe. The greater number fell in these contests, and the treasury became empty, so that day by day, the state of the people and of the country grew worse. Mirzá Jání Beg found his only safety in protracting the struggle, and sent forth his young men on all sides to distract the enemy. Hearing that treasure was on its way by land to the Nawwáb Khán's camp, he sent Abú-l Kásim, son of Sháh Kásim Arghún, with a body of spirited youths, Moghals and Sindís, to attack it. This chieftain, when he drew near the convoy, about the middle of the night, hid himself with his men, and sent a small party to fall upon the enemy's rear with a great clamour. The enemy all turned against these men, but Abú-l Kásim, with the remainder, entered their camp, carried off the treasure, and slew the foremost of the foe. Sultán Khusrú Charkas likewise attacked them with his boats, according to a previously concocted scheme, by which a body of picked men was to remain on board, whilst another advanced by land, The Nawwáb also had made suitable dispositions. The Mirzá's chieftains, who were anxious for Khusrú's defeat, sent the armed force in the boats, but kept back the party which had been selected for the land attack. The hostile fleets drew up in the opposite lines, and a discharge of cannons and muskets, shells, and rockets, wheels, and every kind of fire missiles commenced on both sides. The scattering flames and

sparks shone on the water like a fiery mountain, and such clouds of smoke ascended, that the vaulted heavens became as it were the roof of a furnace. The sun sheltered itself in the smoke from the fierceness of the heat, and was eclipsed. Sight could not pierce the thick clouds, and breath failed from the density of the atmosphere. At length the boats ran foul of each other. The rings and grapnels, which were made in order to drag away the enemy's boats, now began to be used. So violent a struggle ensued, that the waves were crimsoned with the blood of those whom the guns had destroyed. By the help of their friends on shore the Khán's party triumphed, and their adversaries fled. Khusrú Charkas was taken in his boat along with several other vessels, when, at that moment, Charkas Daftír, the chief of the merchants of Firang, who repaired yearly to Thatta from Hurmúz, came fluttering like a moth around this furnace, and running his boat into the midst of the fray, succeeded in rescuing Khusrú from his captors; but the attempt cost both of them their lives. When both sides were satiated with blood they withdrew to their tents, and applied balm to their wounds. It was at length resolved to abandon stratagem and fight in the open plain, where victory would fall to the brave.[1]

[1] The *Táríkh-i Sind* (p. 294), and the *Tarkhán-náma* (p. 112), concur in representing that there were Portuguese mercenaries in this action, which closed the independence of Sind in A.D 1591. They attribute the escape of Khusrú Khán to the fact of a powder magazine exploding in the royal fleet.

VI

BEG-LÁR-NÁMA.

This work derives its name from the person to whom it was dedicated, and by whose advice it was undertaken: Sháh Kásim Khán, son of Amír Saiyid Kásim Beg-Lár. We learn nothing of the author—not even his name—either from the preface or the body of the history. We can only tell, from the tone in which he speaks of his patron, that he must have been a most abject dependant.

The name of Beg-Lár, we are told, belonged to his patron's family by hereditary descent, and is not therefore to be confounded with the Beglerbegs of Turkey and Persia, who are the viceroys or governors of the Provinces.[1] The Beg-Lár family after residing for some generations at Turmuz, came to reside at Samarkand, whence we had them emigrating to Sind. They pretend to derive their origin from 'Ali, the son-in-law and cousin-german of the Prophet. The genealogy is given in the *Beg-Lár-náma* and *Tuhfatu-l Kirám.* Their intimate connection with the Arghúns is attributed to one of their remote ancestors having taken up his abode in Khitá, where he and his descendants continued in friendly communication with the Turks. This connection, indeed, frequently gives rise to the

[1] This title is not, as is generally supposed, used in Turkey alone. Ever since the time of the Ilkhánians, it has been adopted in Persia also. Cornelius le Bruyn's *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 206; Franklin's *Tour to Persia*, pp. 336, 350; Sir H. Bridges' *Dynasty of the Kajars*, p. 449; Pottinger's *Belochistan*, p. 222. Their position, privileges and duties are shown in Von Hammer's *Staats verfassung des Osmanischen Reichs.* Vol. I. p. 370; II. 273; and Paul Rycaut's *State of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 51-57. *Dem. Cantemir, Hist. of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 85.

Beg-Lár family's being called Arghún, as at pp. 263, 287, in the extract from the *Táríkh-i Táhirí*, where the patron of our author is styled an Arghún.

Amír Sháh Kásim came from Samarkand to Sind in the time of Sháh Husain Arghún, and was received with distinction. He married the niece of the WairsíRáná of 'Umarkot, and as her father was a Bhattí Rájpút, Sháh Kásim, the produce of this marriage, was half a Bhattí, and amongst that tribe he was brought up. It is to him, under the title of Khán-i Zamán, that this book is chiefly devoted, and as he acted an important part in the affairs of the kingdom, we are treated with tedious reports of the most trifling exploits performed by him and his sons, consisting chiefly of provincial contests, border feuds and cattle raids. This minute history, however, compels the author to mention the names of streams, forts, villages and tribes, which in themselves sometimes possess considerable interest. Even the local hostilities and intermarriages of clans afford matter of speculation to the curious enquirer, and on all these points some information is to be gleaned from the *Beg-Lár-náma*.[1]

As the little that there is of general interest centres in the connection which Khán-i Zamán had with public characters, it may as well be mentioned that he first rose to some distinction under Sháh Husain, the Arghún ruler of Sind. He then served successively Mirzá I'sá Tarkhán, Ján Bábá, Mirzá Muhammad Bákí, and Mirzá Jání Beg. When this chief went to render his submission to the Emperor Akbar, Khán-i Zamán accompanied him, and was received with favour. He was afterwards nominated to an appointment in Sind under Mirzá Ghází Beg, and lived to an old age in that country, surrounded by a large and thriving family. His son, Mír Abú-l Kásim Sultán, was celebrated for his gallant conduct in the field, as well as for his literary talents. After rebelling against the constituted authorities, he was par-

[1] Tod says, that the present Ráná of the Sodhas has set the example of these intermarriages, but the following extracts will show the practice to have been prevalent nearly three centuries ago. *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. II. p. 317.

doned through the intercession of his father; but was subsequently blinded to prevent his exciting further disturbances.

The exact date of the composition of this work cannot be fixed with precision within twenty years—1017 and 1036 H.—because the intimations we have on that point are altogether contradictory and irreconcilable. We are told (p. 256) that the author's patron has "at this period, (*aknún*)" that is 1017 "reached the age of seventy." About this there can be no doubt, because we have already been informed (p. 36) that he was born in 947—moreover the date is given not only in numerals but in text. But we are informed (p. 27) of Mirzá Ghází Beg's death, which occurred in 1021; about which, also, there can be no doubt, as it is substantiated by a chronogram in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (p. 72). Again, in enumerating the children of his patron, (pp. 260, 261) we have the dates of 1032 and 1033, both in text and numerals. It could not have been composed at any period more than three years beyond this, because Jahángír is mentioned as the reigning monarch. Taking all these points into consideration, we may consider, either that the rough draft was written in 1017, and that a second was made about 1035, when the subsequent dates gained admission; or that *aknún*, as at p. 41, is used with reference to the event which the author is describing, not with reference to the period at which he is writing—in short, in the sense of "at that time," not "at this present." If so, the date of 1017 relates only to the time when Khán-i Zamán had completely peopled and settled the country round the fort of Saiyid-garh, of which he finished the building in 1011; and we can fix with tolerable certainty upon the year 1034, or 1035—say 1625 A.D.—as that in which the *Beg-Lár-náma* was brought to a conclusion; but I have no great confidence in this interpretation, and it must be confessed that the matter is not worth further enquiry.

The *Beg-Lár-náma*, after the preface, opens with a general abstract history of Sind and the Arab invasion, in twenty-two pages: we then have a very slight notice of the Arghúns, with a biography of Amír Kásim Beg, extending altogether to eighteen

pages: and from that to the end we have detailed accounts of the squabbles amongst the various members of the Tarkhán family, with the insertion of every expedition of robbery and plunder in which the noble Khan-i Zamán himself was in the remotest degree concerned.

This work is not found in India, except in the provinces of Sind, where I know of three copies. There is one in the Imperial Library at Paris. Fonds Gentil, No. 17.[1] Size Quarto, (12 × 9 inches). 275 pages of 17 lines each.

EXTRACTS.

Aboriginal Inhabitants of Sind.

Sind derives its name from Sind, the son of Ham the son of Núh (God's peace be with him!) and the province remained in possession of his descendants; but their names cannot be found in any books of history, nor have I heard them in legendary stories, and I am therefore compelled to omit them. That which I have heard from common report is this, that in olden time the Province of Sind was held by the tribes of Bína, Ták, and Nabúmiya; but the period of their government is not known. After a time, Sahasí Ráí reigned in the fort of Alór,[2] and all Sind and Hind was under his rule. When he died, Chach Brahman became master of Sind and Hind. His capital was the fort of Brahmanábád, and his dominions extended to the confines of Kashmír. His son Dáhir succeeded him and became master of the whole kingdom. In his days the armies of Islám arrived under the command of Muhammad Kásim, and after many battles Dáhir was slain.

Mír Kásim Beg-Lár marries the daughter of Ráná Kúmba.

It appears that in those days when Mír Kásim Beg-Lár deceased held the governorship of 'Umarkot,[3] Ráná[4] Kúmba Wairsí represented to him that an inveterate and deep-rooted enmity existed between his people and the Ráthors of the fort of Nílma,[5] and he

[1] Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes*, p. xxvii.

[2] See Appendix.

[3] [عمرکوت]

[4] [رعنا]

[5] This place is half-way between 'Umarkot and Jesalmír.

was therefore solicited to march against them, that ample revenge might be taken. The Mír complied with his request, and he accordingly marched with the people of the Sodha tribe[1] in that direction. When the warlike and fierce Ráthors were informed of the coming of the ever-successful army, they armed themselves and advanced boldly to the field of battle. Both armies stood in powerful array against each other. TheRáná intimated to the Mír that it was an old-established custom amongst their tribes that both parties should alight from their horses and engage on foot.[2] The most noble Amír agreed to this and issued orders to his army, which consisted of Sodhas, that they should dismount while they opposed the enemy. The Amír took his bow from the easel and began to shoot his arrows. Every arrow told, piercing through the armour and bodies of the enemy, and each time sending a soul to the world of annihilation. Twenty of the enemy having been slain, the remnant took to flight, confessing the Mír's bravery, and lauding him with a hundred thousand tongues. When the Sodhas witnessed such bravery and intrepidity, they resolved to honour themselves by seeking a matrimonial alliance with the Mír. The great and noble Mír, according to the will of God, accepted their prayers, and Rájia the daughter ofRáná Kúmba Wairsí's sister, a most modest chaste girl, whose father was the Bhattí chief of the fort of Jesalmír, was betrothed to him.[3]

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Deputation of Khán-i Zamán on a mission to Rái Dhar Ráj of Jesalmír.

Khán-i Zamán, with the aid of the Almighty, proceeded, with his friends and suite, after taking leave of Mirzá Ján Bábá, towards Jesalmír. When he arrived, he halted outside the fort on the margin of the tank,[4] and despatched a messenger to Rái Dhar Ráj

1 [See Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. 93, and II. 210, 319.]

2 See Appendix.

3 The text says simply عاجزه رعنا, but at page 44, we are told that she was his sister's son, and this is confirmed by the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*.

4 The spacious tank of Jesalmír lies to the south-east, and the magnificent fort crowns a rocky hill on the south-western angle of the town.

to say that Mirzá Ján Bábá had sent a robe of honour for him. The Ráí with much politeness, requested him to stay where he was encamped, and intimated that he would come to him on an auspicious day and hour to be invested with the robe. In those days the periodical rains, by the will of God, had not fallen, and the land all round was parched up. A single vessel of water was to be had only at a very heavy price, for there was no water in the lake. But, when the prosperous feet of this nobleman touched that ground, suddenly, by the will of God, rain fell: the dry land became saturated and green herbs sprung up in every place. In the morning, the Ráí came to visit him and had the honour of meeting him. He said that the rain had fallen only on account of his prosperous presence. He accompanied the Khán with great honour and respect into the fort, and then performed the rites of hospitality. Each day he showed him greater honour. The great Khán stayed there for the period of five months, after which he took leave and turned his reins towards Nasrpúr. Having reached the banks of the tank of Sánkra, he learnt that Jaish Khán and 'Aláu-d dín, having pursued their course along the eastern bank of the river, were proceeding towards Thatta to meet Ján Bábá. When they had reached the stream of the Rain, they were informed that Mirzá Ján Bábá, accompanied by Saiyid 'Alí Shírází, had gone to Mirzá Muhammad Bákí, and according to the will of God had been slain. On hearing this, they returned and reached Nasrpúr plundering the country on their road. Khán-i Zamán also went thither and met them. The exigencies of the time were such that he owed money, and as none of these people showed him any humanity and favour, he was much distressed in mind. He said he had placed all his reliance on Mirzá Ján Bábá, on whom the decree of God had now passed. He observed to his companions, "At present it is urgently necessary for me to pay some money in liquidation of my debt, what is your advice." They replied—"These people possess much wealth and are proud of their riches. Now we are at your service and ready to accompany you wherever you desire." On this, he proceeded towards the Sodhas, at the village of Tarangchí.

The Plunder of Tarangchí.

Khán-i Zamán, by the advice of his companions, set out and crossed the waters of Sánkra. When Dúda and Ghází learnt that he had gone in that direction with only a few men, they rode after him. As soon as 'Aláu-d dín and Mián were informed that their sons Ghází and Dúda had gone to join Khán-i Zamán, they also marched in the same direction with the intention of bringing them back. They reached the banks of the Sánkra at the time that Khán-i Zamán had crossed it, while Dúda and Ghází were only then preparing to pass the stream. When they saw that their fathers had come to take them back, they immediately threw themselves into the stream, swam their horses over, and joined Khán-i Zamán. They would not return, for they reflected that, if at this time they did not accompany him, the reward of their past services would be forfeited. In the afternoon, Khán-i Zamán, having watered his horses, left the village of Ráhú Madh, and that renowned lion, with only twelve horsemen, travelled through a large jungle the whole night. On arriving near the village of Tarangchí, he found the camels of the Sodhas there, and determined to carry them off without delay; but it occurred to him that he had better first let his horses quench their thirst. With this intent he proceeded towards the village, and there found the tracks of five hundred horses that had just passed over the ground. He was alarmed, and thought how impossible it was to save himself with so few men against such a host. He, however, advanced and asked the driver of the camels what army had passed by that road. The man replied that Mirzá Muhammad Bákí and Mirzá Ján Bábá had quarrelled with each other, and that the former had asked the Sodhas to reinforce him. Hence a force of about five hundred men of the Waisa tribe had passed that way. The Khán's companions were much alarmed at this intelligence, and brought back their horses without watering them; but they bravely and gallantly carried off the camels; many of these animals died on account of the severe marches they had to make. The next day, in the afternoon, the dauntless heroes reached the village of Ráhú Madh,[1] where they stayed only sufficient time

[1] [The name is here written Ráhú-dhar.]

to drink water. At nightfall they halted at the village of Pariyárí. Early next morning they pursued their journey, and reached the village of Sítára, which belonged to the Anrán tribe. There they rested themselves without fear or danger. They divided the camels amongst themselves. One was given to Jaish Khan, another to Birlás, another to 'Aláu-d dín, and another to Mián Sodha.

* * * * * * *

Proceedings of Khán-i Zamán.

Khán-i Zamán had his head-quarters at Nasrpúr, and comforted the people under his rule by his kindness and justice.

* * * * * * *

As ties of relationship existed between him and the Bhattís, he sent Arab horses laden with all kinds of valuable articles to the Ráńás of the Sodha, Rára, and Bhattí tribes, the Ráwats and the Ráthors, and the Ráís and Jáms of the Jhárejas; insomuch that the chiefs of 'Umarkot, Jesalmír, Bíkánír, Nirohí, Mahwa (Míwár?), Kótara, Báhalmír, Nílma, Bárkar, Kach, Náktí, Rámdinpúr, Chaudúwár, and the like, were gained by his bounty. No demand of service was made from them. These chiefs engraved the words of friendship and fidelity on their hearts, and considering themselves greatly honoured, were ready to exclaim:—"We are under great obligations to the Sháh! We can think of nothing else but of serving him. For we are favoured by his generosity, and will never turn our faces against his commands." Being grateful they were always ready to obey his orders. If any service was required of them, they performed it with the greatest fidelity and submission, and whenever they were summoned they came willingly. As the Bháts and Chárans were dependents of these chiefs he used to reward these family bards whenever they came to him, with a lakh (of rupees?) or more. As Hewanda was the bard of the Bhattís, he presented him with a donation of one crore and a quarter, or one hundred and twenty-five lakhs (?), besides horses, camels, etc., which he likewise generously granted. In short, by the wise conduct of this great and enlightened noble, all men, great and small, bad and good, were as obedient to him as

slaves. The renown of the excellent qualities of this second Hátim or Ma'n, was not only on the tongues of all the nobles and plebeians of his own land, but also spread over every part of the world.

The Sacking of 'Umarkot.

The appointment of the governorship of 'Umarkot depended upon the will of the kings of Sind, who removed the incumbent whenever they thought proper. About the time when Khán-i Khánán came to Sind, the governorship of that fort was held by Ráná Megráj. Khán-i Khánán expressed a desire to be connected by marriage with the Ráná, who having no daughter fit to be given in marriage to him, he was obliged to offer the hand of his brother Mán Sing's daughter. After the death of Ráná Megráj, Nawwáb Mirzá Jání Beg conferred the governorship of 'Umarkot on his son Kishan Dás. Animosity sprang up between this chief and Mán Sing, and he, having turned out Mán Sing from the fort, assumed the surname himself. Mán Sing, being related to Khán-i Khánán, sent his son to represent the matter to him. In those days Khan-i Khánán and Nawwáb Mirzá Jání Beg were both in attendance on the Emperor Akbar at Burhánpúr. Khán-i Khánán therefore recommended Mán Sing to the favour of Mirzá Jání Beg, who wrote to Mirzá Abú-l Kásim Sultán directing him to place Mán Sing in the governorship of the fort of 'Umarkot, and make Kishan Das understand that he was not to oppose and thwart him, but that the same rule with regard to their respective positions should be observed now, as had been established from of old in the family. Mír Abú-l Kásim Sultán, in obedience to this mandate, proceeded from the fort of Sháhgarh[1] towards 'Umarkot. Having reached the village of Sámára he alighted there, Mán Sing being also with him. Ráná Kishan Dás being informed of this, collected his forces, and having encamped opposite the same village, drew up his army in hostile array. The Ráná Kishan Dás was in many ways related to the noble Khán-i Zamán, one of his sisters being married to Mír Abú-l Kásim, another to Sháh Mukím Sultán,[2] and he himself was son-in-law of Báncha Bhattí, the maternal nephew of

[1] Sháhgarh was built by Khán-i Zamán on the banks of the Sánkra, "and nothing now remains of it except the name."—*Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 72.

[2] These two were sons of Khán-i Zamán.

the Khán. Some friendly people who were with the Amír were anxious that no fighting should take place between the parties. When they expressed their intention to the Ráná, he said he considered himself a servant of Mír Abú-l Kásim, and would not rebel against him: still Mán Sing must not be allowed any interference, because he was the originator of these quarrels and disturbances. Mír Abú-l Kásim, however, adhered to the orders he had received to place Mán Sing in the governorship. At length, upon the instigation of his well-meaning friends, the Ráná resolved to go to Mír Abú-l Kásim Sultán. So when he arrived, he alighted from his horse, and having changed his vanity and pride for humility and supplication, he advanced on foot for a long distance with his whole army, officers, dependants, and servants. He kissed the feet of the Sultán, and presented him the horse on which he had himself ridden. The Sultán mounted and gave him his hand. He then pitched his tent near[1] the pool of Sámára and passed the night there. The Ráná also encamped on the margin of the pool. At daybreak, some of the people of the Mír's camp, who belonged to the Sameja tribe, went into the fields of the Sodhas and began to injure them. As hostilities had previously existed between these tribes, the Sodhas abused the Samejas, and a quarrel ensued. Intelligence being brought to Mír Abú-l Kásim, he immediately hastened off; and Ráná Kishan Dás also set his army in array, and advanced with intent to fight, but his heart failing him, he took to flight, and proceeded towards Kaurhár. Mír Abú-l Kásim with his followers and companions, hastened to 'Umarkot. When he approached the fort, a son of the Ráná Kishan Dás who was in it, not being able to oppose him, took some money with him and fled. Upon this, the Mír entered the fort and the whole family of the Ráná were captured. But as they were related to him, they, together with his treasures,[2] were of course protected. All other things, however, were taken possession of by the army. Temples were demolished, cows were directed to be butchered, and the houses of the vile infidels were made to resound with the sound of trumpets and horns, and their filthy idols were polluted. In the idolatrous places of worship Muhammadan tenets were pro-

[1] [The text says در میان کولاب "in the middle of the pool."]

[2] ["*Rahzád*" = *zád-i ráh*, "provisions for the way."]

mulgated, and prayers were read for one entire week. He remained in the fort passing his time in festivity and pleasure. As the killing of cows and the breaking of idols is considered by the Sodhas to be the highest possible insult, the Ráná felt highly indignant, and having returned from the village of Kaurhár, he summoned the Sodhas from all sides and quarters to meet him at Gaddí. There they crowded ready to advance on 'Umarkot. They had been subjected to great ignominy, and so they were all ready to sacrifice their lives in revenge. When this news reached Khán-i Zamán, he, reflecting that both parties were enrolled in his army, was most anxious that no contest should take place between them, and consequently hurried away with the intention of effecting a reconciliation between them. He set out in the evening from Nasrpúr, and having travelled the whole night arrived early the next morning at the village of Gaddí, where the Ráná and the Sodhas had encamped. He sent his son Mír Sháh Mukím Sultán, Mír Fathí Beg Sultán, and Kána Bhattí, brother of Rám Bhattí, to the Ráná, in order to appease and comfort him. They accordingly went to him, and so far appeased him that he was induced to accompany them, and had the honour of kissing the Khán's feet. The Khán exalted him by the grant of a horse and robe of honour, and spoke words of sympathy and consolation. * * * * In the end, some of the plundered property was restored, but the Ráná obtained only poor satisfaction.

VII.

TARKHA'N-NA'MA.

OR

ARGHU'N-NA'MA,

These two are different names of the same work, of which the author is Saiyid Jamál, son of Mír Jalálu-d dín Husainí Shírází, who composed his work in the year H. 1065 (1654-5 A.D.), as we learn from a casual notice in the genealogical tree, to be hereafter mentioned. The work is named after the Moghal families of Arghún and Tarkhán respectively, whose origin will be further noticed in the Appendix. The *Arghún-náma* is mentioned in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* as if it were a separate work, but there is nothing on the Arghúns in the latter history which is not derived from sources at present extant and available. I could find no trace of such a history in Sind, and I was told by several people in that province, that the work under consideration was the only one known as the *Arghún-náma.* As it treats with sufficient copiousness upon the Arghún history, as will be seen in the translated extract, there is no impropriety in giving it this assumed name, but it is obvious that the author himself styled it *Tarkhán-namá* only, in compliment to his patron Mirzá Muhammad Sálih, who was of the Tarkhán family.

There appears to have been at one time a history of that family of older date than this, because Saiyid Jamál informs us, that the Mirzá, being most anxious to acquaint himself with the genealogy and history of the Moghal tribes, and especially of his own ancestors, in order that he might learn precisely from what particular chief he was descended, commissioned our author to send him the book called *Tarkhán-náma.* This zealous indi-

vidual, not being able, notwithstanding all his enquiries, to find any book of this name, determined to compose one himself to supply the deficiency, and for this purpose examined and extracted from *Tabarí*, the *Rauzatu-s Safá*, the *Zafar-náma*, the *Taríkh-i Humáyúní*, the *Akbar-náma*, the *Nigáristán*, the *Táríkh-i Táhirí*, the *Muntakhab-i be-badal Yúsufí*, the *Táríkh-i Guzída*, the *Majma'u-l Ansáb*, and others. And so having traced the progenitorship of the Tarkháns up to the Patriarch Noah, he completed what he styles his *Tarkhán-náma*.

In this enumeration of authorities we have another flagrant instance of that offensive suppression of the truth which so often excites our indignation in the Indian historians. The work to which Saiyid Jamál is most indebted is Mír M'asúm's *Táríkh-i Sind*, from which he has extracted and abridged, but with many omissions,[1] the whole history of the Arghúns and Tarkháns, from the rise of Sháh Beg, to the close of the independence of Sind under Jání Beg, and to which he is indebted even for the selection of whole sentences, as well as the frame of the narrative; and yet Mír M'asúm's name is nowhere mentioned, except where his grandfather Saíyid Mír Kalán (p. 96) is incidentally brought upon the stage. From some of the works quoted he has of course borrowed his Turkish genealogy, but even there his obligations seem to have been confined to the *Rauzata-s Safá*, the *Zafar-náma*, and the *Majma'u-l Ansáb*, which three works would have been sufficient to afford him all the information with which we are favoured on that subjeet. The *Táríkh-i Táhirí*, which is the only local history which he quotes, is, with strange inconsistency, not followed either for facts or dates.

Mírzá Muhammad Sálih, who is represented to have been endowed with every excellence, personal and intellectual, was the son of Mirzá 'Isá Tarkhán, grandson of the more celebrated holder of the same name, who founded the Tarkhán dynasty of

[1] Amongst these may be noticed the transactions of the Arghúns with the Dhárejas, Mághis, Dahars, and Rái Khanhar of Kach; Shah Husain's proceedings at the fort of Diláwar, and at Pattan in Guzerát; the attack of Bakhshú Langáh on Bhakkar, in 959 H. etc., etc.

Sind. Mirzá 'Ísá, the younger, was introduced to Akbar in 1012 H., and was treated by him and his successor, Jahángír, with distinguished consideration. As his independence of all favour and patronage, except that bestowed by the Emperor himself, rendered him obnoxious to the nobles about the Court, they managed that he should receive only those jágírs in which the turbulence of the inhabitants made the collection of revenue difficult;[1] but his bravery and good conduct defeated all these machinations, and he triumphed over the jealous opposition of of his enemies.

By an early acknowledgement of Sháh Jahán as Emperor, and his proclamation of him in the 'Idgáh of Ahmadábád, in which he anticipated the other more tardy nobles of Guzerát, where his jágír was then situated, he met with a distinguished reception from the new monarch, to whom he went to pay his respects on the banks of the Mahí. He was shortly afterwards preferred to the Súbadárí of Thatta, where he was directed to seize the person of Sharíru-l Mulk at all hazards. Having succeeded in sending this gallant but obnoxious individual a prisoner to the Imperial Court, he received the honour of a *Naubat*, a lac of rupees in cash, and the increase of 1000 to his personal rank. He obtained subsequently the Súbadárí of Guzerát, and died full of years and titles at the advanced age of ninety-five, in the year 1061 H. (1651 A.D.), four years previous to the composition of this work.

Mirzá Muhammad Sálih succeeded to some portion of the honours of his father, and the other members of the family had each a separate provision assigned to them by the royal munificence.

The *Tarkhán-náma*, after a preface of three pages, opens with a genealogical tree from Noah to Muhammad Sálih, extending through twenty-eight pages. We then have an abstract history of the Kháns of Turkistan, and of Changíz Khán, and his de-

[1] At this very time we find an Englishman complaining of the same treatment, by which, through the intrigues of the ministers, the king's kind intentions were rendered of none effect.

scendants who ruled in Írán, in forty pages; the history of the Arghúns in twenty-three pages; of the Tarkháns in thirty-three pages; concluding with the death of Mirzá 'Ísá Tarkhán abovementioned. Altogether, 127 pages 4to. (12×9 inches) of 17 lines each. The style is elegant, but, from a comparison with the original authorities, it will appear that its best graces are borrowed. Like other local histories of Sind, it is rare out of that province.

Extracts.

The Arghún Dynasty of Kandahár and Sind.[1]

It is related by historians that Amír Zú-n Nún, son of Amír Basrí, one of the descendants of Arghún Khán Tarkhán, son of Abaká Khán, son of Hulákú Khán, son of Túlí Khán, son of Changíz Khán, a soldier distinguished for courage and bravery among the warriors of his tribe,[2] was employed by Abú Sa'íd Mirzá, and on all occasions acted up to his former character. By this conduct he became a great favourite of Sultán Abú Sa'íd. The honours and rewards he received subjected him to the envy and jealousy of his fellows, for his rank was elevated above that of all his relations.

When Sultán Abú Sa'íd was slain in the battle of Kárábágh, Amír Zú-n Nún retired to his father in Hirát. He served for a short time under Yádgár Mírzá. Afterwards, when Sultán Husain succeeded to the throne of Khúrásán, Mírzá Amír Misrí[3] died, Amír Zú-n Nún his son was regarded with favour by Sultán Husain Mirzá, who assigned him the chiefship of Ghór, Zamíndáwar and Kandahár, In these countries the warlike tribes of Hazára and Takdarí had complete power.[4] Amír Zú-n Nún, in the year 884 H. (1479–80 A.D.), proceeded in that direction with a small body of his tribesfolk (*ulús*) For some time he was engaged in hostilities with these people, and, being in all battles victorious and successful, he brought the countries into subjection to his rule. The Hazára, Takdarí, and all the other

1 [Page 71 to 99 of the text].
2 The word rendered "tribe" is *ulús*.—See Erskine's *Baber*, Vol. I, 19, 24.
3 [Frequently written "Basrí."]
4 The reading is doubtful: Takdarí or Nakdarí. If the latter, they are probably the same as the Nakodarí.

tribes having seen this, quietly submitted to his authority and made no further opposition. The services of Amír Zú-n Nún were so highly approved of, that Sultán Husain bi-l Karár made him absolute governor of Kandahár, Ghór, and other countries. After some time Amír Zú-n Nún Misrí obtained independent power in those provinces, and he also encroached upon the territories of Shál, Mustúng, and their dependencies. In the course of four more years he was in command of a large force and had entirely attached to his interest the people of Hazára, Takdarí, Kipchák, and the Moghals of Kandahár. On hearing this, Sultán Husain sent an imperative order, requiring him to present himself without delay at the imperial court. The Amír acted accordingly, and on his arrival at court made the usual presents. The people were all loud in their praises of his loyalty and fidelity, and consequently the Sultán presented him with a vest of honour, a richly caparisoned horse, kettle drums, and banner, and also granted him a royal patent of investiture. He then ordered him to leave his son and suite at the court, and himself proceed to Kandahár. Immediately on receipt of this order, the Amír seized the first opportunity of secretly taking his son and the nobles who had attended him, and marched with great rapidity to Kandahár, leaving, however, his property, arms, etc., behind him in his residence. In the course of two or three days the Sultán ordered that the Amír should not leave the court for Kandahár until after the festival of Nauroz. The royal messengers, on arriving at the Amír's residence, discovered the flight, and reported to the Sultán the state of affairs. The Sultán, on hearing of it, remarked that the Amír had evidently departed without any intention of returning. But the prince and the nobles argued that his having left horses, camels, carpets, and other property behind him was a proof that his absence would not be of long duration. The Sultán then said that his flight was only another proof of his ready wit and sagacity. However, regrets were now unavailing. A.H. 911 (1505 A.D.) Sultán Husain died, and the affairs of the kingdom of Khurásán fell into complete disorder.

Affairs were thus situated when in the Muharram of the year 913 H. (May, 1507) Muhammad Khán Shaibání Uzbek crossed the Jíhún with an enormous army, like a swarm of ants or locusts,

which he had collected for the purpose of conquering Khurásán. Badí'u-z Zamán Mirzá, son of the late Sultán Husain, was in great alarm and consternation at the approach of this army, and instantly sent information of the fact to Amír Zú-n Nún.[1] The Amír consulted with his sons and nobles, who all entertained different opinions on the subject, but the Amír declared that he considered it incumbent on him to march to the support of the Sultán, and that courage and humanity alike forbade him to remain inactive during this crisis. He said that his return was not to be hoped for, as the U'zbek army was powerful and numerous in the extreme, and the fortunes of the house of Sultán Husain were in their decline. Accordingly, he assembled a friendly body of Arghún and Tarkhán troops, and marched to the succour of the Prince Badí'u-z Zamán. Having arrived at the camp, he was received with every honour. The same day the army of the U'zbeks and of Má-waráu-n nahr crossed the river. Numerous signs of the approach of Muhammad Khán Shaibání's overwhelming force were evident. Upon reaching the field of the approaching contest, the Prince having reviewed his troops, formed up in order of battle, and from both armies the shouts of the warriors and the roll of the kettle-drums resounded to the vault of heaven.

The Amír, with a body of his bold well-mounted horsemen, commenced the attack, and by an impetuous charge, completely routed a body of the enemy, and threw them into utter confusion. In vain: for as wave follows wave, column after column of the U'zbeks came on in endless succession to the attack, till at last the Khurásánís, unable to contend any longer with such disproportionate numbers, turned rein and fled. A scene of the wildest and most hopeless confusion ensued. The Amír, however, with a small band of his trusty and indomitable warriors, maintained his ground, now standing on the defensive, now charging one wing of the enemy, and now the other. The field was dyed with blood. Thus they fought bravely and desperately until the U'zbeks closing in on every side, the Amír was wounded and thrown from his horse. Disdaining

[1] Prince Badí'u-z Zamán was married to a daughter of Amír Zú-n Nún.—See Mír M'asúm's *Táríkh-i Sind*, p. 103.

the quarter offered him by the Uzbeks, who hoped to take him a prisoner in triumph to Muhammad Khán, he fell, covered with glory.

Sháh Beg Arghún.

Sháh Beg Arghún son of Zú-n Nún, was, on the death of the Amír, placed by the unanimous voice of the chiefs on the vacant throne. He confirmed all his father's appointments, and gave the holders of them robes of honour. He displayed an unparalleled example of equity and justice, by which conduct he so won the hearts of his soldiery, that they became his most devoted and obedient subjects. Sháh Beg always consorted with the most distinguished and scientific men in his kingdom.

At this time Muhammad Khán, having subdued the whole of Khurásán, approached Kara with the determination of adding Kandahár also to his dominions. On his arrival at Garmsír, Sháh Beg sent messengers to him offering his allegiance and submission. He promised that he would express the same at a personal interview. Muhammad Khán was satisfied with this concession and went back.

In the year 915 H. (1509 A.D.), Sháh Isma'íl the second, having overcome and killed Muhammad Khán in battle, took possession of Khurásán. The Sháh attained to the greatest power, so much so that the surrounding nations dreaded his might and ambition.

At this juncture Warash Khán marched upon Kara, and set up his standard. Sháh Beg in alarm at this threatened invasion, consulted with his ministers, showing them the imminent danger his country was in—threatened on one side by Sháh Isma'íl, the conqueror of Khurásán, and on the other by Bábar Bádsháh, who had already reached Kábul, both with avowed warlike intentions. He pointed out to them the necessity of providing a retreat in case of their losing Kandahár. It was at length resolved to seize the Síwí territory, and in the year 917 H. (1511 A.D.), he set out from Kandahár, and having reached Shál, there made preparations for the ensuing campaign. On his arrival at Síwí he invested the fort. The descendants of Sultán Purdilí Bírlás, who ruled in Síwí,

advanced to oppose him with three thousand men of the Bulúch tribe as well as other forces. The army of Sháh Beg proved completely victorious. The enemy was utterly overthrown, many were killed in action, and the survivors fled towards Sind. Sháh Beg entered Síwí in triumph, and made a short stay there, during which time he built houses, laid out gardens, and raised a fort which he strongly garrisoned, and, having appointed Mirzá 'Ísá Tarkhán, one of the most distinguished of his nobles, to be governor, he returned to Kandahár.

Ann. Hij. 919 (A.D. 1513), the Emperor Zahíru-d dín Muhammad Bábar having determined upon the conquest of Kandahár, marched upon it with a powerful and numerous army. Sháh Beg collected his forces, with sufficient provisions and munitions of war to enable him to sustain a siege, shut himself up in the fort and posted his men on the walls and bastions. On the arrival of the Emperor in the vicinity of the city, he was attacked by disease, and became very feeble. His ministers and nobles on this became disaffected and mutinous. Sháh Beg, having learnt the state of affairs, sent the leading men of Kandahár with instructions to negociate a peace. The Emperor, consenting to the terms, despatched Khwája Jalálu-d dín with suitable presents, and returned to Kábul. Sháh Beg then withdrew after a short time to Síwí, and made a stay there. Having assembled a general council, he pointed out to them that the Emperor Bábar having once found his way to Kandahár, would not rest contented until he had conquered and brought it under his own rule; that it behoved them to consult their own and the country's safety. In pursuance of this idea, he, at the beginning of the winter season, raised a force of 1000 horse, and despatched them from Síwí to Sind. This force, on the 7th of Zí-l Ka'da H. 920 (Dec. 1514), attacked and took the villages of Kákán and Bághbán. These villages were so densely populated, that, in the sack, 1000 camels, employed on the garden-wells merely, were taken; from this, some idea may be formed of the wealth of the two places.[1] After remaining there a week, they returned with their spoil to Síwí.

[1] Both these places were in the Sarkar of Síwí. The former has since become famous for its gallant defence by our troops.—*Táríkh-i Táhirí*, MS. p. 48; *Tarkhán-náma*, MS. p. 48; *Tuhfatu-l kirám*, p. 124.

A.H. 921 (1515 A.D.). The Emperor Bábar put into execution the design Sháh Beg had foreseen, and having marched upon Kandahár, laid siege to the fort and commenced mining it. The siege was carried on with vigour, and all supplies being cut off, a great dearth of grain ensued in the city. At this crisis, however, the Emperor's army was so weakened by fever, that a peace was again agreed upon. Whereupon, the Emperor returned to Kábul.

In this same year, Sháh Hasan Mirzá having quarrelled with his father, left him, and went to the Court of the Emperor Bábar, and being by him received with hospitality and distinction, he remained there two years. The Emperor observed that his visit was not from any affection entertained towards himself by Sháh Hasan, but in order that he might learn the art of governing rightly, and at the same time perfect himself in the ceremonies of the Court. At length, Sháh Hasan, with the Emperor's permission, returned to Kandahár.

A.H. 922 (1516 A.D.) The Emperor Bábar again assembled an army, and marched upon Kandahár, and he was yet in the jungle when the fort was invested. Sháh Beg, wearied and harassed by these repeated invasions, sent Shaikh Abú Sa'íd Púrání to negotiate a peace; the terms agreed upon were that in the ensuing year the government of Kandahár should be made over to the officers of the Emperor Bábar. Having ratified this treaty, the Emperor returned to Kábul. In pursuance of this arrangement, Sháh Beg, A.H. 923 (1517 A.D.), sent the keys of the fort of Kandahár to the Imperial Court, by the hands of Mír Ghiásu-d dín, grandson of Khondamír, author of the *Habibu-s Siyar*, and father of Mír Abú-l Makárim, and grandfather of 'Abdu-llah Sultán. This ratification of the cession was approved of by his majesty.[1]

After the subjugation of his country, Sháh Beg remained two years in Shál and Síwí, reduced to penury and distress. In such straits was he, that his army was compelled during this period to subsist upon nothing but carrots, turnips, and other such vegetables. Towards the end of the year 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.), he made warlike preparations for the conquest of Sind. In consequence of the removal of Mirzá 'Ísá, he left Sultán 'Alí Arghún and Zíbak Tarkhán,

[1] An incorrect parentage is ascribed in the text to this learned envoy. See the articles KHULÁSATU-L AKHBÁR and HABÍBU-S SIYAR, in Vol. II.

with a number of men for the protection of the forts of Síwí and and Ganjáwa. He despatched a-head of his army a force of 200 horse under Mír Fázil Kokaltásh, and himself followed at the head of 300 more. On entering the Sind territory, he soon reached Bághbán, he learnt that an army of Samejas, under the command of Mahmúd Khán, son of Daryá Khán, was encamped at Thatta, four kos from Síwistán, and prepared to do battle. Sháh Beg halted at Bághbán, where he was well received by the principal inhabitants. He then resumed his march through the Lakkí hills towards Thatta, and at last reached that river which in those days ran to the north of Thatta.[1] Being unprovided with means of transit, he stopped for some days on the bank, revolving in his mind how to effect a passage. At this juncture, the men on guard perceived that a man driving a laden ass was fording the river from the opposite bank. He was seized and compelled by menaces to show the way through the ford.[2] 'Abdu-r Rahmán Daulat Sháhí then plunged on horseback into the river, reached the other bank and then returned and reported the fact to Sháh Beg, who availing himself of this information, on the 15th day of Muharram A.H. 927 (December, 1520), crossed the river with his force, and marched towards the city of Thatta. On which, Daryá Khán, the adopted son of Jám Nanda, having left Jám Fíroz in garrison at Thatta, hastened at the head of his army to give the Amír battle.

After a long, bloody, and well-contested action, in which Daryá Khán, with a host of Sammas, was killed, victory declared itself in favour of Sháh Beg. On receipt of this disastrous intelligence, Jám Fíroz left Thatta and fled without stopping until he reached the village of Pírár[3] with a heavy heart. Thatta was given up to plunder till the 20th of the month, in the course of which the inhabitants were treated with merciless severity, and many of them were carried into captivity. The holy text, "Surely when

1 See Appendix.

2 Plutarch in his life of Antony, tells us that a costermonger, Eutychus, who performed a somewhat similar service for Augustus, before the battle of Actium, was rewarded by the grateful Emperor with a statue of himself and of his ass, with an equally auspicious name, Nikon. This beautiful work of art was destroyed, with too many others, by the barbarous Franks on their capture of Constantinople.

3 This place is in the hilly tract north of Thatta.

kings enter a village they destroy it," was fully exemplified in this instance. At last, by the strenuous exertions of Kází Kázin a most distinguished scholar, these outrages were put an end to, and proclamation was made to the effect that the people of the city were to remain undisturbed.[1] The fugitive Jám Fíroz remained, with a few men who had accompanied him, at Pírár, his family being still at Thatta. At length, finding that nothing was left for him but submission, he despatched a messenger to Sháh Beg, humbly intreating forgiveness, and expressing his willingness to submit himself unconditionally to the will and pleasure of his conqueror, with most solemn promises of future good conduct.

Sháh Beg moved by that generosity which distinguished him, and having pity on the miserable condition of his vanquished enemy, received the messenger most graciously, and granted him a robe of honour, at the same time sending a friendly answer to Jám Fíróz, who on the receipt of it came with a number of his friends, towards the end of the month Safar, to Thatta, dressed in most humble guise, a sword hanging from his neck to express his complete subjection. He was permitted the honour of kissing the hands of Sháh Beg. He then repeated his expressions of sorrow and contrition. Sháh Beg, having assured him of his forgiveness, invested him with the robe of honour which Sultán Husain Mirzá had before bestowed on Mír Zú-n Nún, and conferred on him the governorship of Thatta. He then held a conference with his nobles and ministers. The Sind territory, he declared, was too extensive for his own immediate government and control. It was therefore advisable to divide it, assigning one half to Jám Fíroz, and keeping the other under his own management. They all concurred, and it was arranged that the territory extending from the Lakkí hills, near Síwistán, to Thatta, should be assigned to Jám Fíroz, while the upper part from the same hills should remain in his own possession. Having settled this, Sháh Beg marched in the direction of Síwistán. The inhabitants of this place, dreading the arrival of the victorious army fled to Thátí, and

[1] The *Tárikh-i Sind* (p. 139), makes him, in true Oriental fashion, take an arrow from his quiver, which he gives to Kází Kázin, to show that he was really accredited by the Moghal plunderer.

having joined themselves with the Sa'ta and Súmra tribes,[1] formed themselves in order of battle and advanced to give fight. An obstinate battle ensued, in which Sháh Beg proved again victorious; his adversaries fled, and he took possession of the fort of Síwistán. Having put it in complete repair, he placed in it some of his most distinguished nobles, among others Mír 'Alaika Arghún, Sultán Mukím Beg-Lár, Kaibuk Arghún, and Ahmad Tarkhán; all these he ordered to erect houses in the fort for themselves. He then took his departure for Bhakkar, and after several days marching arrived at the plain surrounding Sakhar. A few days after he reached Bhakkar, where he was much gratified with the fort and town. Having visited and inspected these, he laid out the town, assigning various quarters to his officers and soldiers. He caused a plan to be made of the fort, and placed it in the care of his principal officers, in order that, each one doing his part, they might put it into complete repair. The hard bricks for this purpose were provided by the destruction of the fort of Alor (anciently the seat of government) and of the houses of the Turk and Samma people in the suburbs of Bhakkar.[2] In a short space of time the works were finished. He fixed on the citadel of the fort as a residence for himself, and Mirzá Sháh Husain; he also permitted Mír Fázil Kokaltásh, Sultán Muhammad, keeper of the seal, and one or two others to reside in it. He employed a whole year in finishing the buildings in the fort and settling the affairs of his subjects.

A.H. 928 (1522 A.D.) Sháh Beg left Páyinda Muhammad Tarkhán in charge of Bhakkar, and advanced with a considerable army to the conquest of Guzerát. During his progress down the river, he swept the country on both banks from the foul inhabitants. On the arrival of the army at Chaindúka, Mír Fázil Kokaltásh was taken dangerously ill, and after lingering a few days died. This incident so affected Sháh Beg that an idea took possession of his mind that the death of his friend was a warning of the near approach

1 [تهتی in the text.] Mír M'asúm (p. 141) has, Talahtí, instead of Thatí and Samma instead of Sa'ta. "Sihta" is probably the correct reading, which we find sometimes applied to the Sammas. Another copy reads Sodha instead of Súmra.

2 Mír M'asúm adds that the Saiyids were turned out of Bhakkar, and allowed a space of ground in Rorí, whereon to build new houses.—*Táríkhi-i Sind*, 150.

of his own. Shortly after, intelligence was received of the Emperor Bábar's arrival in the vicinity of Bhara and Khusháb, with the avowed intention of conquering the country of Hindústán. On hearing this, Sháh Beg observed that Bábar had no intention of leaving him at peace, but that he would ultimately seize Sind, either from him or his descendants. It was needful therefore to seek out some other asylum. Having said this, he complained of a violent pain in his bowels. Every remedy was tried to alleviate it, but in vain, for in the month Sha'bán, 928 H. (June, 1522), after a reign of fifteen years, Sháh Beg died, without having been able to effect his intention of entering Guzerát. "Shahr Sha'bán" is the chronogram of his death.

Mirzá Sháh Husain Arghún.

On the death of Sháh Beg, in A.H. 928 (1522 A.D.), Sháh Husain Arghún succeeded to the throne.[1] He conferred dresses of honour and marks of his favour on those chiefs, judges, nobles, and ministers who had assembled to congratulate him on his accession. As this event took place at the end of the Ramazán, when the great festival was about to be celebrated, the nobles about his person represented that on this great and memorable occasion it were well that the Khutba were read in his name. This he refused to permit, saying that as long as any descendant of the Sáhib-kirán (Tímúr) existed, no other man could assume this privilege. Accordingly the Khutba was read in the name of the Emperor Zahíru-d dín Muhammad Bábar. During the celebration of the festival, the Sháh remained in the same place. In the meantime he received intelligence how that Jám Fíroz and the people of Thatta had heard with delight of the demise of Sháh Beg, and had beaten their drums in token of joy and gratification. Incensed at these proceedings, Mirzá Sháh Husain having consulted with his minister, and having come to the conclusion that the prosecution of his father's designs on Guzerát was not advisable, ordered his army to march on Thatta in order to destroy Jám Fíroz. News of this determination soon reached Thatta, and Jám Fíroz, being utterly unable to oppose

[1] Some authorities give the name as Hasan, as in page 308 *supra*; but the other is the best authenticated. Respecting Sháh Beg's death, see the Appendix.

the army marching against him, hastily fled from the city, and crossing the river in despair took his way towards Kach. When he reached Cháchkán and Ráhmán, he collected an army of about 50,000 horse and foot. With this formidable force, consisting of the people of Sind and the Samma tribe, he returned with the intention of coming to an engagement with Mirzá Sháh Husain, who at the head of his ever victorious troops, had already arrived at the city of Thatta. On hearing of the force which Jám Fíroz was bringing against him, the Sháh having left a body of men for the protection of the city, the inhabitants being in a state of the greatest alarm, marched out with the view of bringing the enemy to an engagement. On nearing the Sindian army, he formed his troops in order of battle, and advanced. Suddenly he came in view of the enemy, who, greatly alarmed at the sight of the Moghals, dismounted, left their horses, doffed their turbans, tied the corners of each other's clothes together, and thus engaged in the conflict. Mirzá Sháh Husain knew it to be the custom of the people of Sind and Hind, when resolved upon fighting to the death, to leave their horses, and bare-headed and bare-footed, tie themselves together by each other's clothes and waistbands,—so he saw these preparations with delight, and congratulating his nobles and officers on the evident despair of the enemy, and the consequent assurance of victory to themselves, gave the order for the attack. On this, his troops armed with their bows and arrows, and sword in hand, rushed vehemently to the charge, spreading consternation and dismay in the ranks of the enemy. From morning to evening the battle was bloodily contested. Nearly 20,000 men fell on the field, till at last, Jám Fíroz, being defeated, fled, covered with shame and disgrace, to Guzerát, where he remained until his death. Mirzá Sháh Husain remained for three days on the field of battle, distributing the horses and all other booty amongst his people, and showering rewards upon his officers; he then returned in triumph to Thatta. Thence he went to Tughlikábád, where he remained six months, when he proceeded towards Bhakkar. On his arrival within thirty kos of the city, all the leading men came out to meet and congratulate him, and were received with every honour. In this year also, Shaikh Bulákí came from Kandahár to Sind to visit him.

After the lapse of two years, A.H. 930 (1524 A.D.), Mirzá Sháh Husain came to the determination to invade Multán, in pursuance of which design he ordered his nobles and generals to make the necessary arrangements. At the commencement of the year A.H. 931 (1525 A.D.), he started on this expedition. On reaching the city of Úch he found the Bulúchís and Langáhs prepared to fight. The Multán army in those days was a hundred-fold greater than the Mirzá's, yet he, trusting in Divine assistance, drew up his army with great care and circumspection, and with his Moghal troops began the battle. When these two brave armies confronted each other, the Moghals employed their deadly fire, and the Langáhs and Bulúchís plied their bows and arrows. The contest was sharp, but victory at length declared itself in favour of Mirzá Sháh Husain. Many of the Langáhs were slain, the rest fled. The fort was captured, and orders were given to demolish the buildings in the city of Úch.

The news of the Sháh's success soon reached the ears of Sultán Muhammad Langáh, the ruler of Multán.[1] Whereupon he despatched parties in all directions, with instructions to levy forces with the greatest celerity. In accordance with these orders, within the course of a month, an army consisting of 80,000 horse and foot, composed of men of the Bulúch, Jat, Rind, Dádí, and other tribes, was raised.[2] At the head of his large and powerful force, the Sultán set out from Multán. The Mirzá on hearing of these numbers being brought against him, took up a position on the banks of the Ghára and there awaited the attack of the enemy. Sultán Mahmúd remained for a month in the suburbs of Multán for the purpose of constructing such engines as might be required, and of amply providing his army with the necessary munitions and stores. Having effected this he resumed his march. The Sultán, inflated with pride and puffed up with a certainty of victory, at last arrived at Beg. Here it happened that Shaikh Shujá' Bukhárí, the son-in-law of the

[1] The original says Sultán Husain, but he had died more than twenty years before this event.

[2] The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (p. 46), says that the Rind is a Bulúch tribe. They are still a very influential and powerful clan. See Masson's *Journey to Kelát*, p. 322. Mír M'asúm adds to these tribes by naming also the Kanráí and Chándya.—*Táríkh-i Sind*, p. 185.

Sultán, a man possessed of great influence in the political and fiscal affairs of the State, was detected in an intrigue in the royal harem. This having come to the knowledge of the Sultán, he was so enraged, that the Shaikh saw his only safety lay in the death of the Sultán. Having obtained from the treasury the deadly poison there deposited for the destruction of those obnoxious to the State, he administered it to Sultán Mahmúd. The army, which consisted chiefly of Bulúchís, being thus deprived of its head, the greatest confusion reigned.

The Langáhs placed Sultán Husain, son of the late Sultán Mahmúd, upon the vacant throne, and finding it necessary to make peace, they sent the holy Shaikh Baháu-d-dín to negociate a treaty. The Shaikh submitted his terms to Mirzá Sháh Husain, who approved and ratified them. The Mirzá then returned, and on his arrival at Uch, ordered another fort to be erected there. In the mean time, Langer Khán, one of the late Sultán Mahmúd's nobles, came to the Mirzá and informed him that, owing to the youth of Sultán Husain, he was unfit to conduct the Government of Multán,—that the duties of the State were neglected, and that in consequence of the tyranny and oppression, rebellions and insurrections had broken out in the city; that all the greatest and best disposed of the inhabitants were desirous of another ruler. He ended by imploring the Mirzá to march again upon Multán. Mirzá Sháh Husain complied with this request, and on reaching the city laid close siege to the fort, which was garrisoned by the Langáh army. Desultory fighting took place daily between the two forces. At length a great scarcity of provisions took place in the city. This increased to such an extent that even the head of a cow was valued at ten tankas, while the price of grain rose to 100 tankas per maund. After some time had elapsed, a party of soldiers one morning forced the gate of the city. The troops rushed in and captured the place. All the inhabitants of the city, from seven years of age up to seventy, were taken prisoners, the city was given up to plunder, and very many of the Langáh tribe were slain. On this, Mirzá Sháh gave orders that no further hurt should be done to the survivors.

Sultán Husain and his sisters were brought before the Mirzá by the venerable Shaikh Baháu-d dín; and Mirzá Sháh, for the sake of

their reverend protector, received them kindly, and abstained from doing them any injury.

After a stay of two months in the city, the Mirzá left Khwája Shamsu-d dín, with a force of 200 horse, 100 foot, and 100 gunners[1] under him in charge of Multán, and having sent a message to the Court of the Emperor, Zahíru-d din Bábar, offering Multán to him, he returned to Bhakkar; and thence went to Thatta, where, having inspected and satisfied himself as to the proper management of the surrounding country, he fixed his abode, and passed fifteen years in the enjoyment of peace and tranquility.

In the Ramazán A.H. 949 (Dec. 1542, A.D.), the Emperor Nasíru-d dín Hámuyún on account of the rebellion of Shír Khán Afghán came from Lahore towards Sind. Having taken up his quarters in the town of Laharí (Rorí), he established his own residence within the walls of the delightful garden of Babarlúka. Sultán Mahmúd desolated the country, and himself took refuge in the fort of Bhakkar. The Emperor sent Amír Táhir Sadar and Samandar Beg to Mirzá Sháh Husain in Thatta, reminding him of the ties of amity and friendship which had existed between the Tarkháns and the late Emperor Bábar. Mirzá Sháh Husain paid much honour to the royal messengers, and said that if the Emperor intended to invade Guzerát, he, the Mirzá, attended by his whole army, would accompany him on the expedition, and not return till the conquest had been effected. He also made over to him the tract extending from Hála Kandí to Bitúra on the other side of the river, to defray the expenses of the royal household. He sent Shaikh Mírak Púrání and Mirzá Kásim Tafáí to the Emperor, bearing similar terms and suitable presents. On their arrival there, they expressed the Mirzá's loyalty and presented the petition of which they were the bearers. After a few days, the Emperor dismissed the ambassadors, and wrote with his own hand a letter to their master, to the following effect: "To Sháh Husain, greeting (after the usual compliments), I comply with your request on this condition, namely, that you serve me with fidelity. Farewell!"

Mirzá Sháh Husain had formed his determination to present himself to the Emperor at a personal interview. The Arghún nobles

1 [*Topchi*—musketeers?]

were, however, of a different opinion, and altogether adverse to submitting themselves, and by their cunning and designing arts raised a quarrel, by which means they prevented Sháh Husain from following the dictates of his own judgment. The Emperor remained at Babarlúka for five months in the full expectation that Sháh Husain would come to meet him, and having sworn allegiance would become a faithful ally. Having been informed as to the intentions of the Arghúns, he marched with his army on the first of Jumáda-l Awwal A.H. 948 (Aug.-Sept., 1541), towards Síwistán; on his arrival at which place, he laid siege to the fort. Mirzá Husain having received intelligence of this movement, came from Thatta and formed an entrenched camp. The Emperor ordered mines to be dug under the fort, by means of which he succeeded in destroying one bastion. The garrison however, speedily remedied the injury done to their defences by raising another wall. The Emperor saw that the Arghúns had strengthened the work, and was aware that he was altogether unprovided with the engines necessary for the successful termination of the siege. Seven months had now elapsed since he first laid siege to the fort. Mirzá Sháh Husain succeeded in stopping the conveyance of supplies to the besieging army, which moreover were impeded by contrary winds and the rising of the river. Owing to these unfortunate circumstances, the army was greatly distressed. At this juncture the Emperor received a petition from Rájá Máldeo of Jodpur, intimating that during his majesty's absence, the Rájá had continued his faithful servant, and hoped for his arrival. Should the Emperor deem it fit to bring his ever prosperous army, the Rájá was at his service with 20,000 Rájpúts, and would accompany the Imperial army to whatever place it may be directed to march.

In consequence of this invitation, in Rabí'u-l Awwal, A.H. 949 (May-June, 1542), the Emperor marched towards the territories of Rájá Máldeo. After some marches, he approached near them, but was there informed by some inhabitants of the surrounding country of the sinister views entertained by Máldeo, who, they said, had invited him only because Sher Khán Afghán had placed a force in ambuscade for the purpose of attacking and plundering the army.

On hearing this, the Emperor became alarmed, and was much downcast, and after consultation he left the Jodpur territory, and marched with great speed to Sátalmír. Thence he rapidly proceeded to Jesalmír, and from thence he continued his journey to 'Umarkot. During his march hither his army suffered much from drought. On his arrival, Dair Sál the chief, accompanied by his people, came out to meet him, and kissed his stirrup.[1] He cleared the fort of its occupants and assigned it to the use of the Emperor, who remained in it for some days.

The people of Thatta sent the great Saiyid 'Alí Shírází, who was Shaikhu-l Islám at that time, with presents of fruits and perfumes; the star of his prosperity again arose from the horizon of greatness.

On Sunday, the 5th of Rajab, A.H. 949 (15th October, 1542), was born the great Emperor Jalálu-d dín Muhammad Akbar. His father rejoiced greatly at the birth of a son. The first clothes of the child were, for the sake of superior sanctity, made out of the garments of the aforesaid Saiyid. As there was in 'Umarkot no place fitted for the residence of a king, the Court was compelled to remove to Sind. Having set out they reached the town of Jún, situated on the banks of the Rain. This place is celebrated amongst the cities of Sind for the number and beauty of its gardens, abounding in rivulets which present fresh and delightful scenes. In these gardens, the Emperor remained for some days, within sight of the town. Mirzá Husain also came with his forces into its vicinity, and there encamped. Daily skirmishes took place in the environs of the town between the followers of the two camps. One day, Tímúr Sultán, Shaikh 'Alí Beg, and Tardí Beg Khán, with a body of men, made preparations to attack a fort which was filled with grain. Mirzá Sháh Husain's officer, Sultán Mahmúd Khán Bhakkarí, being apprized of their design, took a large force, and in the morning attacked them. Shaikh 'Ali Beg with his sons, stood his ground until he was slain; others of his force were also killed in this engagement. Their adversaries also suffered heavy loss. The Emperor, grieved at the occurrence, contracted a disgust for Sind, and determined upon going to Kandahár.

[1] The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (p. 50) gives this name "Ráná Wair Sál." *Mír M'asúm* (p. 213) has "Ráná Bair Sál."

In the meantime, on the 7th of Muharram A.H. 950, (12th April, 1543, A.D.), Bairam Khán came, unattended, from Guzerát, and having met the Emperor attempted to console him. He endeavoured with success to negociate a peace between the contending parties. Sháh Husain, delighted with the prospect of peace, readily agreed to the proposal, and sent the Emperor 100,000 miskáls in cash, all the equipage required for travelling (which he caused to be prepared), with 300 horse and an equal number of camels. A bridge also was built near the town, on which the Emperor observed that the Arabic words *Sirát mustakím,* signifying "a strong bridge," formed the chronogram of the date of the treaty and the construction of the bridge, *i.e.* A.H. 950, (A.D. 1543-4). On the 7th of Rabí'-ul Ákhir of the same year, the Emperor marched towards Kandahár and Mirzá Sháh Husain returned to Thatta. It is said that the Mirzá became, towards the end of his life, afflicted with palsy. He chose as his companions men of loose character and mean extraction. The Moghals, Tarkháns, and others, being unable to obtain an audience at the Court, remained in their own houses. Daily, men of notoriously bad character were raised to preferment; for instance, early in the year 960 (1553 A.D.), the *Arbábí,* or prefecture of the city, was conferred upon 'Arabí Káhí, while the premiership was entrusted to Isma'íl, an innkeeper. Towards the close of the same year, Mirzá Sháh Husain made 'Arabí Káhí his viceregent in the fort of Tughlikábád, and installed Shaibah and Rafík, two slaves whom he had purchased and made his most confidential advisers, as superintendents of the city. Having thus placed all the Moghals, Arghúns, Tarkháns, etc., under the control of 'Arabí Káhí, he himself went to Bhakkar.

It happened that the sons of 'Arabí Káhí, being rapacious and greedy, oppressed the Moghals. Seeing this, the Arghúns and Tarkháns in Thatta became alarmed and much grieved. On this, 'Arabí Káhí, with the concurrence of his friends, sent information to Mirzá Sháh Husain, that the Arghún and Tarkhán inhabitants of the city had thrown off their allegiance, and were filled with visionary schemes against him. This, he said, jeopardized the safety of the country, and therefore he had deemed it incumbent on him to report the circumstance. Infuriated by this intelligence, Sháh Husain wrote

orders that 'Arabí Káhí should invite into the fort the most seditious of the Arghún tribe, such as Mír Farrukh, Mír Kabaik, Mír Tímúr, Mír Fázil, Mír Khallá, etc., and there put them to death. He said that this example would intimidate the others, who would then return to their allegiance. He at the same time treacherously sent a letter to the Moghals, couched in kind terms, stating that they were his brothers and of the same tribe with himself, and that ('Arabí Káhí) and such fellows, were in reality only their servants and slaves, that to the disgust of the Sammas he had raised these men of low degree to elevated ranks, and that if in conformity to his orders they were obeyed and respected, then, considering themselves highly honoured, they would the more readily devote themselves to the duties assigned them. It happened, that these two contradictory letters both fell into the hands of the Moghals, who thus becoming aware of the Shah's duplicity and treacherous designs, revolted, and having seized 'Arabí Káhí, Rafík, Shaibah, and Isma'íl, put them to death in the beginning of Muharram A.H. 961 (Dec. 1553). Having taken Máh Begam, consort of the Mirzá, together with his other concubines, prisoners, they consulted amongst themselves and agreed to the necessity of choosing a leader for the better prosecution of their business. They all offered themselves as candidates, each man declaring that he would not consent to anyone being preferred before himself. This being the state of the case, it was at last agreed that, as the Arghúns could not choose one among themselves, in preference to another, who might have honours and obeisances paid him, it was advisable, therefore, to select as their chief, one from out the Tarkhán tribe. That Mirzá 'Ísá Tarkhán, governor of Fath Bágh, being wise, prudent, and of noble descent, was best qualified for the office and likely to accede to their request. They then invited the Mirzá from Fath Bágh and informed him of their wishes. On his arrival, they showed him great hospitality, and, persisting in their request, obtained his consent. They then nominated him their chief, and placed him at the head of the government of Thatta. They paid him royal respect and homage, and having sworn allegiance, placed themselves under his authority, and made proclamation of his supremacy by beat of drums. The Mirzá took possession of the treasure, and having lavished large sums amongst

the army, established his power over the several districts and tribes of Sind.

Enraged at these occurrences, Mirzá Sháh Husain seized the Arghúns and Tarkháns who were in Bhakkar, such as Mír Jání Beg Tarkhán, Mír Ahmad Tarkhán, Mír Hamza Beg-Lár, Mír Murád Husain Beg-Lár, and others, and then marched at the head of a considerable army to Thatta to give battle to the Arghúns and Tarkháns. On his arrival within two kos of the city, the two armies came into collision on the banks of the stream of Sháh Panáh. Two or three engagements took place in which both armies suffered considerable loss. In the midst of this campaign, Mirzá Sháh Husain was attacked by a fatal sickness.

Sultán Mahmúd Khán, of Bhakkar, the greatest noble under Sháh Husain, was commander-in-chief of his forces. He was the son of Mír Fázil Kokaltásh, son of 'Ákil Khwája, son of Ahmad Khwája, one of the greatest chiefs of Ispahán. At the time when Sáhib-Kirán Amír Tímúr Gúrgán marched for the conquest of I'rák, the chiefs of Ispahán having revolted, threw off their allegiance to him. The Sáhib-Kirán on this gave orders that they should be plundered and destroyed, and sent a formidable army to enforce his commands. During this invasion, Ahmad Khwája father of 'Ákil Khwája fell into the hands of Mír Hasan Basrí, father of Mirzá Zú-n Nún, and he having adopted him as his son, bestowed great pains on his education. Ahmad Khwája flourished three generations before Malik Mahmúd Khán, a man famous for his generosity, and nineteen generations after 'Iddí, son of Hatim Táí. Sultán Mahmúd Khán, of Bhakkar, was chiefly characterized by his liberality and courage, in which latter he was unequalled. During his service with Mirzá Sháh Husain, he had given repeated proofs of his valour. On seeing that the Mirzá's days were numbered, and that he had but a short time to live, he reflected that daily Musulmáns were losing their lives in the strife, and that shortly he would be involved in inextricable difficulties. He therefore sent privately a message to Mirzá 'Ísá Tarkhán, to the effect that Mirzá Sháh Husain was on the point of death, that when that occurred, there would be no one to interfere between them, and that it would be advisable to enter into a mutual engagement. He refused to revolt against his master

during his lifetime, but on his death he proposed an equal division of the country,—from the Lakkí hills down to the sea should belong to Mirzá 'Ísá, and from the same hills to Bhakkar should belong to himself. The next morning, at the suggestion of Sultán Mahmúd, the great Shaikh 'Abdu-l Wahád Púrání, and Mirzá Kásim Beg-Lár brought the apologies of Mirzá 'Ísa, expressing his sorrow and shame for the disrespectful conduct of the Arghúns towards the Mirzá. He sent word that if the Mirzá would pardon him, and release such of the Arghúns and Tarkháns as were imprisoned, he would himself come in the hope of getting forgiveness for the past. Mirzá Sháh Husain, actuated by merciful motives, liberated the prisoners, and sent them to Mirzá 'Ísá, who in return ordered that Máh Begam and all the other captive concubines should be taken to the camp of the Mirzá. Next day, Mirzá Kásím Beg brought a letter to Mirza 'Ísá to this effect:—"You should not have chosen this line of conduct, which can only tend to bring a bad name on both parties. Well! let bygones be bygones. In expectation of my mercy, you must either come yourself or send your son, that I may, through my own spontaneous kindness, confer on him the governorship of Thatta, while I myself return to Bhakkar." As the Arghúns, Tarkháns, and soldiers, in their foresight, advised Mirzá 'Ísa not to go himself, he turned to his eldest son, Mirzá Bákí, and told him that he should go. The son refused, and said, "If you are anxious for my death, kill me with your own hand, but do not deliver me over to the hand of the enemy." On this, the Mirzá looked at his second son, Mirzá Sálih, who, having arisen, rose and said, "Be satisfied; I will go. Either he will keep his word, or he will not. If he does, it will fulfil our hopes; if he does not, your safety must be secured. I am prepared to sacrifice myself, and obtain the honour of martyrdom!" Mirzá 'Ísá Tarkhán, seeing his spirit, embraced him with paternal affection, and gave him permission to proceed on the mission. Mirzá Sálih with a few brave men went on the fourth of Rabi'u-l Awwal, A.H. 961 (Feb. 1554), accompanied by Mirzá Muhammad Kásím Beg-Lár, to meet Mirzá Sháh Husain, and offer his presents. The Mirzá with great kindness praised his fidelity and courage, and calling him

his dear son, invested him with a rich robe, a girdle, and sword adorned with precious stones, together with a horse, and saddle and bridle set with gems, a necklace, and a kettledrum. He furthermore conferred on him the governorship of Thatta, and then gave him permission to retire. Returning in safety to Thatta, he caused the kettledrum to be sounded before him, and presenting to his father all he had received, he remained under his protection, obedient to his orders.

About the same time Mirzá Sháh Husain marched back towards Bhakkar, and on the 12th of the same month, died at the village of 'Alípútra, twenty kos from Thatta, after a reign of thirty-two years. Máh Begam and Shaikh 'Abdu-l Waháb carried his remains to Thatta, where they were temporarily deposited in the Makalí Hills. After two years, they were sent in charge of Saiyíd 'Alí Shirází and Máh Begam to the holy city of Mecca, and were re-interred there by the side of the tomb of his father, Sháh Beg.

Mirzá 'Ísá Tarkhán.

Mirzá 'Ísá Tarkhán, son of Mirzá 'Abdu-l 'Alí, son of Mirzá 'Abdu-l Khálik, son[1] of Arghún Khán, son of Abaká Khán, son of Hulákú Khán, son of Changíz Khán, succeeded to the throne of Thatta, after the death of Mirzá Husain Arghún. Mirza 'Ísá made Mirzá Sálih Tarkhán his heir apparent, and placed the reins of government in his hands, reserving to himself only the name of king.[2] When Mirzá Sálih had made himself secure of Thatta and its dependencies, he left his brother, Mirzá Ján Bábá, who was greatly attached to him, to attend upon his father while he himself marched against Siwistán. He commenced his march on the 14th of Shawwál, A.H. 961 (Sep. 1554), and on the 21st of the same month he wrested the fort of Siwistán from the the hands Mahmúd Khán Bhakkarí. When Sultán Mahmúd heard of this loss, he collected an army to oppose Mirzá Sálih. This was reported to Mirzá 'Ísá Tarkhán, and he thereupon led a large force from Thatta to attempt the conquest of

1 This "son" comprises several generations, as shown in the genealogical table at the beginning of this work.

2 [Long eulogies of Mirzá 'Ísá and Mirzá Sálih are omitted from the translation.]

Bhakkar. He reached Bhakkar in the month of Muharram, A.H. 962 (Nov. 1554), where Sultan Mahmúd had drawn up his army to resist him. Two or three engagements followed, and many were killed on both sides. Sultán Mahmúd was at length compelled to take refuge in the fort, where he was so hardly pressed that he sent Saiyid Mír Kalán, grandfather of Mír M'asúm Bhakkarí, to treat with Mirzá 'Ísá, making professions of friendship, and offering to give up Siwistán and its appurtenances, if Bhakkar were secured to him; urging also that Bhakkar was on the frontier of Hindustan, and acted as a barrier on that side. At this juncture, intelligence arrived that the Firingís, who were coming from Lahori-bandar to the assistance of Mirzá 'Ísá Tarkhán, finding the city of Thatta unprotected, had plundered it, set fire to it, and made the inhabitants prisoners. The Mirzá therefore accepted the proposal of Sultán Mahmúd, and peace being concluded, he hastened back to Thatta, and resumed the government.

In the beginning of the year 964 H. (November, 1556), Mirzá Muhammad Bákí rebelled against his father, asserting his rights as eldest son, and objecting to the selection of Mirzá Muhammad Sálih as heir to the throne. In the fighting which ensued, Muhammad Bákí was worsted, and he fled to Wanka, which was the abode of the Súmras. There he formed a connection with sundry Arghúns, and returned with them by way of 'Umarkot and Jesalmír to Bhakkar. On his arriving there, Sultan Mahmúd Khán laudably exerted himself to effect a reconciliation between him and his father; but Mirzá 'Ísa Tarkhán, out of regard for Mirzá Sálih, exiled Muhammad Bákí from Thatta, and sent him to Bhakkar. Here he endeavoured to procure assistance from Hindustan,[1] but Sultán Mahmúd opposed him. The Sultán foresaw that if an army came from Hindustan it must necessarily pass by Bhakkar, which would be the first place to suffer. So he kindly but firmly opposed the project.

In the year 970 H. (1562 A.D.) the brave Muhammad Sálih, who had won so many victories, drank the sherbet of martyrdom from the hands of a Bulúch named Muríd. The family and tribe of this

[1] [.عازم هندوستان شود]

man had been put to death by Muhammad Sálih in punishment of their robberies; so holding a petition in his hand he placed himself in the way of the Mirzá. The prince called him to his side and stooped down to receive the petition, when the caitiff plunged a dagger into his breast, and killed him.

After the death of his favourite son, Mirzá 'Ísá Tarkhán nominated Mírzá Ján Bábá as heir apparent. After some time Sultán Mahmúd begged Mírzá 'Ísa to forgive his son Muhammad Bákí, but failed in his object. Several nobles who inclined to the side of that prince then interested themselves on his behalf, and roused the father's pride by urging that the prince ought not to be a dependant on Sultán Mahmúd. Being thus induced to pardon his son, Mirzá 'Ísa sent Shaikh 'Abdu-l Waháb Puráni and Mír Yár Muhammad, his nephew, to bring him home. When Muhammad Bákí arrived, he waited on his father, and, receiving the town of Siwistán as his jagír, departed thither.

Mirzá 'Ísa was of a gentle and patient disposition, and showed great kindness to the people of his tribe (*ulús*); but the Arghúns were disaffected, and breaking out in open rebellion crossed the river. The guns[1] of Mirzá 'Ísa opened upon them. Many were killed, and the remnant fled for succour to Sultán Mahmúd at Bhakkar. This prince gave a horse and a robe to each of them, and uniting them with a party of his own dependents sent them against Siwistán. They besieged the fort, and once or twice succeeded in scaling the ramparts, but could accomplish nothing more. Mirzá 'Ísá marched from Thatta with a numerous force, and sent a detachment on in advance to raise the siege and pursue the assailants. The opposing forces met at the village of Rakbán, when victory declared in favour of Mirzá 'Ísá, and many of Sultán Mahmúd's men were slain. The Mirzá advanced as far as the town of Durbela. The Sultán also, coming out of Bhakkar, arrived near the same place, and throwing up a fort, prepared for the conflict. In the end peace was made through the medium of Máh Begam and Shaikh 'Abdu-l Waháb Puráni, and the rivals retired to Thatta and Bhakkar respectively.

In the year A.H. 974 (1566 A.D.) Mírzá 'Ísá Tarkhán was seized with mortal sickness, so he called together the Arghúns and the

[1] Átash-bází.

Tarkháns, the ministers and nobles, and all the chief men of the country, in order once more to name Mirzá Ján Bábá as his successor. But Máh Begam strenuously opposed this, maintaining the right of Muhammad Bákí, the eldest son. The dying monarch declared that Muhammad Bákí was tyrannical and cruel, that the people would suffer under his rule, and that she herself would perish by his hand. The end of it all was that Máh Begam sent to hasten the coming of Muhammad Bákí, and kept the death of his father secret until his arrival. Mirzá 'Ísá Tarkhán, who had reigned fourteen years, was then buried in a tomb, which he had constructed in his garden, and Muhammad Bákí ascended the throne.

VIII.

TUHFATU-L KIRÁM.

[THIS is a work in three volumes by 'Alí Sher Káni'. The first two volumes are of considerable length, but all the matter of special historical interest is comprised in the third. A succinct synopsis of the contents of the work is prefixed to the first volume. According to this the work commences with—

Vol. I. A Preface in two parts and three books. Book I. contains three sections,—On the (1) Prophets; (2) Kings; (3) Philosophers, saints, poets, and great men before the time of Muhammad. Book II. is divided into five sections, (1) Ancestors of the Prophet; (2) Memoirs of the Prophet; (3) the Four Khalifs; (4) the Four Imáms; (5) Celebrated Descendants of the Four Imáms. Book III., in three sections, (1) The Ummayide Khalifs and their representatives in 'Irák and Khurásán, with notices of the chiefs and great men of the times; (2) The 'Abbáside Khalifs, including those who set up the Khalifat in Egypt, and also the great men and warriors of the period; (3) Kings cotemporary with the 'Abbásides.

Vol. II. General History, with notices of philosophers, nobles, ministers, and other great men.

Vol. III. Special History of Sind, including descriptions of its cities and villages, histories of its rulers, and memoirs of its great, learned, and distinguished men.]

This third volume, as it is the latest, so it is the most comprehensive and consistent of all the histories of Sind. In the portion relating to the early history of the province, it is not quite so copious as the *Tárikh-i Sind* of Mír M'asúm; but even in that part it presents us with more miscellaneous information,

and introduces subjects not treated of in that work, such as the legendary tales which are familiar in the country, the origin of some of the tribes, and the separate biographies of the principal officers and nobles who acquired distinction under the later dynasties. The authors are both equally credulous in recording the miracles of saints, but the extent to which the hagiography runs in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* is much greater than in the *Táríkh-i Sind;* there being scarcely a village in that priest-ridden country which has not its tombs of holy men, whose lives and powers are here recorded with implicit faith.

The work opens with the dynasties of the Ráís and Brahmans, followed by the history of the Arab conquest, well abridged from the *Chach-náma.* This comprises twenty pages. In thirty more we have the legends, the governors appointed by the kings of Dehlí, the Súmras and Sammas; then the history of the Arghúns and Tarkháns, with their nobles, in thirty-six pages; the imperial governors under the Tímúrians in twenty-four pages, and an account of the Kalhora dynasty to the time of Mián Sár-faraz, Khán in twelve pages. All this is comprised in a little less than half the volume. The rest is entirely devoted to the saints, seers, *saiyids*, *shaikhs*, and devotees, with a notice of the poets and caligraphists of Sind.

There are two chronograms at the end of the volume, representing that it was completed in A.H. 1181 (1767-8 A.D.); but near the middle, at the close of the account of the Kalhoras, we have later dates several times mentioned, extending to the year A.H. 1188.

The author quotes as his authorities all the native histories noticed in the preceding articles; and in the accounts of the saints we find incidentally mentioned the *Jawáhiru-l Aulyá*, the *Hadikatu-l Aulyá*, the *Ma'lámátu-l Áfák*, and the *Taghiratu-l Murád.* Some other authors quoted in the body of the work are obtained at second hand.

Extracts from the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* have been given by Lt. Postans in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Numbers

lxxiv., 1838, and clviii., 1845. In the latter we have the portion relating to the Arab conquest of Sind, which, as before mentioned, is abstracted from the *Chach-náma*.

The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* is the title of one of the works of the celebrated Jalálu-d din Soyútí, according to the Parisian catalógue of his writings given in G. Fluegel's edition of Hájí Khalfa's *Lexicon Bibliographicum*, Vol. vi. pp. 665-679.

[Sir H. Elliot's copy consists of three volumes quarto. Vol. I., measuring 11 in. by 8 in., contains 746 pages. Vol. II., 889 pages, of 17 lines each. Vol. III. is a little larger (12 in. by 8½ in.), and contains 242 pages, of 25 lines each, in a much smaller hand There is also a new copy of Vol. III.]

Extracts.

The Sindian Ordeal of Fire.

Some customs have obtained from of old among the inhabitants of Sind,[1] which, although they spring from ignorance, their practice is specially observed by them.

When a person is suspected of any grave offence, and desires to purge himself of the charge, he offers to pass through the flames of a large fire, like a salamander, and come out of it unharmed, like Khalíl. In the story of Sassí and Márúí we shall have an instance of this ordeal.

Another ordeal, still practiced among the most ignorant, is that of taking up a red-hot spade, and this will also be noticed in the story of Márúí. Green leaves of a tree are tied on to the hand of the suspected person with raw thread, and an iron spade, heated to redness, being then placed on his palm, he must carry it for several paces quickly; and it has often been seen that neither the thread nor the leaves have been in the slightest degree affected by the heat of the red-hot iron, although when cast to the ground it scorched it

[1] *Búmia* is the term used for inhabitants, literally "occupiers of the land"—the *bhúmia* of Hindústán. The term is of frequent occurrence in the Sindian histories, but rare in other works.

like the sand in the oven of a parcher of grain. Verily this is by the virtue of Truth, for if otherwise, how is it that such fire does not burn the hand?

A modern story runs thus:—A woman stole a pair of shoes belonging to the wife of a certain horseman, but denied the theft. When the time approached for undergoing the ordeal of the hot iron, she artfully concealed the shoes in a basket filled with cotton; and making it seem as if the carrying that were her business at the moment, entered the assembly, and handing it to the horseman's wife, asked her to take charge of it during the ordeal. She then said, "The truth is, I did find a pair of shoes belonging to so and so, and I have made them over to the owner! By the same token I now take up this red-hot spade." She took it up unharmed, and was then purged of the charge. The complainant then angrily threw the basket on the ground, and, as Truth is sure to prevail, the trick of this artful woman was exposed.

The Ordeal of Water.

A stout post is fixed in deep water, the accused is then told to dive to the bottom, and stay by the post. One of the company shoots an arrow to a long distance, and another person goes and brings this arrow back. The post is then shaken; if the accused be innocent, he will, up to that time, by holding his breath, have been able to remain at the bottom, and on this signal he will come up to the surface. But if guilty, he cannot any how stay so long under water.

Incantations.

Furthermore, several of the people of this country practise magic and incantations. For instance, they can roguishly transfer their neighbour's curds to their own stock, as the following instance will show. A respectable man relates that he was the guest of a woman residing in a village, and that she had but the curds of the milk of one cow. However, about the time she was going to make the butter, she stepped over to a neighbour's house on pretence of fetching fire, and there the woman of the house had a large dish of curds before her, which she was preparing to make into butter; the

witch wrought her spells, and retraced her steps, and from the curds of the milk of her one cow she made about ten times the usual quantity of butter!

Osteomancy.

The science called *Shána*[1] is known to some of the hill-people, who are called "*Mánsing.*" From certain indications on a fresh shoulder-blade, they learn what they wish to know, and it comes to pass accordingly. A party of hill men, driven from their homes by fear of their enemy, were pursuing their way. Having yet gone but a little distance, the *Mánsing* said that he saw from his *Shána* that they were hotly pursued by troops, and that there was no escape except by artifice. The party were ordered to empty all the leathern water-bags on the ground, and then to pass over the spot. It so chanced that a *Mánsing* was also among the enemy's forces; he, too, consulted his *Shána* for intelligence of the fugitives. It showed him that they had crossed over a stream. This disheartened the pursuers, who turned back, and thus the former were saved. This is but a slight illustration of what this tribe can do by the use of the *Shána.*

Another Custom.—Several ropes, confusedly entangled, are thrown on to the ground, and their unravelment reveals secret things.

Other Sindian Customs:—Liver-eaters—Trackers—Ornithocritics.

There are also women who feed on liver,[2] and foretell things to come, as will be shown in the history of Mirzá Muhammad Bákí.[3]

Again, there is the science of *Jogní*; this is chiefly in vogue with women. An example of it will be shown in the history of Ráí Dáhir.

There is a tribe entitled *Bawaratiya,* who go about in the guise of beggars, professing to explain mysteries and past events, and thereby deceive men. They also make predictions of the future, which seldom come true.

Some men are so skilful in the art of tracking footprints, that

[1] The common people call it *Phanní.* It is the *'Ilmu-l 'Aktáf* of the Arabs, and in great repute with the Mongols.

[2] [جگرخوارہ.]

[3] Abú-l Fazl, in the *Ayín-i Akbarí,* notices the celebrity of the Sindians in this art.

they can tell whether they belong to men or women, strangers or acquaintances, old or young; so also they can distinguish the prints of horses, camels, oxen, and buffaloes. They can pursue the tracks of thieves over hills and through deserts, and possibly they can even follow them through water.

Again, there is a tribe in the Kach district, who can prognosticate good or evil from the call of the partridge, and they can likewise predict the good or bad fortune of travellers from the cries and calls of other birds and beasts. A person relates—"I was journeying with a party, one of whom said, 'I must hurry on; do you follow at your convenience, for I find, from the cry of a bird, that guests have arrived at my house, and also that such and such a friend has just died'—and, indeed, so it proved."

Some of the marvels of this country will be found described under their proper heads; and the wonders of the hills will be mentioned towards the end of the narrative.

* * * * * * *

The story of Sassí and Pannún.

A Brahman named Náníya, and his wife Mundhar, people of consideration, who dwelt at Bhámbaráwáh, subject to the authority of Dalú Ráí, were desirous of having a child born to them. After a while they were blessed with a daughter, the envy of the full moon. It was revealed to her parents that she was destined to be married to a Musulmán. Dreading this family disgrace, the parents, with wounded hearts, enclosed that unique pearl in a box—her shell, as it were—and cast it into the river. The current chanced to carry it to the city of Bhambúr, where there lived a washerman named Nahiya, who was also styled Lála; he had 500 apprentices, but not one child. When the box came into some of the apprentices' possession, they took it to their master, who opened it, and this moon[1] of God's power shone out therefrom. He called her Sassí,[2] which signifies "moon," and adopted her as his own. As she grew up, the lancet of her love pierced the hearts of beauty's flower-

[1] [Here is an equivoque on the word *máhe* or *máhí*, "moon" and "fish."]
[2] [Sans. *Sasí.*]

cullers. Every one who saw her wished she was his own, and all people surrendered their hearts to her; wherever she seated herself men crowded round her like the cluster of the Pleiades, and hovered around her like the constellation of the Eagle. At that time the caravans of Kích and Makrán arrived in those parts with a variety of merchandize, and the praises of this "piece of the moon" were conveyed to the ears of Pannún, son of the Chief of Kích. He lost his heart, and repaired to Bhambúr in the guise of a merchant, where he saw Sassí, and was much enamoured. By good fortune the seeker found a place in the heart of the sought; then in the hope of meeting her, he became one of her father's apprentices, and dressed himself as a washerman. I leave out many incidents to avoid prolixity; but the short of it is, that Sassí returned his love with more than equal ardour.

A goldsmith's wife, who longed to gratify her amorous inclinations, sought to bring about the separation of these two lovers, by exciting Pannún's jealousy. The devoted Sassí came out of it unsullied, like gold from the raging fire, and became an example to the world. After a while these two lovers were married. Pannún's father on learning this, desired his other sons to bring back the infatuated one by some means or other. They went and had an interview with Pannún, and became his guests. At night-fall, without his waking, they bound him on a camel, and set off towards their own country. Towards morning Sassí awoke, and found that she had been robbed of her living treasure. No longer mistress of herself she tore her garments in despair, and set off alone in quest of her lost one. With the feet of affection she traversed the rugged hills, and after accomplishing a distance of about forty kos, she fell exhausted from thirst, and was convulsed, striking her feet on the ground in the agony of death. By the power of God a pool full of water was produced, of which she drank, and found fresh strength. Persons say that the pool remains full of water to this day, and is never dry, even though no rain should fall for years. It is said, that Sassí had seen these things in a dream, on the night on which she was presented with henna, (at her marriage). The branch of henna which she had slept with in her hand according to custom, and which she retained

after she awoke, and which she carried with her, she now planted on this hill; by the power of God the branch grew to be a tree, and still remains a monument of that bleeding heart.

Not to be tedious, after being thus refreshed, Sassí hurried forward, and accomplished six or seven kos further through the same hills, when she was again distressed by thirst. A shepherd accidentally espied her from a distance, and cast longing eyes on her, and approaching, desired to carry her off. Thereupon she upbraided him with injustice, and requested that he would, at least, procure some refreshment for her, thirsty and tired as she then was, before taking her off. The shepherd hastened to his flock to get some milk. While this was going on, Sassí, who despaired of finding any trace of her lover, and finding herself thus fallen into evil, vented the anguish of her heart before the Almighty (who is the comforter of the helpless), and put up a petition for protection against that demon of the desert. Instantly, by the divine power, the hill was rent asunder, and gave a place to that half dead and stricken lover, like a ruby lying in the matrix; and, as a warning and memorial, a corner of her scarf was left visible. When the shepherd returned with the milk, and saw this instance of Divine power, he repented himself, and raised a tomb of stones over her, according to custom.

The tellers of love stories, which cut the heart like sharp diamonds, relate that when Pannún, all in chains, was carried before his father, his restlessness began to shew itself to such a degree that his father was alarmed for his life, and, there being no help for it, he desired his brothers to go with him, and in any way that could be managed, restore his beloved to him. As they were travelling back, Pannún arrived at the place where Sassí was entombed, and seeing the fresh traces, stood amazed. The mutual attraction of hearts revealed this to him. For outward evidence he set about inquiring into the circumstances. The shepherd before spoken of happened to arrive just then, and related everything as it had occurred. Pannún instantly dismounted from his camel, and begged his brothers to wait one moment, as he wished to pay a pilgrim's visit to this tomb. Then, having thrown himself upon it, he cried aloud to the Almighty, beseeching that he might be joined to his

love. As no petitioner before God is ever left without hope, so by His power the hill at once opened and admitted Pannún. He and his mistress were thus encased, as it were, like twin almonds in one shell. The loves of these two, both lovers and both beloved, are still chanted in verses by the Sindians, at a place called Husainí, and people thus seek and find a mode by which they may soar from wordly affection to spiritual love.[1] In truth, this narrative has a wonderful effect on the hearers and narrators, and Mír M'asúm, of Bhakkar, has wrought it into a poem, entitled "Husn o Náz" (or beauty and blandishment); and Kází Murtazá Sorthí, a resident of the village of Katiána, composed a poem, of a peculiar rhythm, on it in the reign of Muhammad Sháh Bádsháh. He relates this story:—A Darwesh named Ism'aíl, an inhabitant of Multán, came on a pilgrimage to see these two wonderful persons of the world of love and affection, and having left his camel at a distance, sat down and fasted three days, in the hope of seeing the two lovers. At the end of that time an old woman appeared to him, bringing some bread and water, but he flatly refused to eat or drink till he had seen Sassí and Pannún. She replied that she was Sassí, and desired him not to expect to see Pannún, for there was no dependance to be placed on things of this world, and that she was harassed by her kindred, who had reduced her to that condition. The Darwesh said—"How can I believe this, for Sassí was young and beautiful, and thou art an old crone." On these words, she was transfigured to her pristine beauty and youth, and she bade him eat something. The Darwesh said, "I will rather die of hunger than eat before I have seen both of you: thus have I vowed." After repeated adjurations, Sassí descended into the grave, and showed Pannún as far as his waist, but she herself encircled him all the while with both arms, for fear some one should carry him off. In short, many elders of pure heart have thus seen them. That road is not passable for any one riding a camel; but whosoever keeps awake by night at the tomb, is

[1] This story, as well as many others connected with the legendary lore of Sind, is very well told by Lt. Burton. He calls the hero and heroine Panhu and Sassui.—See the *Unhappy Valley*, vol. I, pp. 81–88; and *Sindh*, pp. 57, 92–106. Mrs. Postans also gives it as a legend of Kach'h.

feasted by an unseen hand, notwithstanding that the place is an utter desert.

* * * * * * *

The Genealogy of the Jats and Bulúchis.

Muhammad, son of Hárún Makrání, who will be noticed in the series of governors of Makrán, and who, at the time of the conquest of Sind, accompanied Muhammad Kásim as far as Armanbela, where he died and was buried, was, as appears from the genealogical table of the family, a grandson of Muhammad, son of Abán, son of 'Abdu-r Rahím, son of Hamza, son of 'Abdu-l Matlab. Once on a time, the pursuit of some beast of the chase, carried the Amír Hamza (may the favour of God restore him!) a long distance into a desert, where he found himself in solitude. As the Almighty watches with a special providence over his chosen ones, a fairy appeared in that desert for Hamza's company, and by the divine permission, he consorted with her, and this dissipated his sense of loneliness and dreariness. The fairy afterwards, by the divine power, became invisible, and the Amír reached his own country. The fairy bore a son by him, viz., 'Abdu-r Rahím. To be brief, Muhammad, son of Hárún, had fifty sons born to him from seven women, as follows:—I. The first wife, Hamírí, bore—1. Ísá; 2. Mihrán; 3. Hajjáz; 4. Sahtak; 5. Bahrám; 6. Rustam; 7. Jalál. II. His second wife bore—1. Mazíd; 2. Jamál; 3. Ráda; 4. Buhlol; 5. Shaháb; 6. Nizám; 7. Jalál; 8. Muríd. III. Miriam bore—1. Rodín; 2. Músá; 3. Notí; 4. Núh; 5. Mańdah; 6. Razíu-d dín. IV. 'Aísha bore Jalál. V. Muddí bore—1. Ádam; 2. Kamál; 3. Ahmad; 4. Humád; 5. Hámid; 6. Sa'íd; 7. Mas'úd. VI. Fátima bore—1. Sher; 2. Koh; 3. Buland; 4. Gurg; 5. Núru-d dín; 6. Hasan; 7. Husain; 8. Sulaimán; 9. Ibráhím. VII. Eve bore—1. 'Álam; 2. 'Alí; 3. Sarkash; 4. Bahádur; 5. Teghzan; 6. Mubárak; 7. Turk; 8. Zalha; 9. 'Arabí; 10. Shíráz; 11. Táju-d dín; 12. Gulistán-Barg.

After Hajjáj had subdued all opposition in Makrán, as is recorded, he died, and that principality was divided between the children of Jalál, who took one-half, and the other half was shared by all his brothers. After a short time contentions sprang up among

the brothers; the greater part of their descendants mixed with the people of the country and dwelt there, but the descendants of Jalálu-d dín, having been worsted, repaired to Sind and Kach, and their descendants are spread in numberless divisions throughout that country.

The Tribe of Lodh, also called Loh.

Their origin is this, that king Sulaimán (the prophet, peace be to him!) sent a party of Genii to Rúm to purchase female slaves. On their return back, one of the Genii formed a connection with a girl named Loliá, who became pregnant by him. On king Sulaimán hearing of this, he gave him the girl. The child was named Lodh, and his descendants, generation after generation, intermingled with the Arabs; and at the time of the conquest of Sind, came to dwell there,—or perhaps they may have come there before that period.

Genealogy of the Samma Tribe.

Sám, as some affirm, was the son of 'Umar, son of Hashám, son of Abí Lahib; and according to others, he was the son of 'Umar, son of 'Akarma, son of Abí Jahl. The title of Jám renders it probable that he was descended from Jamshíd. He is commonly considered to be the son of Núh. Jám, the son of Núh (peace be to him!), had four sons:—1. Budhá, who had sixteen sons, among whom were Budh, Súra, Sahta, Akhíl, Autár, A'mra, Handír, and others, they were styled Ráthor; 2. Sanká; 3. Hamhar; 4. Bhágirat, who had one son named Dera, whose son was Ajípár, whose son was Dasrat.

Dasrat had three wives, viz.,—Kasila, Kailiyá, and Simiyá; by the first of these he had two sons, Rám and Lakhman; the second bore Barat, and Símíá had Chatargun. Sanká, son of Sám, also left descendants; and Hamhar, son of Sám, had a son named Todar, and Barat, son of Dasrat, had four sons, named Parihár, Jánsupá, Kúrícha, and Náhiya. Chatargun, son of Dasrat, also had a son named Cháírá. Lakhman, son of Dasrat, left no posterity. Rám, son of Dasrat, left a son named Tawákas; he had a son named A'tat, whose son was named Tattat; he had a son named Narkant,—his

son was Kan, and the city of Kan was so called from him; and the son of Kan was styled Sambút Rájá, who had four sons—1. Sám; 2. Barkarara, also called Sháh; 3. Hanrat, also called Dakan; 4. Máda.

Sám, the son of Sambút Rájá, had a son namad Jádam. Jádam had four sons:—1. Haibat, whose son was Sind Samma; 2. Gajpat, whose son was Chughda; 3. Bhúpat, from whom the tribe of Bhattís sprung; 4. Chúrá Samma. His son was Ráí Daiyách, who became chief of Girnál, a fort in the district of Sorath, and famous for the pomp of his retinue. He sacrificed his head as a religious offering. His wife Sorath was devotedly attached to him. The strong affection of this couple, together with the story of the sacrifice, is the subject of a most affecting tale, still sung at Sorath. Haibat, son of Jádam, son of Sám, son of Sambút, had a son named Rídarí, whose son was Nít, who had a son Nútiar, whose son was Audhár, whose son was Audh, whose son was Lákhiya, whose son was Lákha.

Lákha founded a kingdom, and having allied himself in marriage to Pothí Cháda, she brought him four sons. Of these one was Audh, who died without issue, and whose place of residence was called Audh; another was Mahir, he had four sons, viz.,—1. Satya; 2. Dítar Páthárí; 3. Darhá, who had no children; 4. Sánd, he also had no issue. Lákha took to himself another wife in his old age, by whom he had also four sons, viz.,—1. Unar; 2. Chhatta, who had three sons, Babra, Dankara, and Kalla; 3. Fahal, the father of the celebrated Lákha Fasláni; 4. Manáhia. Unar, son of Lákha, had a son also called Lákha, whose son was called Samma. This Samma had two sons,—1. Káka; 2. Jhakra. The former became a ruler, and the district of Káka takes its name from him. He had two sons—1. Pallí; 2. Ráídan. Masrak Samma one of Pallí's sons, became a chief.

Ráídan had nine sons—1. Samma, from whom all the Samejas descend; 2. Nútiar, from whom sprang all the Núts; 3. Lákha, father of Lanjár; 4. Abra, who had a son called Dáhir; 5. Náhíya; 6. Chanesar, who was a noted man of his time; 7. Manáhia; 8. Koría—the descendants of these three form the tribe of Mindra; 9. Pallí, who became a chief. Pallí had two sons—1. Audh, whose

sons were Bahría and Adeja, who was called Gudaria Pútra (or the son of a shepherd); 2. Sánd, who became the head of a tribe of that name. Sánd had seven sons—1. Káka, whose descendants are called Kakeja Pútra; 2. Jára; 3. Dera; 4. Janeja; 5. Hankúra, who had sons, Audheja, Jakia, Dúrhá, and Hankújá; 6. Dera, whose descendants are the Dera Samma, of Kach; 7. Jam Hothí, who had five sons:—1. Hála, whose descendants are well known; 2. Hankúra, whose descendants are búmiyas of Dhúrí, Hankúra, Chár Hankúra, and Rám Deh, which places were founded by them; 3. Sáhir, whose descendants founded Sáhir Samma, and live there; 4. Chílária, whose descendants are the tribe of Nahria; 5. Jám Hápar, who had two sons, viz., Rahúja and Jám Júna; the latter had a son named Kar Ráhú, who had three sons—1. Sánd, whose sons Rúhúma, Lákháita, and Jhakra; 2. Súmra, who left no issue; 3. Lákha Jám, who had a son called Káha, whose son was called Lákha. Káha had also a posthumous son, who was also called Káha, after his father.

Lákha, son of Káha, brother of Káha before mentioned (*sic*) had twelve sons—1. Jám Júna, whose descendants are the Samma kings of Sind, who dwelt at Sámúí, and who will be mentioned in their proper places; 2. Unar, who ruled in Bahria, and died without issue; 3. Pallí, from whom the Pallí Sammas descend; 4. Káha, from him are the Súdiári Sammas: 5. Auth,—the Auth Sammas, Sáhil Sammas, and Síkháwat Sammas, spring from him; 6. Jaisur, whose son was Bahia Piriá; 7. Mankar, who had no son; 8. Abra, the tribe of Abreja, are his descendants; 9. Hankúrá Kunwar; 10. Sultán Aut; 11. Ráidan; 12. Lákha. Hankúra Kunwar had three sons—1. Dísar; 2. Manáhia; 3. Murádia. Dísar had five sons—1. Káha; 2. Mála; 3. Rakan; 4. Hankúra; 5. Júna, who had also five sons—1. Khoria; 2. Tájiá; 3. Abra; 4. Bulúch; 5. Pámbiya.[1] Such of the descendants of the latter as rested in Sind, will be mentioned in the history of the Samma kings.

Be it observed, that the Sammas are the owners of the land throughout Sind, as far as Guzerát, including also the greater part of Rájpútána, and they form the majority of the population of Sind. The tribes of Bulúch and Jat, and some others already spoken of, are also

[1] [Or "Pámbaniya."]

the ancient inhabitants of the land. Other tribes might be mentioned who succeeeded, or even preceded these, but for the sake of brevity, the writer of this book contents himself with specifying only what is actually necessary. Should any one desire a more minute narrative, let him pursue the investigation himself.

The Governors of Sind under the Ghaznivides and their Successors.

The officers of Sultán Mas'úd possessed themselves of the country of Sind, in succession to those of Mahmúd. Then followed the officers of Maudúd, then the officers of Majdúd; next the officers of Sultán Kutbu-d Dín, and lastly, the officers of Árám Sháh, who are all severally described in the first and second volumes. During the reign of the latter king, his dominions were parcelled into four divisions: one of which comprising Multán, the whole of Sind, and Úch, became subject to Násiru-d dín Kabácha. At that time the following seven Ránás in Sind were tributary to Multán:—1. Ráná Buhnar Sa'ta Ráthor, of Dabra, in the district of Durbela; 2. Ráná Sanír, son of Dhamáj, of the tribe of Kureja Samma, residing in Túng, lying within the district of Rúpáh; 3. Jaisar, son of Jajji Máchhi Solankí, of Mániktara;[1] 4. Wakía, son of Pannún Channún, who was established in the valley of Síwí; 5. Channún, son of Díta, of the tribe of Channa, resident of Bhág-nai; 6. Jíya, son of Wariáh, of Jham, or Hemakot; 7. Jasodhan Ákra, of Mín-nagar district of Bámbarwá.

Further, when Láhore was taken by the officers of Táju-d dín Yaldúz, Malik Násiru-d dín Kabácha took refuge in the city of Multán; and towards the end of the year 626 H. (1229 A.D.) Malik Khán Khiljí and his people, became masters of the country of Síwistán. Sultán Shamsu-d dín Íltamsh, having deputed his minister Nizámu-l Mulk Muhammad, son of Asa'd, to besiege Úch, set out for Dehli. Úch surrendered quietly to Nizámu-l Mulk in A.H. 625 (1228 A.D.), and he then hastened to Bhakkar. Násiru-d dín fled, and the vessel of his life was swallowed in up the whirlpool of death. Sultán Shamsu-d dín became lord of Sind. Núru-d dín Muhammad succeeded to the government in A.H. 630 (1233 A.D.) The Sultán Íltamsh died in A.H. 633 (1236 A.D.), and was succeeded

[1] There is a Tára or Tarra, an old site ten miles south-west from Thatta.

by Sultán Mas'úd Sháh. During the disturbed state of the country in his reign the army of the Moghals passed the Indus, and laid siege to U'ch, but owing to the vigilance of Sultán Mas'úd they were repulsed and retired on Khurásán. Sultán Mas'úd left Malik Jalálu-d dín Muhammad as governor of Sind, in the room of Núru-d dín Muhammad. During his government, Násiru-d din Mahmúd, uncle of Sultán Mas'úd, inherited the throne and crown.

In A.H. 662 (1264 A.D.), Sultán Ghiásu-d dín ascended the thrône of Dehlí, and gave over the provinces of Láhore, Multán and Sind to his son, Sultán Muhammad, who used to go every third year to pay his respects to his father, and stay one year. In A.H. 682 (1283 A.D), Sultán Muhammad was slain in battle against the army of Changíz Khán, and his son Kai Khusrú was confirmed as successor to his father. Sultán Jalálu-d dín Khiljí on his arrival at Láhore in A.H. 692 (1293 A.D.), assigned the government of Multán aud U'ch to his son Arkalí Khán, and he appointed Nasrat Khan to the government of Sind. In A.H. 695 (1296 A.D.), Sultán 'Alaú-d dín, despatched his brother Ulugh Khán to expel Arkalí Khán from his government, but, as usual, Nasrat Khán with 10,000 men retained possession of Multán, U'ch, Bhakkar, Síwistán, and Thatta. In the beginning of 697 A.D. (1297 A.H.), the Saldáí Moghals from Sístán, arrived and possessed themselves of Síwistán, but Nasrat Khán vigorously attacked them and freed it. Towards the close of his reign, Sultán 'Alaú-d dín despatched Ghází Malik at the head of 10,000 horse to expel Changíz Khán's Moghals from Debálpúr and gave him Multán, U'ch, and Sind in jágír.

Khusrú Khán, having watched his opportunity, deposed 'Alaú-d dín, and became master of the throne.[1] Ghází Malik, marching up at the head of the Sind and Multán forces, expelled Khusrú Khán and seated himself in his place under the style and title of Sultán Ghiásu-d dín. At this interval, a number of the tribe of Súmra rose and possessed themselves of Thatta. Sultán Ghiásu-d dín deputed Malik Táju-d dín to Multán, and Khwája Khatír to Bhakkar, and Malik 'Ali Sher to Síwistán. Sometime after, when Kashkú Khán revolted in Multán, Sultan Muhammad Sháh, son of

[1] I do not attempt to correct the errors in the Dehli history, as given here. They do not occur in Mír M'asúm's history, from which this chapter is abridged.

Sultán Ghiásu-d dín, arrived at Multán in A.H. 728 (1328 A.D.) and put him down. Then having deputed trusty persons to Bhakkar and Siwistán, he returned. In A.H. 751 (1350 A.D.), while in pursuit of the slave Taghí,[1] having traversed Guzerát and Kach, he arrived in the district of Thatta, and encamped at the village of Tharí on the banks of a river. From thence he removed in consequence of an attack of fever, to Gandal,[2] where he got well. He then returned and encamped about four kos from Thatta, where he had a relapse of fever and died.

Sultán Fíroz Sháh succeeded him. Taghí, who was at Thatta, on learning this, hastened to give battle at the head of the tribes of Súmra, Játeja, and Samma, but was defeated. The Sultán quitted the environs of Thatta on the first day of the month of Safar of the above year, and ordered a fort to be built on the river Sánkra; and Amír Nasr was left there with 1000 horse. He founded a city called Nasrpúr, and Malik Bahrám was made ruler of it, and the surrounding districts. Bahrámpúr was named after him. Malik 'Alí Sher, and Malik Táj Káfúrí were left in Siwistán, and the Sultán went to Bhakkar. He appointed Malik Ruknu-d dín his vicegerent, and Malik 'Abdu-l Azíz as minister of finance, and garrisoned the fort with a body of chosen troops. He conferred the title of Ikhlás Khán on Malik Ruknu-d dín, and entrusted him with the affairs of all Sind. He then went to Dehli. In A.H. 772 (1370 A.D.), after the conquest of Nagarkot he proceeded to Thatta, whose chief, Jám Khairu-d dín retired to a fort upon the water, and there collected troops. Scarcity of provisions, and superabundance of mosquitos, forced the Sultán to return to Thatta. Jám Khairu-d dín submitted, came in, and paid his respects. The Sultán carried him towards Dehlí with all the other Zamíndárs, and when near Sihwán, upon learning that the Jám intended to flee, he had him put in chains. Sometime after this, he invested Jám Júna, son of Khairu-d dín with a *khil'at*, and appointed him to his father's post.

In A.H. 790 (1388 A.D.), Fíroz Sháh died, and was succeeded on the throne of Dehli by Sultán Tughlik Sháh. Then followed Sultán

[1] ["Rebel."]

[2] This place is about thirty miles from Girnár or Júnagarh.

Abú Bakr, Sultán Muhammad Sháh, Sultán Sikandar Sháh, and then Sultán Násiru-d dín, who sent Sárang Khan to take possession of Debálpúr, Multán, and Sind.[1]

In A.H. 800 (1397 A.D.), Mirza Pír Muhammad, grandson of Amír Tímúr, crossed the river (Indus) and laid siege to the fort of Uch. Malik 'Alí, who was there on behalf of Sárang Khán, kept him in check for a month, and Sárang Khán despatched Málik Táju-d dín to his aid with 4000 men. Mirzá Pír Muhammad then raised the siege, marched from Uch, and defeated him. He then commenced the siege of Multán. After a siege of six months, Sárang Khán yielded and surrendered Multán. About this time, A.H. 801 (1398 A.D.), Tímúr himself arrived at Multán. From this time dates the downfall and cessation of the authority of the Sultáns of Dehli over the governors of Sind, who raised the standard of independence, as will be now related.

The Tribe of Súmra.

A portion of this tribe had got possession of parts of Sind before the time above-mentioned, so that the whole term of their authority may be reckoned at 550 years. Historians—observing their first appearance after the Ál-i Tamím, who were the last governors on the part of the 'Abbásides—date the rule of the tribe from that time. When, as we have related, the administration of the greater part of Sind was held by the officers of the Ghaznivide and Ghorí kings, this tribe enjoyed full and undivided power. They sprang from the Arabs of Sámra, as has been mentioned before, who arrived in Sind in the fourth century of the Hijra.

It is said that Chhota Amrání, brother of Dalú Ráí Amrání, was so much grieved at his brother's injustice which occasioned the ruin of the city of Alor, and clouded the prosperity of the city of Bhámbará, that he repaired to Baghdád and obtained from the Khalif 100 Arabs of Sámra whom, with the 'Ulamáí Músawí, he brought to Sind, of whom more hereafter. At last, Dalú Ráí submitted to the Saiyid and gave him his daughter in marriage. The Saiyid settled in Sind, and left descendants, and the town of Mut'alwí is their abiding place.

[1] Here is a further error in the Dehli annals, which is not to be attributed to Mír M'asúm.

In short, as we have before said, in A.H. 720 (1320 A.D.) Ghází Malik march on Dehli, with an army collected from Multán and Sind, and overthrew Khusrú Khán. Then, ascending the throne, he assumed the style and title of Ghiásu-d din Tughlik Sháh, and devoted himself to the government of his new dominions.

The Súmras then collected a force from the neighbourhood of Tharí, and placed a man named Súmra on the throne. He settled the frontier of his country, and married the daughter of a zamíndár named Sád, who had set up a claim to independence. To him was born a son named Bhúngar, who on his death succeeded him in the government. After him, his son Dúdá brought the country as far as Nasrpúr into his possession. Dúdá died, leaving a son of tender age, named Singhár, so Tárí, daughter of Dúdá, took the government into her hands, but made it over to her brother when he arrived at years of discretion. Singhár pushed his way in the direction of Kach, and subjected the country as far as Báng-nai. He left no son, so his wife Hemú appointed her brothers to the government of the cities of Túr and Tharí. After a brief interval, a Súmra named Dúdá, who was ruling in the fort of Dhak, assembled his brethren from all sides, and extirpated the brethren of Hemú. At this juncture Dádu Phatú, a descendant of Dúdá, rebelled, and collecting a foreign force, he for some time carried on the government. After him, Khairá became ruler. Then Armíl became the master of the state. So the Sammas rebelled and slew him. This happened in the year 752 Hijra (1351 A.D.). The history of this family, from its rise to its fall, the number of its princes, and the causes of its decline, are very discordantly narrated. Thus the Muntakhabu-t Tawáríkh says that when the sovereignty was inherited by 'Abdu-r Rashíd, son of Mahmúd, of Ghazní, it was soon perceived that he was lethargic and weak-minded. The men of Sind were therefore refractory and rebellious, and in the year 445 Hijra (1053 A.D.), the men of Súmra collected in the vicinity of Tharí, and raised a man named Súmra to the seat of government. This man reigned independently for a long period, and, marrying the daughter of a zamíndár named Sád, he died leaving a son named Bhúngar as his successor. Bhúngar, son of Súmra, reigned fifteen years, and died in the year 461 Hijra (1069

A.D.) His son Dúdá succeeded, and reigned twenty-four years, dying in 485 Hijra (1092 A.D). After him Singhár reigned fifteen years; Khafif, thirty-six years; 'Umar, forty years; Dúdá, the second, fourteen years; Phatú, thirty-three years; Genhra,[1] sixteen years; Muhammad Túr, fifteen years; Genhra,[2] several years; Dúdá,[2] fourteen years; Táí,[2] twenty-four years; Chanesar, eighteen years; Bhúngar, fifteen years; Khafíf, eighteen years; Dúdá, twenty-five years; 'Umar Súmra, thirty-five years; Bhúngar, ten years. Hamír then succeeded, but he was a tyrant, and the Samma tribe overthrew him. The rise of this family is related in various ways, and several rulers are mentioned beside those above enumerated; their fall, also, is described in many incongruous ways. 'Umar Súmra gave his name to the fort of 'Umarkot.

The Story of Múmal and Mendra.

One of the most remarkable events of his (Hamír Súmra's) time is the story of Múmal and Mendra, which is told thus:—A woman named Múmal, of the family of the Gújar chiefs, on the death of her father, ruled over his lands, and built a lofty palace on the outskirts of the city, outside which she, by magic art, conducted a stone canal like a river across the entrance of the palace; and she planted two life-like lions of terrible aspect, cut in stone, at the doorway, and within the ordinary sitting-room seven sofas were placed, covered with stuff of one design, six of which coverings were made of unspun thread, and underneath each sofa a deep well was dug. She then caused it to be given out that she would choose for her husband him who should pass the river and the lions, and sagaciously seat himself on the right seat. Many men were tempted to a trial, but none attained their object; nay, they stepped into the well of annihilation.

One day, Hámir Súmra went out hunting with three of his suite, one of whom was Ráná Mendra, his minister's wife's brother. He happened to meet a travelling Jogí, who so extolled the beauty of Múmal, that Hámir Súmra felt a great desire to see her. Taking his attendants with him, they turned their heads to the direc-

[1] ["Ghenra" in one MS.]
[2] [These three names are found only in the best of the two MSS.]

tion indicated, and on reaching its vicinity put up within view of the palace. Múmal, on learning of their arrival, despatched a sharp slave girl to ascertain their quality, and bring the most important person of the party to be hospitably entertained.

First Hamír went with the girl, but she outstripped him; and he, on beholding that deep imaginary river, returned without attaining his object, and for very shame said nothing. The next night the girl came again, and bade one of the other strangers accompany her, but he also returned as Hamír had done. On the third night, the same thing happened to the third man. On the fourth night, Báná Mendra set out with the girl, and when she wished to precede him, according to her custom, he seized the skirt of her garment, and put her behind, saying that it was not proper for slave girls to precede their masters. When he reached the visionary river he was puzzled for a moment. On sounding the depth of the water with the lance which he had in his hand, he found it had no real existence. He at once passed over, and saw the lions at the gate, but throwing his spear at them, he found they were not really alive.

He then pursued his object, entered the palace, and went into the sofa room; there he saw seven sofas or thrones, all of the same kind, and thought to himself that one of them must be especially intended to sit on, and that perhaps there was some deception about them. He then probed each with his spear, found out the substantial one, and sat down cross-legged upon it. The girl informed Múmal of the circumstances, and of his sagacity. She instantly came out, they were mutually pleased with each other, and the marriage knot was firmly tied. Mendra passed the night in rapturous enjoyment, and repaired early in the morning to the presence of Hamír and his friends, to whom he related his adventures. Hamír said, "As the woman has now become your own, you must be pleased to let me see her once." Accordingly, at night, Mendra took Hamír with him, dressed as a shepherd. Hamír bore the Báná some ill-will for having set aside the respect due to him; he therefore carried him off to his own city, and placed him under arrest. As Mendra had given his heart to Múmal, he, with the privity of his guards, every night secretly mounted a

very swift she-dromedary, who could perform five ordinary day's journey and back again in a single night, and having seen his beloved, and enjoyed the charms of her company, returned to his prison.

It chanced that one night Múmal had gone to see her sister. Mendra returned, and suspecting something wrong, became displeased, and gave up going any more. The innocent Múmal was greatly distressed at Mendra's displeasure, and quitted her own residence and country. Having arrived at the city where Mendra dwelt, she built a palace adjoining his, and had windows placed opposite to his windows that she might sometimes see him. Mendra, shrouded in displeasure, closed his windows on that side, and Múmal then built a palace opposite another face of Mendra's, and so on, opposite to each of its four faces, but did not succeed in seeing her beloved. At last, when Múmal saw that Mendra had entirely averted the face of regard from her, she breathed a sigh of anguish, and, wounded by despair, gave up her life. Intelligence of this was conveyed to Mendra, and since a lover powerfully affects the heart of the beloved, and as the attraction of hearts in the world of unity tends to one and the same object, he instantly, on hearing these lamentable tidings, sighed and expired. This story is sung in Sindí verse at certain established places, and religious devotees are transported to raptures and heavenly visions of Divine love, on hearing it. A certain Mullá Mukím has written this story in Persian verse, and called it "Tarannum-i 'Ishk," or the song of love.[1]

Story of Chanesar and Lailá.

A girl named Kaunrú, daughter of the powerful and renowned Ráná Khangár was betrothed to her cousin. Being incomparably beautiful, the young lady gave herself great airs among her associates. At that time no one could be compared to Chanesar, of Dewal, for beauty of person, store of wealth, extent of territory, or force of authority, and an alliance with him was earnestly desired by many beauties. One day a girl named Jamní, one of

[1] Lt. Burton has given this tale in a more attractive form, in his *Sindh*, pp. 114–123.

Kaunrú's companions, said to her, tauntingly, "Perhaps you entertain thoughts of being married to Chanesar, since you practice so many fine airs, and are so affected." This taunt pierced Kaunrú's heart, and without even having seen Chanesar's face, she became desperately in love with him, and almost beside herself. When Marghín, her mother, found this out, she apprised Ráná Khangár of it. As a matrimonial alliance with Chanesar was the greatest honour of the day, and there seemed no way of accomplishing that except by stratagem, the Ráná advised Marghín to take their daughter in the garb of a merchant to Chanesar's town, without letting any one know of her so doing, and before Kaunrú should become the victim of despair, and thus perhaps Chanesar himself might become ensnared in the net of good contrivance. Agreeably to this recommendation, Marghín set out with her daughter and some merchandize, crossed the river Parpat, and leaving her own country of Dhat, soon entered the Dewal territory, and arrived at the city where Chanesar lived. She sent a message through a gardener's wife, to Jhakra, Chanesar's Wazír, intimating her desire for a union. Chanesar—devoted to Lailá, whose beauty and charms might excite the jealousy of the celebrated Lailá—returned for answer that he wished for none but Lailá, bade the gardener's wife beware of bringing more such messages to him, and directed the new comers to be sent away, lest Lailá should hear of them, and be annoyed. On being informed of this, Marghín sold her merchandise, and went one day into the presence of Lailá, in the garb of a poor stranger beggar woman, saying:—"Adverse circumstances have driven me and my daughter far from our own country; in spinning thread we have no equals, if you will kindly take us as your slaves, we will so serve you as to merit general approval." Lailá took them both, and was pleased with their work. After some time, the arrangements of Chanesar's bedchamber became Kaunrú's special charge. Kaunrú one night thought of her own country, and of her splendid position there, and her eyes filled with tears. Chanesar, seeing this, asked her what was the matter. She answered that she had raised the wick of the lamp, and then scratched her eye with the hand with which she did it, which brought the tears into her eye. On hearing this,

Lailá was very pressing to learn the truth, and Kaunrú, after much pressing, said, "The truth is, I am the daughter of a sovereign, of such wealth, that the lustre of his jewels serves him for night-lights; hence the smoke of the lamp confused my brain, and the recollection of past days entered my head, and I wept that they were no more." Lailá asked her for proof of the truth of this pretension; she instantly produced a most delicate dress, such as Lailá had never seen, with a necklace worth nine lakhs of rupees. Lailá was charmed with such precious rareties, and desired to have them. Kaunrú and Marghín said, "We will give them on condition that you give us Chanesar for one night." As most women are wanting in understanding, she agreed to the terms, and one night, when Chanesar was drunk, she made him over to Kaunrú. Chanesar passed the entire night in unconsciousness, and when he awoke in the morning, was astonished at finding who it was he had in his bosom. Kaunrú's mother was all night on the alert as to what should happen. Finding in the morning that her daughter's object was not accomplished, she began muttering from behind the curtain, "how strange it is that Lailá should sell such a husband as Chanesar for a mere necklace! and that he should be ignorant of this; it is not fitting that a man should again consort with such a wife." Chanesar hearing this, looked lovingly on Kaunrú; she told him the whole particulars of her story from beginning to end. He then said:—"Since the case is thus, be of good heart, for I am no more Lailá's, and I will love you with my whole heart."

On Lailá hearing of what had taken place, all her stratagems were futile, her constant union was changed to utter separation After the lapse of a long time, she returned to her paternal village, and passed her time in solitude. Before this affair, a girl from the family of Lailá had been betrothed to the minister Jhakra; but after what had happened to Lailá her relations would not give the girl to him. As he was bent on the match, he tried many devices to bring about the marriage, but all in vain. Lailá sent word to him that if he could by any means contrive to bring Chanesar with him, she would pledge herself his desired marriage should take place.

On receiving this message, Jhakra, with much ado, persuaded Chanesar to accompany him to Lailá's village. Lailá changed her

dress, and putting on the garb of a woman who bears the message of assignation, veiled her face, and entered the presence of Chanesar, when she spoke reproachfully of the relation in which he stood to Lailá. During the conversation, she played off some coquettish airs, and captivated Chanesar without his knowing who she was. As all Chanesar's abandonment of Lailá, and unkindness too, arose from jealousy, and he was in reality as much attached to her as ever, on the remembrance of the joys of the time of his union with her he became beside himself, and said, "O sweet-tongued girl! thou thyself art the rarest of beauties! How long wilt thou talk of Lailá? Speak to me of thyself, for my heart yearns to thee!" She replied: "How can the heart love one faithless as thou?" On hearing her speech, Chanesar wished to tear her veil off; but Lailá, who was herself her own messenger, at the very height of his ardour, unveiled herself with her own hand. When Chanesar saw that she was indeed Lailá, he suddenly drew a cold sigh from his sorrowful heart and expired. On seeing this, Lailá, too, uttered one groan and fell down lifeless. The pair were burned according to custom, and their strange story is well remembered by the people, and is the theme of a popular and moving song in the Sindí tongue. Idra'ki Beg-Lár composed a Persian poem on this story; the present writer, for fear of prolixity, has satisfied himself with relating thus much of it.

* * * * * * *

Nawwáb Muríd Khán.

He was by birth the son of a Rája, and newly converted to the Muhammadan faith. In the year 1099 H. (1688 A.D.) corresponding with the 31st of the reign, he was appointed to the government of Thatta. It is said, that several thousand Rájpúts accompanied him. When he arrived at the ferry, he learnt that it was necessary to pass through the butcher's shambles where cows were slaughtered, before he could reach the citadel. So he despatched a message to Kází Muhammad Husain, the Kází of the city, saying that he had with him a large body of Hindú Rájpúts, and requesting him to remove the shops of the cow-slaying butchers from the passage of the

bazar, lest they should give offence to his followers, and some disturbance should arise. As the institutions of the king, the defender of the law, were not tolerant of the threats and menaces of such persons, the most worshipful Kází, that very night, directed the butchers to double the number of their usual stalls, and place them on both sides of the roads. When the governor heard of this, seeing it would be useless to act in opposition to His Majesty, the defender of the faith, he was compelled to pass according to the fashion observed by his predecessors. He remained two years in Thatta, during which his army gave much trouble to the Musulmáns. Upon a representation made by the chief residents, a royal order was received directing him to abandon his ridiculous crotchets and consider himself removed from the government of Musulmáns. When he was dismissed, he remained for some time at the fort of Tughlikábád, better known as Kalánkot, as he found the air suited to the complaint under which he was suffering, of weakness of sight. The king, out of regard to him, did not oppose this arrangement, but when his successor arrived at Thatta, he was summoned to the court. Some of the present defences and buildings of the fort of Tughlikábád are of his construction.

APPENDIX.

NOTE (A).—GEOGRAPHICAL.

[Sir H. Elliot in his introductory remarks on Al Bírúní's geographical chapter, observed that before the time of that writer "the whole of Upper India was a perfect *terra incognita*, and the Arabians knew much less of it than Pliny and Ptolemy." The geographical extracts at the beginning of this volume, fully prove the justice of this observation. Multán, Mansúra, Alor, and other places of note in the valley of the Indus, were visited by their early travellers, and the ports upon the coast, especially those about the Gulf of Cambay, were also known from the reports of their mariners. All beyond this was vague, and evidently drawn from hearsay information. Their scanty knowledge is farther shown by the identity of much that was written on the subject. Sulaimán and Ma'súdi drew their information from the same or very similar sources; and a great part of Istakhrí's and Ibn Haukal's description is verbatim the same, so that there can be no doubt that one copied from the other. In Bírúní we have ample evidence of a much wider knowledge, not always accurate, not always intelligible at the present time, but still showing that he had acquired, either by personal travel or by diligent investigation, a fair general knowledge of the topography of Hindustan, and even of parts beyond.[1] Idrísí gives a full compilation from the works of his predecessors, with some additional matter from sources now lost to us, but he does not appear to have used the writings of Bírúní, and his work is blemished by many false spellings.]

[1] [He cannot be absolved from the blunder of having placed Thanesar in the Doáb, but the further error of locating Muttra on the east of the Jumna is due to his translators. All the versions of Rashídu-d dín say that the river lies on the east of the city, (وبر شرقي شهر جون افتاده). See first edition pp. 73, 97. *Reinaud's Fragments*, 82, 100.]

[Sir H. Elliot endeavoured to identify and fix the position of several of the most important and interesting of the places mentioned by the early geographers and historians, and some additions have since been made, chiefly from sources unpublished at the time when his original volume appeared. The following is an index of the notes :—

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Balhará.

[The early Arab Geographers are unanimous in their spelling of the title "Balhará." The merchant Sulaimán says it is a title similar to the Chosroes of the Persians, and not a proper name. Ibn Khurdádba says that it signifies "King of Kings." According to Mas'údí it is a title borne by all the kings of the country, while Ibn Haukal states that it is a name derived from that of the country. Idrísí follows Ibn Khurdádba in giving to it the signification of "King of Kings," but, he adds, that the title was hereditary. Thus it seems clear that it was the general title of a dynasty, and that it must have borne some such signification as that assigned to it by Ibn Khurdádba.]

[Taking the accounts of the Arab writers, and comparing them with the Indian annals, there can be no great hesitation in identifying the "Balhará" with the dynasty settled at Ballabhi-pura, the princes of which were the founders of the Ballabhi era, and were

probably known as the Ballabhi or Ballabh Ráís. This identification, originally proposed by Colonel Tod, has met with tacit acquiescence, except from M. Reinaud, who considered the term "Balhará" to represent Málwá Ráí or "King of Málwá."][1]

[Ballabhi-pura was, according to Tod, "destroyed in the fifth century, by an irruption of the Parthians, Getes, Huns or Catti, or a mixture of these tribes,"[2] In another place he gives the date of this event from Jain records as A.D. 524.[3] And in a further passage he says, that after the destruction of Ballabhi-pura, its princes "fled eastward, eventually obtaining Chitor, when the Islands of Deo and Somnath-pattan, in the division termed Larika, became the seat of government. On its destruction, in the middle of the eighth century, Anhalwára became the metropolis, and this, as recorded, endured until the fourteenth century."[4] Hwen Tsang visited Balabhi in the seventh century, and Thomas gives the date of its destruction as 802 Samvat (745 A.D.)[5] The ruins of the city are well known, being situate about twenty miles west of Bhownuggur, in Kattiwar; and the name survives in that of the modern town of Wallay, which stands near them.[6]]

[Hindu authorities thus record the removal of the seat of government to the country of Lárike or Láta, which country Mas'údí names as being subject to the Balhará, and which the other writers describe as forming part of his dominions.]

[The capital of the Balhará is stated by Mas'údí to be "Mánkír (or Manákír) the *great centre* of India," and to be situated "eighty Sindí parasangs (640 miles) from the sea," a palpable exaggeration. Istakhrí and Ibn Haukal say that "Mánkír is the city in which the Balhará dwells, but they do not name it in their lists of the cities of Hind. Bírúní and Idrísí make no mention of it. The unavoidable inference is that the place had fallen to decay, and was known only by tradition in the days of these Arab writers.]

[The name Mánkír or Manákír bears a suggestive resemblance to "Minagara," a city which Ptolemy places on the Nerbadda,

1 [Rel. des Voyages, xciv. *Mem. sur l'Inde*, 138, 144.]
2 [*Travels* I. 23.]
3 [*Annals* I. 217.]
4 [Tod, *Travels* I. 213.]
5 [Thomas' Prinsep *Useful Tables*, p. 158.]
6 [Journal Royal Asiatic Society, xiii. p. 146.]

among the cities of Larike. Both are probably representatives of the Sanskrit *mahá-nagara*, "great city." Mánkír is said to mean "great centre," so that the word *mahá* (great) must be represented by the first syllable *má*; and the other syllables *nakír* or *nákír* are by no means a bad Arabic transcription of "Nagara," for the alphabet would not allow of a closer version than *nakar*. In Minagara, the word *nagara*, "city" is unquestionable. Ptolemy mentions another Minagara on the East coast, somewhere near the Mahánadí river, and Arrian, in the Periplus, has another Minagara in the valley of the Indus. The syllable *mi* would therefore seem to be a common appellative, having no local or ethnological import, but corresponding with *mahá* or some similar word.]

[The bearings of Minagara and of some of the neighbouring places are thus stated by Ptolemy:—

Minagara	115°	15′	×	19°	30′
Barygaza Emporium (Broach)	113	15	×	17	20
Siripalla	116	30	×	21	30
Xeragere	116	20	×	19	50
Ozene (Ujjain)..........................	117	00	×	20	00
Tiatura	115	50	×	18	50
Nasica (Násik)..........................	114	00	×	17	00
Namadi fluvii fontes à monte Vindio	127	00	×	26	30
Fluvii flexio juxta Siripalla	116	30	×	22	00

There is a palpable error in these statements of Ptolemy, for he places Ujjain to the south of Nerbadda, and two degrees south of the bend of the river near Siripalla. But Ujjain lies to the north of the Nerbadda, and the river has no noticeable bend in this quarter. The river Mahí, however, has a very great bend; Ujjain lies to the south of it, and the respective bearings are more in agreement, so that the two rivers would here seem to have been confounded.]

[Tiatura may be Talner, and Xeragere may be Dhar, as Lassen supposes, for these are situated on well-known roads, and as General Cunningham forcibly observes, Ptolemy's geography must have been compiled from routes of merchants. Comparing the bearings of the various places, Minagara would seem to have been situated somewhere between Dhar and Broach. Lassens identifies Minagara with Balabhi-pura, but this city was situated too far west.]

[The neighbourhood of Dhar is exactly the locality in which

Idrísí would at first sight seem to place Nahrwárá or Nahlwárá, which he leads us to infer was the capital of the Balhará in his time. This city, he tells us, was situated eight days' journey inland from Broach through a flat country. The towns of Hanáwal (or Janáwal) and Dulka lie between them, and Dulka is situated on the river (Nerbadda) which forms the estuary on which Broach stands, and at the foot of a chain of mountains called Undaran, lying to the north. Near Hanáwal there is another town called Asáwal. This description is inconsistent, for Asáwal is an old name of Ahmadábád, and that city lies to the north far away from the Nerbadda. Abú-l Fidá seems to rectify this, for he declares Cambay to be the port of Nahrwárá, which city he says is three days' journey from a port. He refers to Abú Ríhán as spelling the name Nahlwára, and on turning back to page 61, it will be seen that this is his orthography. The city described by Abú Ríhán and Abú-l Fidá is undoubtedly Anhalwára Pattan, and if Cambay be substituted for Broach in Idrísí's description, the account, so far as we understand it, will be consistent with itself and with the other writers. Cambay stands at the head of the bay which bears its name, between the mouths of the Sábarmatí on the west, and the Mahí on the east. Asáwal or Ahmadábád is on the left bank of the former, and the Arávallí chain of mountains lies to the north of Anhalwára. Idrísí specially mentions the bullock carriages of Nahrwára, and those of Guzerát are still famous. Lastly, no Nahrwára is known near the river Nerbadda. Thus Ptolemy and Idrísí would both seem to have confounded the river of Broach (the Nerbadda) with those of Cambay (Sábarmatí and Mahí).]

[Hwen Tsang, who travelled in India between 629 and 645 A.D., visited the kingdom of "*Fa-la-pi*" (Vallabhi), but his account does not help to settle the locality of the capital, for he only says that it was a journey of 1000 *li* (166½ miles) north from Málwá. The kings were of Kshatriya race, and were connected with the sovereigns of Kanya-kubja, the reigning monarch, Dhruva Bhatta, being son-in-law either of King Siláditya or of that king's son.]

[The "Balhará" would thus seem to represent, as Tod affirmed, the Ballabh Ráís of Ballabhi-pura who were succeeded by the Bala Ráís of Anhalwára Pattan. Their territories included the ports in the country of Láta (Lárike) on the gulf of Cambay. These ports

were frequented by Arab trading vessels, and so the accounts given of the Balhará by their geographers, vague and meagre as they are, exceed all that is recorded by them of the other cotemporary kingdoms. The extent of the Balhará's territory can only be surmised, and no doubt it underwent continual change. Mas'údí, by implication, places Tanna within his dominions, but this is farther south than would seem to be warranted. The Táptí on the south, and the Arávallí mountains on the north may perhaps represent an approximation to the real extent of the kingdom. This may appear a limited dominion for a monarch of such renown as the Arabs represent the Balhará to have been; but it must be remembered that these writers were accustomed to a simple patriarchal form of government, free from the pomp and splendour of the further east.]

[There are copper records extant showing that in the first half of the fourth century grants of land in the neighbourhood of Jambúsír were made by the Gurjjara rájas and by the Chálukyas. The latter were of a Rajput tribe, and would then appear to have been making their way southwards to the scene of their subsequent power. In 812 A.D., just before the time of the merchant Sulaimán, a grant was made by the "Láteswara," that is, "King of Láta," but the names therein recorded have not been identified with those in any of the dynastic lists. Allowing for the omissions not unusual in such grants, there is a Dhruva who may correspond with the Dhruva Bhatta of Hwen Tsang.]

Juzr or Jurz.

[Sulaimán and Ibn Khurdádba write the name "Jurz" but the Paris edition of Mas'údí has Juzr, which the editors understand as signifying Guzerat. Abú Zaid says incidentally that Kanauj is "a large country forming the empire of Jurz;"[1] and relying upon this statement M. Reinaud identifies Jurz with Kanauj.[2] But Mas'údí locates the Bauüra at Kanauj, and speaks of Juzr as quite a distinct kingdom. Sulaimán and Mas'údí concur in making the country border on the kingdoms of the Rahma and the Balhará, and the former says that the country is situated on a tongue of land, and is rich in camels and horses. "Juzr" closely resembles the name "Guzerát," especially in its Arabic form "Juzarát" and the other

[1] [Ante p. 10. The Arabic text gives the name as "Juz."]
[2] [Rel. des Voyages, xcv. *Mem. sur l'Inde*, 206.]

known conditions are satisfied by this identification. Guzerát is a peninsula, it bordered on the dominions of the Balhará, and the horses of Kattiwár are still famous.]

[Hwen Tsang visited the "kingdoms of *Su-la-cha* or Suráshtra, and *Kiu-che-lo* or Gurjjara, after that of Vallabhi, but, according to his expositor, M. Vivien de St. Martin, *Su-la-cha* (*Suráshtra*) represents the modern Guzerát, and *Kiu-che-lo* (*Gurjjara*) "the country of the Gujars" between Anhalwára and the Indus. This location of the two territorial names differs from the generally received acceptation of their meaning, and rests entirely upon the expositor's interpretation of Hwen Tsang's confused statements—the only arguments adduced in its favour, being a proposed identification of *Pi-lo-mo-lo*, which Hwen Tsang gives as the name of the capital of *Kiu-che-lo*, with the modern *Bálmer;* and an ethnological theory that the Gujars *might* have given their name to this country in the course of their migrations. But no example of such an application of the name is adduced, and Hwen Tsang himself in another passage (p. 169) accurately describes this very country as being north of *Kiu-che-lo*, and stretching "1900 *li* (316½ miles), a travers des plaines sauvages et des déserts dangereux" to the river Indus. The Sanskrit *Suráshtra* and *Gurjjara* survive in the modern names *Surat* and *Guzerát*, and, however the territories embraced by the old terms may have varied, it is hard to conceive that *Surat* was not in *Suráshtra* nor *Guzerát* in *Gurjjara*. All evidence goes to prove that the old and modern names applied to the same places. Thus, Ptolemy's *Surastrene* comprises *Surat*, and the grants of the "Rajas of Gurjjara" dated in the early part of the fourth century, conveyed land in the vicinity of *Jambusara* or "Jumbooseer."—Bírúní (*supra* p. 67), shows what the Muhammadans understood by Guzerát in his day, and while *Guzerát* answers to the "*Juzr*," of his predecessors, the supposed "country of the Gujars" does not, for that cannot be said to be "a tongue of land."]

[The fact is that there is great confusion in this part of Hwen Tsang's itinerary, and his bearings are altogether untrustworthy. In the first volume he says, "Du cote de l' ouest ce royaume (*Suráshtra*) touche à la rivière *Mahí*;" but in vol. ii. p. 165, he says "La capitale touche du côté de l'ouest à la rivière *Mo-hi* (*Mahí*)." A very material difference. The first statement is quite in agreement with the true

position of *Suráshtra.* Hwen Tsang represents his route to have proceeded *north* from *Kach* to *Vallabhi.* This error, M. Vivien de Saint-Martin observes, renders it necessary to reverse the direction, and he adds, "Ceci est une correction capitale qui affecte et rectifie toute la suite de l'itinéraire." If it is thus necessary to reverse the north and south, may it not be also necessary to do the same with the east and west? No such general correction, however, will set matters right; for Hwen Tsang says correctly that he proceeded south-east from *Gurjjara* to *Ujjain.* It is curious, moreover, that M. V. de Saint-Martin does not adhere to his "correction capitale," for Hwen Tsang states that he went *north* from *Vallabhi* to *Gurjjara* and his expositor, places *Gurjjara* to the *north,* while according to his own canon it ought to be *south.*[1]]

Táfan.

[Sulaimán writes the name "Táfak;" Ibn Khurdádba and Mas'údí have "Táfan." Reinaud cites also the variations "Tákan" and "Tában." Founding his opinion on the statement as to the beauty of the women, whom he supposes to be Mahrattas, Reinaud places this country in the neighbourhood of Aurangábád.[2] His argument is amusing, but is untenable, for it is inconsistent with the account given of the country by the Arab writers. Mas'údí says, "Some kings have their territory in the mountains away from the sea, like the king of Kashmír, the king of Táfan, and others;" and again, "the Míhrán (Indus) comes from well-known sources in the highlands of Sind, from the country belonging to Kanauj in the kingdom of Bauüra, and from Kashmír, Kandahár and Táfan." Sulaiman says that "Táfak" lies by the side of the kingdom of Juzr, and this is inconsistent with Reinaud's view of Juzr being Kanauj and Táfak being Aurangábád; for if Juzr be Guzerát, Táfak must be placed to the north of it, as the dominions of the Balhará were on the south-east. The mountains in this direction are, first, the Arávalí mountains; next, the Salt-range, and lastly, the Himalayas. In Kazwíní there is a notice of the fort of "Taifand," subdued by Mahmúd of Ghazní, in the year 1023 A.D.[3]

[1] [Stanislas Julien's "Hiouen Thsang," Map and Mémoire Analytique. Thomas' Prinsep I. 260; Vishnu Purána, p. 177; Journal R. A. S, Vol.I. p. 247, N.S.]

[2] [Rel. des Voy. ci.]

[3] [Ante, p. 99.]

This fort he represents as being on the summit of a mountain, to which there was only one way of access, and when taken, there were 500 elephants in the place. The names are sufficiently similar, and the descriptions point to the same locality. In the absence of more definite information, the Salt-range seems to comply most closely with what we are told about the position of Táfand.]

Rahma or Ruhmí.

[According to Sulaimán, this State is bordered by those of Balhará, Jurz and Táfand, and is constantly at war with the two former. Mas'údí says it stretches along the sea and continent, and is bounded inland by a kingdom called Káman. He adds that Rahma is the title of their kings, and generally their name also. They had great strength in troops, elephants, and horses. Reinaud says it "appears to correspond with the ancient kingdom of Visapour,"[1] but it is difficult to fix the locality of this kingdom. The name is probably the Sanskrit Ráma. The use of kaurís for money, the extremely fine cotton fabrics, and the existence of the rhinoceros in the country, would point to a locality on the Bay of Bengal about Dacca and Arracan. If the neighbouring kingdom, which Mas'údí calls Káman, is the same as that which Ibn Khurdádba calls Kámrún and places on the borders of China, there can be no doubt that Kámrúp or Assam is intended, and this identification, which is exceedingly probable, will confirm the locality of Dacca as the probable site of the kingdom of Rahma. The accounts of this kingdom and of Kámrúp were probably gathered by the Arab writers from mariners who had visited the ports in the Bay of Bengal, and their ignorance of the interior of the country, led them to infer that the territories of the Balhará on the western coast were conterminous with those of Rahma on the eastern side.]

Káshbín.

[Tod identifies Káshbín with Kach Bhúj, while Reinaud supposes it to be Mysore.[1] All the description given of it is that it is an inland country, so that in the absence of any closely resembling Indian name, its locality is a mere matter of guess.]

[1] [Rel. des Voy. cii.]

Agham.—The Lohánas.

Agham, or Agham-kot, lies about thirty miles south-east from Haidarábád, and though now almost forgotten, it was formerly a place of some consequence. Its position is not very easily identified, and the name is rarely introduced into the maps. In Lt. Burton's it seems to be entered under the name of "Angoomanoo," and in the Quartermaster-General's map of 1850, under that of "Aghamama."

The *Beg-Lar Náma* says it is on the Rain. The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* mentions it among the towns on the Sánkra. Capt. McMurdo says it is on the Lohána Daryá; but he strangely fixes its site at Kalákot, seven miles to the west of Thatta, observing erroneously that it is not mentioned till long after the Arab conquest. Its position may be indicated at present as lying between the Gúní and the Rain; but it does not follow that it will answer to that description next year, as the course of these streams is constantly shifting.

It is also called Agham Lohána. In the *Chach-náma*, we find frequent mention of a chief under that name, who was governor of Brahmanábád in the time of Chach. Lohána is the designation of a powerful tribe, which at that period, under an apparent confusion of terms, is said to have included both the Samma and Lákha clans. It can merely mean that they were then in a position of comparative subordination. Under all the vicissitudes the Lohánas have undergone, they still retain their credit, as well as their religion, and constitute the most influential tribe in Sind, whether regarded as merchants or officials. But, not confined within that narrow province, they have spread their ramifications beyond the western borders of India, and are found dispersed throughout Afghánistán, Buluchistán, and Arabia, exposed to inconveniences, insults, and dangers of no ordinary kind, in pursuit of their darling object of wealth, and final return to their native soil to enjoy the fruits of their industry.

The Lohánas derive their name and origin from Lohanpúr in Multán. The date of their emigration must have been very early, and even their own traditions do not attempt to fix it. Their subdivisions are said to amount at least to fifty, the chief of them being the Khudábádí and Sihwání. They all of them wear the Janeo, or

Brahmanical thread. Though, for the most part, they worship the Hindu deities, a few have adopted the faith of Bábá Nának. They are described, by an accurate observer, as eating meat, addicted to spirituous liquors, not objecting to fish and onions, drinking water from the hand of their inferiors as well as superiors in caste, and being neither frequent nor regular in their devotions.

As the town of Agham is mentioned as early as the time of Muhammad Kásim, we may presume that it derived its name from the Lohána chieftain above-mentioned, who was the contemporary and opponent of Chach.[1]

Alor.

[This name is found in various forms—Mas'údí (p. 23) calls it Al Rúr; Ibn Khurdádba writes Al Daur (p. 14); Istakhrí has Al Rúz (p. 27), and Al Rúr (p. 28). The *Ashkalu-l Bilád* has Aldúr (p. 34), and Alrúr (p. 37); Gildemeister makes Ibn Haukal's version to be Rúz and Alrúz; Bírúní's spelling is ambiguous (see p. 48); Idrísí has Dúr (p. 79). The *Marásidu-l Ittilá'* has Al Rúr.] The ruins of the town lie between Bhakkar and Khairpur, and are known by the name of Alor. Lieut. Maclagan says that it is also called Aror and that the *band* spoken of by Burnes is really an arched bridge. [There can be little doubt of the first syllable being the Arabic *al,* and the real name Rúr, as it survives in the modern town of Rorí, which stands close by the ruins of Alor.]

Amhal, Fámhal, Kámhal, or Mámhal.

[The name of the border town between Sind and Hind appears in many forms. Istakhrí has Amhal, Fámhal, and Kámhal; the *Askálu-l Bilád* has Fámhal in the text, but Kámhal in the map. Gildemeister's Ibn Haukal has Kámuhul. Idrísí has Mámhal; Abú-l Fída has Kámhal, but a note states that a MS. of Ibn Haukal gives the name as Fámhal. The *Marásidu-l Ittilá'* has both Kámhal and Mámhal, giving Biládurí as authority for the latter. Careless writing and the omission of sometimes of one, sometimes of two points, will account for the various readings of Fámhal, Kámhal, and Mámhal, and taking this view of the question, Kámhal would

[1] Compare, *Chach-náma,* MS. pp. 39, 41, 49, 66, 144, 195, 200. *Beg-Lar-náma* MS. p. 73. *Tuhfatu-l Kirám,* MS. p. 143. Captain McMurdo, *Journal of the Royal As. Soc.,* Vol. I. p. 24, 30, 247. Lieut. Burton, *Sindh,* pp. 314-317, 338-342.

appear to be the best reading. Looking, however, at its reported position, at two-thirds of the distance between Mansúra and Kambáya, it would appear to answer to Anhalwára, and, if so, Istakhrí's solitary reading "Amhal" is right. *Wára* is a common noun, signifying "field."[1]

Armá-bel.

The name of this place frequently occurs during the early period of Arab connection with Sind; but neither its orthography nor position can be established with certainty. The *Chach-náma*, in different passages, calls it Armáel, Armaná-bíl, Armapilla, and Armábel (p. 157). The *Futúhu-l buldán* has Armáíl; which M. Reinaud reads Armâyl, but considers the true reading to be Armâbyl, for the reason given in the note.[2] Ibn Khurdádba and Istakhri write Armábíl (pp. 14, 29); Ibn Haukal according to the *Ashkálu-l Bilád* has Armáil (p. 34), and Armábíl (p. 38), Gildemeister, his translator, reads it as Armâil, and suggests Armâbil as preferable.[3] The *Nubian Geographer* has Armíyáel and Armáyíl, which his translator gives as Ermaiil (p. 77 note). The translator of *Idrísí* has the same (pp. 77 and 80). Abú-l Fídá, with his usual pretensions to accuracy, pronounces it Armábíl. The *Marásidu-l Ittilá'* has Armá-íl. Ouseley prefers Armaiel. An old and rare Persian lexicon writes it as Armábal.[4] The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* has Armanbíla, Armanpela, or some similar name. It is not entered in any modern map which I have seen, except that in Rees' *Cyclopædia*, where it receives the name of Ermajil, evidently derived from the map in the French or Dutch edition of Abbé Prévost's *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, Vol. xv., where it bears the same name, and is apparently set down from the statement of the Nubian Geographer. It is not in Ouseley's small map, prefixed to his *Epitome of the Ancient History of Persia*, which, however, includes some other names given only by the Arab geographers.

[1] [Ritter, v. 550.]

[2] *Candâbyl* et *Armâbyl* sont peut-être l'équivalent de *Cand de Abyl*, *Arm de Abyl*. Dans cette hypothèse *Abyl* serait le nom primitif de la province. En effet, Alestakhry et Ibn-Haucal s'accordent à dire que *Abyl*, ou un mot approchant, sert à désigner un personnage qui jadis régna sur le pays et lui donna son non.—*Fragments*, p. 192.

[3] Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 177 and 178.

[4] *Farhang-i Ibráhímsháhí.*

With respect to its locality, we read of Chach's going to it on his way from the Indus to Makrán, and his finding there a governor on the part of the late ruler of Sind; and we also read of Muhammad Kásim capturing it on his way from Makrán to Debal (pp. 119, 151 and 157). Istakhrí and Ibn Haukal speak of it as being in the province of Makrán, and six days' journey from Kíz, our modern Kedge. The other Arab geographers, as usual, follow these authorities.

Combining all these several names and statements together, I am disposed to consider that Armá-bel is the ancient and correct reading; and that its name is partly preserved in, while its position corresponds with, the modern Bela, the capital of the province of Las. It is placed on a considerable eminence--a strong and rocky site on the northern bank of the Purálí (the Arabis of the ancients); and, though it is now partly surrounded by a sorry mud wall, and contains only about 300 houses, there are old Muhammadan sepulchres and other vestages of antiquity in its neighbourhood, especially about five miles to the westward, which seem to indicate its greater importance at some former period. Coins, trinkets, and funereal jars are occasionally found there; and in the nearest point of the contiguous hills, separating the province of Las from the old town of Jhow, numerous caves and rock-temples exist, ascribed by tradition to Farhád and the fairies, but which have been considered by an observant traveller to be the earthly resting abodes of the former chiefs, or governors, of the province.[1]

What adds much to the probability of this identification is, that Bela is mentioned in the native histories, not simply as Bela, but as Kárá-Bela; showing that it has been usual to prefix another name, which is now dropped in ordinary converse.

Askalanda.—Uchh.—Alexandria.

The Askalanda, Asal-kanda, and Askalandra of the *Chach-náma* is the same as the Askaland and 'Askaland-U'sa of the *Mujmalu-t Tawáríkh*, and the Askandra and Askanda of the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*. The close correspondence of name, especially in the last instance, induces us at once to recognise it as identical with the Alexandria built at the confluence of the Acesines with the Indus; but a little

[1] Masson's *Journey to Kalát*, p. 305; see also his *Travels in Balochistan*, etc., Vol. II, p. 28.

examination will show this resemblance to be more specious than real.[1]

The ancient kingdom of Sind was divided in four Satrapies, of which the third (v. *supra*, p. 138) comprised the fort of Askalanda and Máíbar,[2] "which are also called Talwára and Chachpúr." It is evident, from the description of the other Satrapies, that this one contained the whole tract north-east of Alor, and south-east of the Panjnad and Ghara; almost precisely the same, in short, as the present Dáúdpútra country. Now Máíbar and Chachpúr still exist, under the modernised names of Mírbar and Cháchar, close together at the very junction of the Acesines and Indus, on the eastern side of the river, opposite to Mittankot; and in them, therefore, we should have to look for Alexandria, if, which is not probable, it was on the left bank of the Indus. Consequently, Askalanda must have been higher up the river, as subsequent passages will show.

In the time of Chach (p. 141), the governor of Pábiya "south of the river Bíás," fled to Askalanda, which, therefore, was not likely to have been far from, or across, that river. Again, some years after, (pp. 202, 203), we find Muhammad Kásim breaking up his camp at Pábiya,[3] "on the southern bank of the Bíás," to go to Askalanda. It is not expressly mentioned that he crossed that river, and we may presume, therefore, that he did not. Nowhere else do we find any indication of its position; but, as will be seen in the note upon the Meds, it was the capital when Jayadratha and Dassál ruled in Sind.

Its proximity to the Bíás and its name of Askaland-*U'sa*[4] lead us to regard it as the U'chh of more modern times. That place bears marks of the most undoubted antiquity, and the absence of all mention of it in the *Chach-náma* where we are, both in the time of Chach and Muhammad Kásim, introduced to many transactions in its

[1] That Askaland also is a corruption of Alexandria, seems probable, from the peculiar position in Balkh and Tukháristán assigned to the Askalkand, Sikilkand, and Saklakand of the Arabian geographers.—Abu-l Fida, *Geog.*, p. 473.—Juynboll, *Marásidu-l Ittilá'*, Vol. II. p. 40.

[2] ["Maibar" is the reading of Sir H. Elliot's MS. in this passage, but "Pábiya" is the more general spelling. See *supra*, p. 138, 140.]

[3] [The text has "Yábiba," but Pábiya must be meant.]

[4] [It is very doubtful if *U'sa* is really part of the name. See note in p. 109.]

neighbourhood, can only be accounted for on the supposition that is disguised under some other appellation.

It has been supposed, indeed, that the name of the Oxydracæ is derived from this old town of U'chh, but their position, according to Strabo and Arrian, appears rather to have been on the western side of the Acesines; and it is a curious coincidence that, in that direction also, there is another ancient U'chh, now in ruins, near the junction of the Hydaspes with that river, which offers a far more probable identification, and allows us, moreover, to assign to the Ossadii, instead of the Oxydracæ, the U'chh, or Askaland-U'sa, near the junction of the Hyphasis with the Acesines. The name of the Oxydracæ assumes various forms in different authors.—*Hydracæ* in Strabo, *Syracousæ* in Diodorus, *Scydroi*, *Scothroi*, and *Scythroi* in Dionysius, *Sydraci* in Pliny, *Sygambri* in Justin, and *Oxydracæ* in Strabo, Arrian, Curtius, Stephanus, and others; but in no author are they confounded with the *Ossadii*, which constituted a separate tribe, acting entirely independent of the *Oxydracæ*.

It is certain that neither the upper nor lower Alexandria was built near the present U'chh. So cursorily, indeed, does Arrian notice the confluence near that spot, that Major Rennell and Dr. Vincent carry the Hyphasis direct into the Indus, without bringing it first into the Acesines. Nevertheless, although Alexander may himself have raised no city there, we might still be disposed to admit that the celebrity of his power and conquests may have given rise to the name of Askaland, or Askandra, did we not reflect that, if we are to put any trust in the chronology of the *Mujmalu-t Tawárikh*, the name must have preceded the invasion of the Grecian conqueror, and cannot therefore, independent of the other reasons above mentioned, be connected with it.[1]

Bániya.

[This name occurs in the list of the cities of Sind as given by

[1] Diod. Sic. *Biblioth Hist.* xvii. 102.; Arrian, *Anab.* vi. 14, 15; Strabo, *Geog.*, xv. *Tauchnitz*, III. 252, 273; Q. Curtius, *De gest. Al.*, ix. 16, 31. *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, pp. 27, 47; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. pp. 16, 17; *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 31; Vincent, *Voyage of Nearchus*, pp. 133-135; Droysen, *Geschichte Alex.*, p. 446; Ritter, *Asien*, Vol. IV. pt. 1, p. 471; Mannert, *Geog. der Griechen und Römer*, Vol. V. Lassen, *Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, Vol. III. p. 199, and *Ind. Alterth.*, Vol. I. Müller, *Fragmenta Hist. Græc.*, Vol. II.p. 415; Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Fragmenta*, p. 33.

Istakhrí (p. 27), and the *Ashkalu-l Bilád* of Ibn Haukal (p. 34), but no description is given of the place. Idrísí says that it is a small but pleasant place, about three days' journey from Mansúra on the road to Mámhal, and so it is laid down in the maps of Istakhrí and the *Ashkálu-l Bilád.* It is not mentioned by Abu-l Fidá, nor in the *Marasidu-l Ittilá'.* The *Bháti* mentioned by Bírúní at page 61, and the *Bátiya* in the *Chach-náma* (p. 174), are probably variant spellings of the same name.]

Bhambúr.—Barbarike.

Bhambúra, or Bhambúr, is not named in our oldest works on Sind; but it is mentioned in a modern native historian as having been captured during the Khalifat of Hárúnu-r Rashíd. It is the scene of many legendary stories of Sind; and, according to one of them, owes its destruction in a single night to the divine wrath which its ruler's sins drew down upon it. Its ruins skirt the water's edge for about a quarter of a mile, and cover a low hill almost surrounded by a plain of sand, a little to the right of the road from Karáchí to Ghára, and about two miles from the latter place. There are evident marks of its having been at one time flourishing and populous; and even now, after heavy rains, coins, ornaments, and broken vessels are found among the debris of the fort.

Coupling these manifest signs of antiquity, with the fact that the natives commonly considered Bhambúr as the oldest port in Sind, and that the legend at page 332, proves its connection with the main stream of the Indus, it may possibly represent the Barbarik Emporium of the Periplus, and the Barbari of Ptolemy; the easy conversion from the native Bhambúr into the more familiar Barbari being a highly probable result of the wanton mispronunciation to which the Greeks were so much addicted. But opposed to this is the statement of Arrian, that Barbarike was on the centre stream of the Delta, which would make Láhorí-bandar its more likely representative. Perhaps in Arrian's time there may have been direct communication between the main channel and Bhambúr.[1]

[1] Arrian, *Periplus maris Eryth.*, pp. 22, 24; Ptolemy, *Geogr.* lib. vii. c.; Capt. McMurdo, *Journ. R. A. S.*, Vol. I. p. 25; Lt. Burton, *Sindh*, p. 389; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. pp. 19, 166, 234.

Bráhmanábád.—Mansúra.—Mahfúza.

In the time of the native dynasties which preceded the Arabs, the capital of Lower Sind was Bráhmanábád.

[The old name of the place, according to Bírúní, was Bahmanu or Bahmanwá. The *Ashkálu-l Bilád* calls it Bámíwán (p. 34), but Ibn Haukal gives the name as "Támírámán" according to Gildemeister, and "Mámíwán" according to Major Anderson. Idrísí has Mírmán (p. 78), but this is obviously a blunder. In the *Chach-náma*, the name is written Báín-wáh, and in the *Táríkh-i Táhiri*, Páín-wáh. It is probably the Bhámbaráwáh of the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (p. 332). Captain McMurdo writes it *Báhmana*, and Briggs "Bamunwasy."[1]]

Under its immediate government were included Nírún, Debal, the country of the Lohánas, the Lákhas, and the Sammas, and the whole southern coast. Its position, therefore, was one of great importance, and as its ruin is comparatively modern, it is surprising that so much doubt should exist with respect to its locality.

Various positions have been assigned to Bráhmanábád. The *Áyín-i Akbarí* says the fort had 1400 bastions, and that "to this day there are considerable vestiges of this fortification;"[2] but it is not said in what direction, or on which side of the river, it lay; but the mention of the bastions would seem to point out that Kalákot was probably indicated. In a passage in the *Beg-Lár-náma*, mention is made of "a place called Matáhila, near the fortress of Bráhmanábád, twenty *kos* distant from Nasrpúr" (MS. p. 80). Dr. Vincent says it was within four miles of Thatta, and corresponded with Pattala,[3] concurring in this with D'Anville and Rennell.

Capt. McMurdo fixes it on the Púrán, afterwards called Lohána Daryá, but it is not quite plain what he means by the Lohána Daryá.[4] He, at any rate, altogether repudiates Thatta and Kalákot, and we must look for his Bráhmanábád near Nasrpúr. "It was situated on the Lohána Daryá, at a short distance from where it separates from the Púrán." Again, "On or near the Púrán river, in what was sub-

1 [Ante p. 34, 61, 189; Bírúní's *Kánún*, quoted by Thomas in Prinsep, Vol. II. p. 120; Reinaud, *Fragments*, pp. 41, 113; *Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 61; Jour. R. A. S. I. 27; Firishta, iv. 405; Gildemeister, *de rebus Ind.* 164; J. A. S. Beng. xxi. p. 50.]

2 Gladwin's *Ayeen Akberee*, Vol. II. p. 115.

3 *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, Vol. I. p. 168.

4 [The Falailí river in all probability.]

sequently called the Shahdadpúr Pergana. Báhmana was afterwards called Díbal Kángara."[1] Dr. Burnes fixes it at Kalákot,[2] and so does Sir A. Burnes.[3] Capt. Postans says Bhambúra, mentioning at the same time native tradition in favour of Khudábád, a little above Haidarábád.[4]

There seems no reason to conclude that the Bráhmanábád, or Bahmanábád, of which we are treating, was founded by the Persian king, Bahman, upon his invasion of Sind. His city is expressly said to have been built in the province of Budha,[5] which never extended so far as the Indus. Nor is it probable that, had he built a city on the Indus, he would have done so on the eastern, rather than on the western, bank of that river. The fact is, that Bahmanábád is a mere abbreviated form of Bráhmanábád; and is still a very common mode of elision throughout Western India and the Dekhin, where Bráhman, in common parlance, is usually converted into Bahman.

Though the *Chach-náma* does not anywhere expressly point out where Bráhmanábád was situated, we are at any rate assured, from several passages, that it was on the eastern side of the Indus, and this alone is sufficient to show that the speculations which have been raised, respecting the identity of Kalákot and Thatta with that old capital, rest upon no solid foundation.

We may fairly consider, in general terms, that Bráhmanábád, after being intermediately succeeded by the Arab capital Mansúra, is now represented by the modern Haidarábád; and although it may not have been upon the identical spot occupied by the modern capital, it was at least within the island, or peninsula, formed by the Falailí and the main stream of the Indus, from which the former seems to have diverged in old days at a point higher than at present. Matárí, indeed, would seem to be the most probable site of the city, with reference to the quotation given above from the *Beg-Lar-náma*. To fix it higher up, as at Khudábád or Hála, would take it too far from Mansúra, which we have next to consider.

Biláduri tells us that old Bráhmanábád was about two parasangs distant from Mansúra, which, in the time of Muhammad Kásim, was

[1] *Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I, pp. 23-8, 30, 38, 232.

[2] *Visit to the Court of Sinde*, p. 133.

[3] *Travels into Bokhara*, Vol. III. p. 31.—*Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 210.

[4] *Personal Observations on Sindh*, p. 161 and 163.

[5] *Suprà*, p. 106.

occupied by a forest[1] (p. 122). When we consider the space which is always covered by the sites of old Indian towns, from the straggling mode of their erection, we are authorized to conclude that a large portion of Bráhmanábád was included in Mansúra, and that, in point of fact, the two sites are identical. The position of Haidarábád, upon a ridge of limestone hills about eighty feet high, must, from the first, have pointed out that site as a commanding one for a capital, and it has probably ever been thus occupied, by successive towns, from the first dawn of Sindian civilization. It is, indeed, on the site of Bráhmanábád that D'Anville would place the earlier Minagara, in which he is followed by Reinaud.[2]

The *'Ajáibu-l Makhlúkát* says that Nasrpúr was built on the site of Mansúra, and the same opinion is expressed by D'Anville,[3] and accredited by the local information of Capt. McMurdo. Tieffenthaler,[4] Vincent,[5] Rennell,[6] Tod,[7] and Gildemeister,[8] misled by the mistake of Abú-l Fazl,[9] fix Mansúra at Bhakkar. M. Reinaud considers the testimony of Biláduri, Mas'údí, Istakhrí, Ibn Haukal, and Al Birúní to bear out D'Anville entirely in his position of Nasrpúr; but the mere fact that all the geographers agree in representing a branch of the Indus as flowing by Mansúra, is quite sufficient to dislodge Nasrpúr, which is twelve miles from the nearest point of the river.

Biláduri tells us that, after Hakim had built Mahfúza on the Indian side of the lake,—or body of water, whatever it may have been,[10]—his successor 'Amrú built Mansúra on this (the western) side, and established it as the capital. M. Reinaud says, "Mahfúza was built in the neighbourhood of the capital (Bráhmanábád), on the other side of a lake fed by the waters of the Indus." I do not find on what authority this is stated. Mansúra was, indeed, two

[1] De Guignes, *Notices et Extr.*, Tom. I. p. 10.—Golius ad *Alfragan.*, p. 93.

[2] *Eclaircissements Géographiques*, p. 37; *Antiquité Géogr.*, p. 35.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 61.

[3] *Antiq. de l'Inde.*

[4] *Geogr. Beschr. von Hindostan*, Vol. I. p. 81.

[5] *Comm. and Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. I. p. 145.

[6] *Memoir*, p. 185.

[7] *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. II. pp. 310, 338.

[8] *De reb. Ind.*, p. 21.

[9] Gladwin's *Ayeen Akberee*, Vol. II. p. 112.

[10] [*Supra*, p. 126.] Allusion seems to be made to the Phitto, now dry, the Falailí, and other streams, which, during the inundation, leave the main stream between Hála and Haidarábád.

parasangs from Bráhmanábád, and M. Reinaud is right in stating that these two latter names were often used the one for the other,[1]—for they are so combined and converted both by Ibn Haukal and Bírúní;[2] but beyond the announcement that Mahfúza was on the eastern side of the *bahaira* (lake, marsh, or inundation of the Indus), and Mansúra on the western, we have nothing which indicates the true position of Mahfúza.

It appears to me that Mahfúza, and not Mansúra, is represented by Nasrpúr. Indeed, independent of the position with reference to the eastern and western side of the stream above mentioned, it is worthy of remark, that the meaning of the two names is the same—both signifying "the protected, the abode of refuge." The identity, or resemblance of name, therefore, would be as much in favour of Mahfúza as Mansúra.

Nasrpúr, which modern authorities universally spell as Násirpúr, was built, or rather re-constructed, on the river Sánkra, by Amír Nasr, who was detached by Sultán Fíroz Sháh for that purpose, with a thousand cavalry, in 751 A.H., 1350 A.D. Nasrpúr was subsequently the favourite residence of the Tarkháns, and was greatly embellished by them during their brief rule.[3]

It being shown above that Mansúra is nearly identical with Bráhmanábád, it remains to prove that both are not far distant from the modern capital of Haidarábád.

Among the reasons for considering Mansúra to be identical with Haidarábád, is the position assigned to it by Istakhri and Ibn Haukal, who describe it as being "a mile long and a mile broad, and surrounded by a branch of the Indus." This is the mode in which it is also described by Kazwíní. Notwithstanding this, it is laid down in the map of the *Ashkálu-l Bilád.*[4] as being situated on the main stream. Istakhrí's map rightly locates it on the branch, but Ibn Haukals' map, as printed by Major Anderson,[5] places it about midway between the two. The island, to be sure, is out of all pro-

[1] Mas'údí ascribes Mansúra to Mansúr, son of Jamhúr; Al Bírúní, to Muhammad Kásim; but Biláduri is the best authority, and he ascribes it to 'Amrú, the son of Md. Kásim.—*Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 193, 298.

[2] [*Supra*, p. 34–61—*De reb. Ind.*, pp. 18, 19, 164.] See also Golius ad *Alfragan.*, ex Hamza, p. 93.

[3] *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. pp. 27, 139.

[4] [*Supra*, p. 33.]—*De rebus Ind.* pp. 166, 215.

[5] J. A. S. Beng. xxi. p. 49.

portion large, but its position necessarily identifies it with that which is formed by the Falailí and the Indus,—and the space which the town is represented to have occupied is exactly that which constitutes the limestone ridge on which Haidarábád is built.

The distances laid down also by Ibn Haukal are, with one exception sufficiently correct. Thus, from Mansúra to Debal is six days' journey, which is exact,—on the supposition that Debal, as elsewhere shown, is Karáchí. From Mansúra to Túrán is fifteen days' journey, which also agrees well enough with Haidarábád. From Mansúra to Kandábel (Gandáva) is eight days' journey, which also agrees very well.—"He who travels from Mansúra to Budha must go along the banks of the Indus as far as Sihwán,"—which shows Mansúra to be close on the Indus, as, indeed, it is elsewhere expressly declared to be, and not so far removed as Nasrpúr. From Mansúra to Cambay is twelve days' journey. Here the distances are long, but the desert must have made continuous travelling indispensable, as the halting places were necessarily reduced to the smallest possible number.

The widest departure from the ordinary distance is that between Mansúra and Multán, which is set down by Ibn Haukal at only twelve days' journey. This is very rapid, considering that about four hundred miles separate them, requiring an average of thirty-three miles a day. But though the average be high, it is certainly not beyond the means of conveyance where camels are abundant, as in Sind.

Bírúní lays down the distance at fifteen parasangs from Multán to Bhátí, another fifteen from Bhátí to Alor, and twenty from Alor to Mansúra—making the entire distance only fifty parasangs from Multán to Mansúra; while, at the same time, he gives it as thirty parasangs from Mansúra to Loharání Bandar (p. 61). There is here also a surprising abridgment of the former distance, which, may perhaps be accounted for by considering the frontier to be reckoned from in one instance, and the capital in the other. Still, such an error or inconsistency in a space so frequently traversed, is not easily accounted for, occurring as it does in two such trustworthy authorities as Ibn Haukal and Birúní; and it would have been satisfactory to find some more plausible solution. Mas'údí, with a much nearer approach to correctness, gives the distance as seventy-

five parasangs between Multán and Mansúra, and his statement may be considered a sufficient corrective of the other geographers (p. 24).

It may be proper to add, that none of these ancient places, mentioned in this and other Notes, have sites assigned to them in any modern maps. Burnes, Wieland, Vivien de St. Martin, Berghaus, Zimmermann, all reject them. D'Avezac enters some, but all erroneously, except Debal,—at least, according to the principles above enunciated. Even Kiepert, in his valuable *Karte von Alt-Indien*, Berlin, 1853, drawn up for the illustration of Professor Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, enters only Bráhmanábád; and that he places on the right bank of the presumed ancient course of the Sindhu, which he has laid down as flowing far to the eastward of the present Indus. As he has admitted other names more modern than these, he should not have ignored them all.

[Since the death of Sir H. Elliot the remains of a buried city, supposed to be the ancient Bráhmanábád, have been discovered and explored by Mr. A. F. Bellasis, of the Bombay Civil Service. The exact position of the ruins is stated to be forty-seven miles north-east of Haidarábád, and if their investigator is right in believing them to be the ruins of Bráhmanábád, the question of the position of that city is put at rest. The identification has presumption in its favour, though it has not yet been satisfactorily proved; and one circumstance is strongly against it:—Large numbers of coins were discovered among the ruins; but the great bulk of these were Muhammadan, and the few Hindu coins that were brought to light "seem to be casual contributions from other provinces, of no very marked uniformity or striking age." Were the ruins those of an old Hindu city, Hindu coins of a distinct character would probably have been found. The coins discovered were those of Mansúr bin Jamhúr, Abdu-r Rahmán, Muhammad 'Abdu-lláh and Umar (see *supra*, p. 127).[1]]

Debal.—Karáchí.—Thatta.—Láhorí Bandar.

It is strange that the site of a port once so noted as Debal should now be left to vague conjecture; but amongst the fluctuating channels of the Sindian Delta we must rest content with mere surmises.

[1] [*Illustrated London News*, Feb. 21, 28, 1857.—Thomas' Prinsep, II. 119.]

Some of the various opinions entertained upon the question of its locality may be here noticed. Native authorities seem decidedly in favour of considering Thatta to represent Debal, following generally the text of Firishta.[1] Mír Ma'súm ignorantly observes that Debal is Thatta *and* Láhorí Bandar.[2] Abú-l Fazl is equally inexact, or rather more so.[3] Idrísí (*supra*, p. 77) and the Arabian geographers having determined that Debal was six stations from the mouth of the Indus, Thatta was necessarily the only site which could be selected.

Modern authors have also for the most part inclined to Thatta, including De la Rochette and Rennell. Capt. McMurdo, while he says that Thatta is still known to the Arabs by the name of Debal alone, shows that the latter must have been a seaport.[4] Sir A. Burnes says, also, that Thatta is called by the Arabs Dewal Sindy,[5] and himself assigns Kalánkot as its position.[6] Lieut. Burton says, we are certain that the modern Thatta occupies the ground of the ancient Dewal, as the Arabs and Persians know it by no other name,—Shál-i Debalí still being used to mean a shawl of Thatta manufacture.[7]

D'Anville more correctly establishes it on one of the mouths of the Indus;[8] and some others, resigning Thatta, have assigned other localities to Debal. M. Reinaud inclines to the neighbourhood of Karáchí;[9] and so does Elphinstone.[10] Dr. Burnes says it occupied a site between Karáchí and Thatta, in which he follows Mr. Nathaniel Crow,[11] one of the first of our modern enquirers in Sind, who combined much discrimination with ample opportunities of local knowledge.

But there can be no question that Debal was on, or close to, the sea-coast; with which the distant inland position of Thatta is by no means correspondent. For my own part, I entertain little doubt that Karáchí itself represents the site of Debal. The very name of

1 Briggs, *History*, etc., Vol. IV. p. 404.
2 *Tárikh-i Sind*, MS. pp. 2, 8.
3 *Ayeen Akberee*, Vol. II. p. 115.
4 *Journ. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I. pp. 29, 234.
5 *Travels into Bokhara*, Vol. III. p. 31.
6 *Cabool*, p. 17.
7 *Sindh*, p. 380.—*Unhappy Valley*, Vol. I. p. 128.
8 *Antiq. de l'Inde*, p. 34.
9 *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 170.
10 "Dewal was probably somewhere near Karáchí."—*History of India*, Vol. I. p. 507.
11 *Visit to the Court of Sinde*, p. 133 and 162.

Debal, or rather Dewal, "the temple," was doubtless acquired from the conspicuous position which that object must have occupied from the sea; where it was calculated to attract the gaze and reverence of the passing mariner, like its fellow shrines of Dwáraka and Somnát; and as there is no other so eligible and commanding a spot along the whole coast of Sind, from Cape Monze to Kotesar, it is highly probable that the promontory on which fort Manora now stands is the identical site occupied by the celebrated temple which gave name to the port of Debal,[1] and which, as being the Palladium of its security, was the chief object of attack to the catapults which had been brought round by the sea to effect its destruction.[2]

The following may be mentioned amongst the reasons why Debal cannot possibly have been Thatta, and which incline us to view Karáchí with favour :—

The Sarandíp vessels were, in their distress, driven to "the shore of Debal" (p. 118).[3] It could not, therefore, have been an inland town like Thatta, fifty miles from the nearest point of the sea, and one hundred miles by any of the tortuous channels of the Delta.

The pirates who attacked them were "dwellers at Debal, of the tribe which they call Tangámara." Now, these Tangámaras we know to have occupied the sea-coast from Karáchí to Láhorí Bandar, and to be the popular heroes of several local tales—especially their Ráná 'Ubaid, who lived even as late as the year 1000 A.H. (1591 A.D.).[4]

Biláduri also speaks of "the Bay of Debal" (p. 116), and of the ships which had been despatched from the Persian Gulf, arriving at Debal with soldiers and mangonels (p. 120). Elphinstone considers this latter fact as decisive against Thatta;[5] but too much may be built on this argument, for, subsequently, we find these same mangonels carried by water even to Nairún.

Ibn Haukal says, Debal is a "large port on the shore of the sea,

[1] The *budd*, or temple, was contiguous to the town of Debal, not within it, (see p. 120).

[2] It is worthy of remark that Manora is the name of one of the celebrated Buddhist patriarchs. Abel-Rémusat writes it "Manura." M. Stanislas Julien "Manorata;" [or Sanskrit *Manoratha.*]—*Mélanges Asiatiques*, Tom. I. p. 115.—*Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. II. Beil ii. 2.

[3] *Chach-náma*, MS. p. 83.

[4] *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 134.

[5] *History of India*, Vol. I. p. 507.

the emporium of this and the neighbouring regions. It lies to the west of the Mihrán,[1] and has no large trees or date-palms" (p. 37). It is indeed a place of great sterility, and only occupied on account of its trade. Nothing can be more decisive against the fertile Thatta, and in favour of the barren Karáchí.

Again, from Debal to Mansúra is six stages, which, on the supposition that the latter, as elsewhere shown, is Haidarábád, would not suit Thatta in any respect, but exactly suits Karáchí.

The *Marásidu-l Ittilá* says Debal [or *Daibul*, as it writes the name in Arabic fashion] is a celebrated city "on the shore of the sea of Hind, an emporium where the rivers of Lahore and Multán discharge themselves into the salt sea.[2]

Further quotations need not be added to show that Debal was on the sea-coast, and could not have been so far inland as Thatta, or even Láhorí Bandar, which, however, is the next most probable site after Karáchí.

Láhorí Bandar, or Lárí Bandar, succeeded Debal as the sea-port of the Indus, and is first named by Bírúní; but Debal had evidently maintained its position down to the time of Jalálu-d dín's incursion into Sind, in 1221 A.D. It will appear, afterwards, from the extracts taken from the *Jahán-kushái*, that the Sultán conducted himself with the greatest severity towards the people of that port, for he plundered the country, and as he erected a mosque opposite to a Hindú temple, during his short stay there, it is evident that the place was considered then to be of sufficient consequence to be insulted in the wantonness of his fanaticism.

In Ibn Batúta's time, about a century latter (1333 A.D.), we have no mention of Debal, which seems then to have been superseded entirely by Láhorí Bandar.

Láhorí has itself been taken to be Debal. The *Tuhfatu-l kirám*, indeed, distinctly asserts that "what is now Bandar Láhorí was in former times called Bandar Debal:"—but its authority is not to be rated high in such matters,[3] and while, confessedly, there are some

[1] Gildemeister reads "east," but the *Ashkálu-l Bilád* and Istakhrí must be correct in giving "west."—*De rebus Indicis*, pp. 170, 178, 179.—See *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 170.

[2] Juynboll, *Lexicon Geographicum*, Vol. I. p. 421.

[3] *T. Kirám*, MS. p. 234. This may mean merely "the port *connected with* Debal," ecause at p. 1 we read, "Debal is now called Thatta."

points slightly in favour of its being Debal, there are others which are decisive against it. It is itself fifteen miles from the shore of the sea: it has no bay: and a passage in Bírúní is very conclusive:—where, after saying that the gulf of Túrán (the present bay of Súnmíání) lies between Tíz and Debal, he adds, that beyond the gulf of Túrán are the small and great mouths (of the Indus), the one near the town of Loharáni, the other to the east, on the borders of Kachh. The country (between them) bears the name of Sind Ságara, or the sea of Sind (pp. 49. 65).[1] Loharání (Láhorí) is here mentioned as quite distinct from Debal, and was then evidently only just rising into importance,

Ibn Batúta calls the place "Láhiríya" or "Láhari"[2]—but it generally goes now by the name of Láhorí, probably from its presumed connection with Lahore. Its ruin and abandonment have now given a greater prominence to the port of Dhárája, which lies a little to the east of Láhorí.

The original name was most likely Lárí, being so called after Lár, the local name of the southern portion of the province of Sind.

The name of Lár had once a very great extension on these southern coasts,—for Ptolemy and the Periplus both mention Guzerát under the name of Larice;[3] and Bírúní and Abú-l Fidá place Somnát, and even Tána, in or on the borders of the province of Lár (*supra*, p. 61).[4] The merchant Sulaimán, also, calls the gulf of Cambay and the waters which wash the Malabar coast "the seas of Lár:"[5] and Mas'údí says, that "at Saimúr, Subára, Tána and other towns a language called Láriya is spoken," so that, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that Lárí Bandar was the original form under which this port was first known.[6]

[1] *Fragments Arabes*, pp. 113, 119.

[2] Kosegarten, *de Mohammede ebn Batuta*, p. 17. Defrémery, Paris, 1855.

[3] Lassen, *Zeitschrift f. d. k. d. Morgenl.* Vol. I. p. 227.—D'Anville, *Eclaircissements sur la Carte de l'Inde*, pp. 69, 75.—Tod, *Western India*, pp. 187-9, 255.

[4] *Fragments Arabes*, p. 112.—Gildemeister, *De rebus Indicis*, pp. 185, 188.

[5] *Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 200, 298.

[6] [The *Láta-desa* of Sanskrit geography, and the Larice of Ptolemy and the Periplus, is the country about the gulf of Cambay and the mouth of the Nerbudda. The Arab geographers agree, also, upon this locality. It is very questionable if that term is susceptible of the extension which Sir H. Elliot here seeks to give it. The *Lar* of Sind would rather seem to be a distinct name. See McMurdo, Jour. R. A. S. I. 224.; Hwen Tsang III. 409.]

Hála-kandi.—The Hellenes.—Pindus.

The ruins of old Hála, or Hála-kandi, on the Indus, thirty miles above Haidarábád, lie to the south-east of the present site. Had its name appeared in the *Chach-náma*, we might have ascribed its foundation to the Rájá Hál, mentioned in p. 106. Tod names a later prince of the Samma family as the founder.[1]

It is probable that the designation of the Hála range of mountains has a similar origin, for we nowhere find them mentioned in any early work; but such a very modern attribution would scarcely satisfy a late writer, who sees in them the cradle of the great Hellenic race:—

"The land of Hellas, a name so dear to civilization and the arts, was so called from the magnificent range of heights situated in Beloochistan, styled the 'Hela' mountains. * * * The chiefs of this country were called 'Helaines,' or the 'chiefs of the Hela.'"[2]

He gives as a motto to this fanciful chapter on the Hellenes, the following lines from the fragments of Hesiod:—

Ἕλληνος δ' 'εγένοντο θεμιστόπολοι Βασιλῆες
Δῶρός τε, Ξοῦθός τε, κâι Αἴολος 'ιππιοχάρμης.
Chiefs of the war-car, guards of holy Right,
Dorus and Æolus, and Zuthus' might
From HELLEN sprang.

As he conceives *Æolus* to represent the *Haiya* tribe of Rájpúts, it is surprising that he disregards the more obvious resemblance of *Dorus* and *Zuthus* to the mighty *Dors* and the energetic *Zats*;—the former now nearly extinct, the latter now better known as the wide-spread Jats.

Another mountain range in the same neighbourhood is even still more unduly exalted, in a mode which sets all true relations of time, space, position, and language, at complete defiance.

"I would now direct the reader's attention to the most salient feature in the land of Hellas. The mountain chain of PINDUS, traversing a considerable portion of Greece, and forming the boundary between Thessaly and Epirus, takes its name from the PIND. Its present name is Pind Dadun Khan * * * * whence the Pind or "Salt Range" of Afghanistan was naturally transferred to a corresponding

[1] *Travels in Western India*, p. 474. Halár in Guzerát is called after a Jhareja prince of the same name.

[2] E. Pococke, *India in Greece*, p. 48.—This is an unfair contortion, in order to suit the etymology: the real spelling being *Hála*, or, more correctly, *Hára*; so that we have, unfortunately, nothing but the simple initial aspirate to support the grand Hellenic hypothesis.—See the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., pp. 130, 164.

remarkable feature in Greece. It is not a little remarkable, that in the latter country the true Pindus * * * should give nearly the corresponding length of the Pind in Afghanistan, viz., a distance of about sixty miles."[1]

This elaborate super-structure is based on an utterly false assumption. The salt range is not, and never was, called the Pind. Pind is a common word in the Upper Panjáb, signifying simply "a village," and recurs a hundred times over in that locality—as Pind Bhattiyán, Pind Malik Aulyá, Pindí Ghaib, Ráwal Pindi, etc., etc.—and so, Pind Dádan Khán merely means the "village of Dádan Khán," and one, moreover, of modern erection. The word "Pind," indeed, has only lately been introduced into the Panjáb—long even after the name of the celebrated Grecian mountain was itself converted into the modern Agrapha.

The whole of this arrogant and dogmatical work is replete with similar absurdities; and yet the only notices it has received from our Reviewers are of a laudatory character. It is to be feared that no English publication of late years will go so far as this to damage our literary reputation in the eyes of continental scholars; and it is therefore to be regretted that it has not yet received the castigation due to its ignorance and presumption.[2]

Jandrúd.

[About a mile, or half a parasang, from Multan was the castle or fortified residence of the governor, which Istakhrí calls Jandrúd. The *Ashkálu-l Bilad*, according to Sir H. Elliot, reads Chandráwar, but the initial *ch* is at best suspicious in an Arabic work; the map has Jandrúd. Gildemeister's Ibn Haukal has Jandrár, Jandar, and Jandaruz; and Idrísí says Jandúr. Ibn Haukal helps us to the right reading when he says, the Jandarúz is a river, and the city of Jandarúz stands on its banks. Immediately before this he had been speaking of the river Sandarúz, which is evidently the Sind-rúd, so that we may at once conclude that the final syllable is the Persian *rúd* (river). Sir H. Elliot, in a subsequent passage, supposes it to

[1] *India in Greece*, p. 82.

[2] The author's credit stands on a false eminence, as being one of the Editors of the reprint of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana;* and we find one of his really able collaborateurs lamenting, in his preface to the *Hist. of Rom. Literature*, that "*the Early History of Rome*, promised by the author of that remarkable work, *India in Greece*, should not have been available for these pages." [It must be remembered that these animadversions were written in 1853.]

derive its first syllable from the Arabic word *Jand*, a cantonment or military colony,—in which case the name would signify the "cantonment on the river." But Háfiz A'brú, in an extract which will appear in Vol. II., informs us that the river Chináb was called "Jamd;" the name of the place, therefore, may have been Jamdrúd. Multán itself is situated about three miles from the Chináb, so that Jandrúd, or Jamdrúd, must have been its port on that river.]

Kaikánán.—Kaikán.—Kákars.

This name appears under the various aspects of Kaikánán, Kíkán, Kaikán, Kízkánan, Kabarkánán and Kírkáyán,—the first being of most frequent occurrence. Though so often mentioned, we can form but a very general idea of its position.

The *Chach-náma* tells us that, under the Ráí dynasty, the Sindian territory extended "as far to the north as the mountains of Kirdán[1] and Kaikánán" (p. 138). Again, the Arabs "marched in A.H. 38 to Kaikánán, by way of Bahraj and Koh-páya," where, after some partial successes, their progress was intercepted by the mountaineers in their difficult defiles, and in the end the Arabs sustained a complete defeat. One of the objects of these expeditions to Kaikánán, which lasted for about twenty years, was to obtain horses from that province, as they are represented to have been celebrated for their strength and proportions. The tract of Budh was reached during one of these incursions, and we find one of the Arab armies returning from another incursion by way of Síwistán.[2]

Biládurí also mentions these expeditions, with some slight variations in the details; and is the only author who adopts the spelling of the Arabic *káf*, and omits the last syllable,—representing the name as "Kíkán," or "Kaikán" (p. 116),—whereas the *Chach-náma* prefers Kaikánán (p. 138). He says "it forms a portion of Sind in the direction of Khurásán," and he speaks of "Turks" as its inhabitants. In an important expedition directed against a tract of country lying between Multán and Kábul, in A.H. 44, "Turks are encountered in the country of Kaikán." In another, 'Abd-ulla sends to Muá'wiya the "horses of Kaikán" (p. 117), which he had

1 [This name may be read "Karwán," and the initial may be optionally *G*.]
2 MS. pp. 72–78.

taken amongst other spoil. In another, Asad attacks the Meds, after warring against Kaikán (p. 117). In the year 221 H. Biládurí speaks of a portion of Kaikán as occupied by Jats, whom 'Amrán defeated, and then established within their country the military colony of Baizá (p. 128). On this occasion, the country was attacked from the side of Sind, not from Makrán, which will account for the mention of the "Jats," instead of "Turks."

It may also be doubted if the Kabákánán (p. 39) or Kízkánán of Ibn Haukal refers to this tract,—and yet it would be more difficult to account for its total omission, if it do not. According to them, Kaikánán was in the district of Túrán, and a city in which the governor of Kusdár resided. This apparent discrepancy can only be reconciled by supposing that there was both a province and town of that name. They give us no further indication of its position, except that the district of Atal is said to lie between Kaikánán and Kandábel,—which, of itself, attributes to it a much greater extension to the north, than if it were a mere portion of Túrán.[1]

The later Arab geographers follow these authorities, and add nothing further to our information.

Abú-l Fazl Baihakí mentions Kaikahán amongst the other provinces under the authority of Mas'úd, the Ghaznivide; and as Hind, Sind, Nímroz, Zábulistán, Kasdár, Makrán, and Dánistán are noticed separately, it shows that Kaikáhán was then considered a distinct jurisdiction.[2]

In Hwen Tsang's travels we have mention of the country of Kikan, situated to the south of Kábul, which is evidently no other than the province of which we are treating.[3]

From this time forward, we lose sight of the name, and are left to conjecture where Kaikánán was. Under all the circumstances of the case, we may be justified in considering it so far to the east as to include the Sulaimání range, which had not, up to a comparatively late period, been dignified with that name. As with respect to Asia, and many other names of countries, so with respect to Kaikánán, the boundaries seem to have receded with the progress of discovery; and though, on its first mention, it does not appear to have extended

[1] Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 164, 174, 177. [2] *Tárikh-i Mas'údi*, MS.
[3] *Foe-koue-ki*, p. 395; Hwen Tsang III. 185, 414.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 176.

beyond Shál and Mustúng, yet, by the time of the Ghaznivides, we are authorised to conclude that it reached, on the east, to the frontier of Multán, and, on the south, to the hilly tract of Síwistán, above the plains of Sind.

Under the present condition of Afghánistán it may be considered, in general terms, as including the whole of the country occupied by the Kákars. The expedition of A.H. 44 to the country between Multán and Kábul certainly shows that Kaikánán must have comprised the Sulaimání range to the south of the Gúmal; and the celebrity of its horses would appear to point to a tract further to the west, including Saháráwán and Múshkí, where horses, especially those used on the plain of Mangachar, are still in great demand, and whence they are often sent for shipment to the coast.

There is no place extant which recalls the name of the old province, except it be Káhán, which was perhaps included within its south-eastern frontier. It is barely possible, also, that there may be some connection between the name of the Kákars and that of the ancient province which they occupy. It will be observed above, that Baihakí mentions a district of Dánistán, and the order in which it occurs is "Kusdár, and Makrán, and Dánistán, and Kaikáhán." This implies contiguity between the several places thus named, and it is, therefore, worthy of remark, that Dání is entered in all the genealogical lists of the Afgháns as the eldest son of Gharghasht, the son of their great progenitor, Kais 'Abdu-r Rashíd Pathán; and that Kákar, from whom the powerful tribe of that name is descended, was himself the eldest son of Dání. Names change in the course of ages, especially among people in a low stage of civilization; and it may perhaps be conceded that "Kákarán" and "Kaikáhán" would, under such circumstances, be no very violent and improbable metathesis.

Kajuráha, Capital of Jajáhoti.

[*Extract of General Cunningham's Archæological Report for* 1864-5,—*Page* 68.]

["The ancient city of Khajuráho, the capital of the Chandel Rajputs, is situated thirty-four miles to the south of Mahoba, twenty-seven miles to the east of Chhatrpur, and twenty-five miles to the

north-west of Panna . . . . The earliest mention of this capital is by Abú Ríhán, who accompanied Mahmúd in his campaign against Kalinjar in A.D. 1022. He calls it Kajuráha, the capital of Jajáhoti, and places it at thirty parasangs, or about ninety miles, to the south-east of Kanauj. The true direction, however, is almost due south, and the distance about twice thirty parasangs, or one hundred and eighty miles. The next mention of Khajuráho is by Ibn Batúta, who visited it about A.D. 1335.—He calls it Kajúra . . . . The earliest mention of the province is by Hwen Tsang, in A.D. 641.—He calls it *Chi-chi-to*, or Jajhoti . . . From the accounts of Hwen Tsang, and Abú Ríhán, it is evident that the Province of Jajáhoti corresponded with the modern district of Bundelkhand in its widest extent."]

Kállarí.—Annarí.—and Ballarí.

[Such seems to be the correct spelling of three names, which appear in a great variety of forms.—Istakhrí has Kálwí, Annarí, and Balwí, but the first takes the form of Kaladi or Kalarí in his map. In the printed extract of the *Ashkálu-l Bilád* the names appear as Falid, Abri, and Balzí; also, as Abri, Labi, and Maildí, some of which divergences may be credited to bad copy and misprints. Gildemeister's Ibn Haukal gives them as Ayará, Válará, and Balrá; Idrisi has Atri and Kálarí; Abú-l Fidá has Kállarí, Annarí, and Ballarí, and these agree with the names as they appear in the map of the *Ashkálu-l Bilád*. They were three neighbouring towns on the road from Alor to Mansúra, Annarí standing first, Kállarí next, and Ballarí last in Istakhri's map, and in that of the *Ashkálu-l Bilád*. The termination *rí* or *arí* would seem to be a common noun, and the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* writes it with the Hindí *re*. Idrísí says Annarí is four days journey from Alor, and Kállarí two days from Annarí, and Mansúra only one day from Kállarí. Ibn Haukal places Annarí and Kállarí on the east of the Mihran, but Idrísí says, that it stands on the western bank (p. 79); and enters into details which show pretty clearly its relative position to Mansúra. There is a "Bulrey," marked in Allen's map of Sind, about thirty miles south of Haidarábád, but this position does not correspond with the above description.]

Kandábel.—Túrán.—Budha.—Baizá.

It is essential to a right understanding of ancient Sindian geography to ascertain where Kandábel, of which there is such frequent mention, was situated. We can only do this by implication, and by comparison of the various passages in which the name occurs.

The *Chach-náma*[1] mentions it in three different passages, at least, if Kandhála in the last reference be meant, as seems probable, for that place. If we are to put faith in the first passage (p. 152), there would be no need for further enquiry, as it is distinctly mentioned thus :—"Kandábel, that is, Kandahár." But it may be shown that this identification cannot possibly be admitted, for Chach reaches the place through the desert of Túrán (a province of which Kusdár was the capital),[2] on his return from Armá-bel to Alor. He straitened the garrison by encamping on the river Síní, or Sibí, and compelled them to agree to the payment of one hundred horses from the hill country, and a tribute of 100,000 dirhams. Here the name of the river, and the position, put Kandahár out of the question, and we can only regard the passage as the conjecture of some transcriber, interpolated by mistake from the margin into the text.

The real fact is, that Kandábel[3] can scarcely be any other place than the modern Gandáva, and we shall find, with this single exception, that all the other passages where its name occurs sufficiently indicate that as the position. Indeed, it is probable that this very instance lends confirmation to this view, for the Síní river seems to be no other than the Síbí, now called the Nárí, but flowing under the town of Síbí, and, during the floods, joining the Bolán river, into which the hill-streams, which surround and insulate Gandáva, disembogue themselves. The river which runs nearest to Gandáva is now called the Bádra.

The *Mujmalu-t Tawáríkh* tells us that Kandábel was founded by the Persian king, Bahman, "between the confines of the Hindus

[1] MS. pp. 48, 71, 115. [*Supra*, 152, 162.]

[2] Mordtmann, *das Buch der Länder.—Marásidu-l Ittilá'*, Ed. Juynboll, Vol. II. p. 214.—*Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 176, 278.

[3] It is almost uniformly spelt in this mode, with the Arabic *Káf*, the variations being very few. The final syllable is occasionally *níl*, *bal*, and *yal*; but *bel* is most probably the correct form. We find the same termination in Armá-bel, or the modern Bela. It may possibly be connected with the Mongol *balu*, "a city," as in *Khán-balu*, the city of the Khán.—See *Journ. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. XV. p. 200.

and the Turks"[1] (p. 106). Biládurí frequently mentions it, and speaks of Kandahár as entirely separate and distinct (pp. 117, 118, 125, 127). He tells us it was situated on a hill or elevated site, and that 'Amrán, after taking the town, transferred the principal inhabitants to Kusdár (p. 128), from which place it was situated at the distance of five parasangs.[2]

According to Ibn Haukal, and the corresponding passages in Istakhrí (p. 29), Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, and the *Ashkálu-l Bilád,* Kandábel was the capital of Budha, and a large place of commercial traffic, deficient in the produce of the date-palm, and situated in a desert, eight stages from Mansúra, and ten through the desert from Multán.[3]

All these descriptions make Kandábel correspond sufficiently with the modern Gandáva, to leave no doubt of their identity. Later historians speak of it as being on the borders of Kirmán,[4] but their notions of that province were very indefinite, and any place on the eastern confines of Sind would equally answer their loose mode of delineation.

Gandáva, which is the capital of the province of Kachh Gandáva, is surrounded by a wall, and is still one of the most important places between Kelát and Shikárpúr, though greatly declined from its former state. Indeed, Bágh is a much larger, as well as more commercial town, but the credit of antiquity cleaves to Gandáva.

Kandábel, it will be observed, is represented as the capital of Budha, which, therefore, next demands our attention, This is evidently the same province as the Búdhpúr, Búdhiya, and Budápúr (p. 145) of the *Chach-náma.*

Under the Ráí dynasty, the second satrapy of Sind comprised, besides the town of Siwistán, which was the capital,[5] "Búdhpúr,

[1] *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 57.

[2] *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 176. The distance is too short to suit Gandáva, which is eighty miles north-east of Kusdár. Has not "parasangs" been entered instead of "stages?"

[3] Gildemeister, 172, 177, 178.

[4] Elmacin, *Historia Saracenica*, ann. 101.

[5] Sihwán on the Indus is here alluded to; but the town of Sebí, or Síbí, and the province of Síwistán, are the constant source of confusion and mistake, whenever the name occurs; insomuch, that it is sometimes difficult, as in the passages here quoted, to determine positively which place is indicated. This perplexity is not diminished by the fact of the large province of Sístán, or Sijistán, being not very remote.

and Jankán (Jangár), and the skirts of the hills of Rújhán, as far as the borders of Makrán (p. 138)." Again, "Chach marched towards the fortress of Budápúr and Siwistán." After crossing the Indus "he went to Búdhiya, the capital of which tract was Nánáráj Kákáráj), and the inhabitants of the place called it Sawís." . . . . . "After taking the fort of the Sawís, he moved towards Siwistán" (p. 145).

When Siwistán was attacked by Muhammad Kásim, the governor fled to Búdhiya, where was "a fortress called Sísam,[1] on the banks of the Kumbh," whither he was pursued by the Arab general, who encamped with a portion of his army at "Nílhán on the Kumbh." Here, the chiefs of Búdhiya determined to make a night attack upon his camp. These chiefs of Búdhiya, who were of the same family as the ruler of Sísam, are subsequently shown to be Jats;[2] whose origin was derived from a place on the banks of the Gang, which they call Kúndhár."[3] After failing in this expedition, they voluntarily surrendered themselves, as they had "found from the books of the Buddhists that Hindústán was destined to be conquered by the army of Islám," and then turned their arms vigorously against their former comrades. On Muhammad's advancing to Sísam, "some of the idolaters fled to Búdhya, higher up: some to the fort of Bahítlúr,[4] between Sálúj and Kandhábel" (p. 162); and there sued for peace, and after agreeing to pay tribute, sent their hostages to Siwistán.

In the *Mujmalu-t Tawáríkh* we read that Bahman, the Persian king, "built in the country of Budh a town called Bahmanábád, which according to some is Mansúra" (p. 106).

[Biládurí mentions this tract as the scene of the slaughter of Budail (p. 119), and it is, perhaps, disguised under the name of Basea in p. 123.]

In Istakhrí (p. 29), and in Ibn Haukal, it assumes the form of Budh, or Budha. "The infidel inhabitants within the borders of Sind are called Budha and Mand. They reside in the tract between

1 In the province of Sebí (Síwistán), according to the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*. [It is probably "Seisan," on the Manchhar lake.—See p. 161.]

2 Or Channas, according to the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 12.

3 [See Note, p. 160.]

4 Bahaltúr and Bahla, in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*.

Túrán, Multán, and Mansúra, on the western bank of the Mihrán. They live in huts made of reeds and grass" (p. 38). Again, "Atal is inhabited by Musulmáns and infidel Budhas."[1] . . . . "From Mansúra to the first borders of Budha is fifteen stages[2] (p. 39), and any one who travels that road must go along the banks of the Mihrán until he reaches Sadústán (Sihwán)."

"Nadha," or "Nudha," seems to be the reading preferred by Idrísí (p. 83), and the Nubian geographer. Kazwíní describes the country as having a population resembling the Zat, and yielding plenty of rice and cocoa-nuts. It also produces camels with double humps, which being rarely found elsewhere, were in great demand in Khurásán and Persia.[3] Ibn Haukal also remarks upon the excellence of its breed of camels. The *Marásidu-l Ittilá'*[4] likewise approves of the initial N, instead of B; but these later authorities are of no value, when arrayed against the repeated instances to the contrary from the *Chach-náma*, and the great majority of the readings in Ibn Haukal and Istakhrí.[5]

From a comparison of all these statements, it would appear that the old tract of Budh, or Búdhiya, very closely corresponds with the modern province of Kachh Gandáva, on all four sides except the northern, where it seems to have acquired a greater extension, of which it is impossible to define the precise limits. It is worthy of remark that, in the very centre of Kachh Gandáva, there is still a place called Budha on the Nárí river, and it is possible that the name is also preserved in the Kákar tract of Borí, or Búra, forming

[1] See also Gildemeister, *de reb. Ind.*, pp. 164, 171, 172, 177.

[2] This, if the right reading, must be understood in the sence of remotest, because the capital Kandábel is declared to be only eight stages, and Túrán, which is conterminous with Budh on the west, is only set down at fifteen stages. The *Ashkálu-l Bilád* gives the distance from Mansúra to the nearest point of Budh as only five marches. This is probably the correct reading.—See *Journal A. S. B.*, 1852, No. 1, p. 73.

[3] *De reb. Indicis*, p. 216. [4] Ed. Juynboll, Vol. II. p. .

[5] If Nudha could be supposed the correct reading, it would lend an interest to a passage in Dionysius, who says in his Periegesis—

Ινδὸν πάρ ποταμὸν νότιοι Σκυθαι εννάιουσιν—v. 1088.

Νότιοι might be meant for "the Nodhites," instead of "southern," as usually translated; or the Arabs might have converted the "southern" into a separate class with a distinctive name.

part of the Afghán province of Síwistán.[1] In the *Ayín-i Akbarí* the town of Budhyán is mentioned as being on the northern frontier of Sirkár Thatta, one hundred kos from Bandar Láhorí.

It is impossible to assent to an hypothesis lately started in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, quoted above, that this tract was designated after the present Burohees, or Bráhúís. Their name itself is too modern,—besides being belied by the usual meaning ascribed to it, of "mountaineer;"—and even their partial occupation of this low eastern tract is not yet a century old. From time immemorial it has been held by the Jats, who still constitute the majority of the population, and the Bráhúís are a mere intrusive stock from the provinces of Múshkí and Jhow, and the rugged highlands of Sahárawán, which abut Kachh Gandáva on the westward. It has been surmised, also, that these Budhiyas were the Bhodya and Bhoja of the Puránic legends, and even the Bhotyas of Tibet. This is treading upon still more dangerous ground.[2] It is far more probable that, if the name had any significant origin at all, it was derived from the possession of the Buddhist religion in its purity by the inhabitants of that remote tract, at the time when Bráhmanism was making its quiet but steady inroads by the more open and accessible course of the river Indus. [See *post*, Note on the Meds.]

Kannazbúr.

[Omission and misplacing of the dots have caused this name to assume a very varying form in Roman characters. Ibn Khurdádba (p. 14) calls it "Kinnazbún," and Istakhrí's version (p. 29) may be so read. The *Ashkálu-l Bilád* (p. 34) has "Kabryún;" Gildemeister's version of Ibn Haukal makes it "Kannazbúr;" Idrísí writes "Fírabúz," but "Kírbúz" sometimes occurs. The *Marásidu-l Ittilá'* has "Kírbún," but Juynboll, the editor, says this is a false reading for Kannazbúr. Biládurí (p. 119) agrees in this last spelling, and the *Chach-náma* has "Kannazpúr," and "Kínarbúr." The position of the place appears to correspond with that of the modern Punjgoor in Makrán.]

[1] In the passage quoted above from the *Mujmalu-t Tawáríkh*, Bahman is said to have founded a city called Bahmanábád in the country of Budh. There is a place entered as Brahiman in Burnes' map, between Shál and Borí.

[2] V. de Saint-Martin, *Études de Géog. ancienne*, Tom. I. pp. 328–334.—Lassen *Ind. Alterth.*, Vol. I. pp. 559, 611, 727.

Mandal.—Kiraj.

It is difficult to fix the position of Mandal, one of the places to which Junaid despatched an expedition.

The name of Mandal, or Mandalam, being applied generally to signify "a region," in Sanskrit, adds to our doubts upon this occasion. Thus we have Tonda-Mandalam, Pándú-Mandalam, Chola-Mandalam, and many others. [Almost, or entirely, all of them being situated in the South.] The most noted Mandal of the Arab geographers was that whence Mandalí aloe-wood was derived; hence *agallochum* was frequently called "Mandal;" but no one seems to have known where it was situated. Kazwíní says no one can penetrate to it, because it lies beyond the equinoctial line: but he calls it a city of India, taking that word in its enlarged sense of East Indies. [The *Marásidu-l Ittilá'* calls it a city of Hind, but gives no indication of its locality. Abú-l Fidá has no notice of it.] Avicenna, in his *Kánún*, says that, according to some, it is in the middle of the land of Hind. The place here alluded to, is probably the coast of Coromandel, whence the *agallochum*, brought from the eastern islands, was distributed to the marts and countries of the west.

Avicenna's description might be made to apply to Mandala upon the Nerbadda, which in the second century of our era was the seat of the Haihaya dynasty of Gondwána;[1] but this is, of course, too far for any Arab expedition, notwithstanding that M. Reinaud considers Ujjain and Málwa[2] to have been attacked at the same period, under the orders of Junaid (p. 126). But Málabár would have been a more probable object of attack than Málwa, in the heart of India. As we proceed, we shall find other expeditions almost all directed to different points in the Guzerát peninsula,—as, indeed, was the case, even from the time of the conquest of Sind, when the inhabitants of Basra were engaged in a warfare with the Meds of Suráshtra.

[1] Langlois, *Harivansa*, Vol. I. p. 6.—*As. Res.*, Vol. IX. pp. 100, 105, 112.—*J. A. S. Bengal*, August, 1837.—*J. A. S. Bombay*, Vol. IV. p. 179.—*Mod. Traveller*, "India," Vol. I. p. 141.—Schlegel's *Ramayana*, Vol. I. pt. ii. p. 208.—*As. Ann. Reg.*, Vol. VIII. Misc. Tracts, p. 19.—Baudry, *Encycl. Moderne*, Tom. XVIII. col. 151.—Lassen, *Ind. Altherth.*, Vol. I. Beil. IV. 4.

[2] [These two names were left blank in his "Fragments," but were restored in the *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 192. In Goejes' most careful edition of the text of Biláduri the names are distinctly written "*Uzain*" and "*Málabat.*"]

It is evident that we must seek, also, no very distant site for Mandal. Even Mandal-eswara (Mandlaisar), on the Nerbadda, would be too remote. Mandor in Rájpútána, the ancient capital of the Parihárs, or Mandra in Kachh, or Mandal in Jhaláwár, would be better, or the famous Mandaví, had not its ancient site been known by another name,—Ráen. Altogether, Mandal in Guzerát, better known as Oká-Mandal, offers, from its antiquity and its position as the western district of that peninsula, the most probable site for the Mandal of Junaid.

From the expression of the historian Tabarí, that the Arabs never recovered possession of Kíraj and Mandal, there would seem to be an implication that these places lay beyond the province of Sind, and that they were at no great distance from one another. They are also mentioned together in the passage under consideration. The "Kíraj" of Tabarí and the *Futúhu-l Buldán* seems to be the same place as the "Kaj" of Birúní. The name occurs again as "Kíraj" and "Kúraj" in the *Chach-náma* (pp. 189, 197), and was probably situate in, if not named from, Kachh, though the exact site of the town cannot now be established.

The position of Oká-Mandal on the opposite coast is a sufficient reason why it should be mentioned in connection with Kíraj, supposing that place to have been in Kachh; and, in the absence of more certain information, I should, for this, as well as the other reasons above given, feel disposed to consider it as the Mandal noticed by the Arab historians of the Sindian conquest.[1]

Manjábarí.

[Such appears to be the preferable mode of spelling the name which appears in Istakhrí as Manhánarí (p. 27), in Ibn Haukal as Manhatara, and in Idrísí as Manábarí (p. 77). It is described as being on the west of the river, three days' journey south from Sadusán (Sihwan), and two days short of Debal,—the two maps agree with this account. The route from Mansúra to Debal crosses the river at this place. It has been supposed to be the Minnagara of the ancients.—See the next article "Minnagara."]

[1] Gildemeister, *Script Arab. de rebus Indicis*, pp. 69, 71, 214.—Tod, *Rajasthan*, Vol. I. pp. 39, 100, 725.—Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, 4to. Vol. I. pp. 651, 656, 661.—Hudson, *Geog. Vet. Script. Min.*, Vol. I.—*Periplus*, p. 23.

Minnagara.

Vincent thinks that the Minnagara of Ptolemy, and of the Periplus usually ascribed to Arrian, is the Manjábarí of the Arab geographers. D'Anville supposes Minnagara to be the same as Mansúra. C. Ritter says it is Tatta, so does Alex. Burnes, because Tatta is now called Sa-Minagur, and Mannert says, Binagara should be read for Minnagara. These high authorities place it on the Indus. But although goods were landed at Barbarice, the port of the Indus, and conveyed to Minnagara "by the river," there is no reason why Minnagara should have been *on* that river.

The Periplus merely says, "Minnagara is inland." μεσόγειος ἡ μετρόπολις αυτῆς τῆς Σκῦθίας Μιννάγάρ. Again, the Periplus says, the "Metropolis of the whole country, is Minnagara, whence great quantities of cotton goods are carried down to Barygaza," or Broach, which could scarcely have been the place of export, if Minnagara had been on the Indus. But even allowing it to have been on the Indus, there is every reason to suppose it was on the eastern bank, whereas Manjábarí is plainly stated to be on the western.

Lassen derives the name of this capital of Indo-Scythia from the Sanskrit *Nagara*, a town, and *Min*, which he shows from Isidorus Characenus to be the name of a Scythian city. The Sindomana of Arrian may, therefore, owe its origin to this source. C. Ritter says *Min* is a name of the Sacas; if so, there can be little doubt that we have their representatives in the wild Minas of Rájputána, who have been driven but little to the eastward of their former haunts.

Minnagara is, according to Ptolemy, in Long. 115. 15. Lat. 19. 30, and he places it on the Nerbadda, so that his Minnagara, as well as that of the second quotation from the Periplus, may possibly be the famous Mándúgarh (not far from the river), and the Mánkír which the early Arab Geographers represent as the capital of the Balhará. [See the article "Balhará."]

The fact appears to be that there were two Minnagaras—one on, or near, the Indus; another on the Nerbadda (Narmada). Ptolemy's assertion cannot be gainsaid, and establishes the existence of the latter on the Nerbadda, [and this must have been the Minnagara of

which the Periplus represents Broach to be the port]. The one on, or near, the Indus was the capital of Indo-Scythia, and the Binagara, or Agrinagara, of Ptolemy. We learn from the Tuhfatu-l Kirám that in the twelfth century Minagár was one of the cities dependent on Múltán, and was in the possession of a chief, by caste an *Agri*, descended from Alexander. When we remember that Arrian informs us that Alexander left some of his troops, (including, no doubt, Agrians), as a garrison for the town at the junction of the Indus and Acesines, this affords a highly curious coincidence, which cannot, however, be further dilated upon in this place.[1]

Narána.

[*Extract of General Cunningham's Archæological Report for* 1864-5,—*Page* 1.]

"In his account of the geography of Northern India, the celebrated Abú Ríhán makes the city of *Narain* the starting point of three different itineraries to the south, the south-west, and the west. This place has not been identified by M. Reinaud, the learned historian of ancient India, but its true locality has been accurately assigned to the neighbourhood of Jaypur. Its position also puzzled Sir H. Elliot, who says, however, that with one exception "Narwar satisfies all the requisite conditions." But this position is quite untenable, as will be seen by the proofs which I am now about to bring forward in support of its identification with *Náráyan*, the capital of *Bairát*, or *Matsya*.

According to the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Tsang, the capital of the kingdom of *Po-li-ye-to-lo*, which M. Reinaud has identified with *Páryátra*, or *Bairát*, was situated at 500 *li*, or 83⅔ miles, to the west of Mathura, and about 800 *li*, or 133⅔ miles, to the south-west (read south-east) of the kingdom of *She-to-tu-lo*, that is, of *Satadru*, on the Sutlej—The bearing and distance from Mathura point unequivocally to *Bairát*, the ancient capital of *Matsya*, as the city of

[1] Compare Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. IV. part 1, p. 475, and Vol. V. p. 181. *Ptol. Geogr.* Lib. VII. c. I, tab. 10. Vincent, *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, p. 349. D'Anville *Antiq. de l' Inde*, p. 34. Mannert, *Geog. der Griechen and Römer*, Vol. V. pp. 107, 130, 136. Hudson, *Geog. Vet. Scriptores Græci Min.* Vol. I. Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, Vol. III. p. 79. *Journal R. A. S.* Vol. I. p. 31. C. Lassen, *De Pentapotamia Ind.* p. 57. *Allgemeine Encyclop.:* Art. *Indien*, p, 91. Arriani, *De Expedit: Alex:* Lib. VI. 15.

Hwen Tsang's narrative; and this being fixed, we may identify the capital of *Satadru,* or the Sutlej Provinces, with the famous Fort of *Hansi,* which successfully resisted the arms of Mahmúd of Ghazní. According to the *Tabakát-i Násirí,* Hansi was the ancient capital of the Province of Siwálik, and up to the time of its capture by Mas'úd had been considered by the Hindus as impregnable.

Abú Ríhán, the contemporary of Mahmúd, places *Narána,* the capital of *Karzát,* at twenty-eight parasangs to the west of Mathura, which, taking the parasang at three and a half miles, would make the distance ninety-eight miles, or fourteen miles in excess of the measurement of Hwen Tsang. But as the narratives of the different Muhammadan historians leave no doubt of the identity of *Narána,* the capital of *Kárzát,* with Náráyana, the capital of *Bairát,* this difference in the recorded distance from Mathura is of little moment. According to Abú Ríhán, *Narána,* or *Bazána,*[1] was called Náráyan نارایں by the Musulmans, a name which still exists in *Náráyanpur,* a town situated at ten miles to the north-east of Bairát itself. From Kanauj to Narána, Abú Ríhán gives two distinct routes:—the first direct, *via* Mathura, being fifty-six parasangs, or 196 miles, and the other to the south of the Jumna being eighty-eight parasangs, or 308 miles. The intermediate stages of the latter route are, 1st., *Asi,* 18 parasangs, or 63 miles; 2nd., *Sahina,* 17 parasangs, or $59\frac{1}{2}$ miles; 3rd., *Jandara* (Chandrá), 18 parasangs, or 63 miles; 4th., *Rajauri,* either 15 or 17 parasangs, 54 or $59\frac{1}{2}$ miles; and 5th., *Bazána,* or *Narána,* 20 parasangs, or 70 miles. As the direction of the first stage is especially recorded to have been to the south-west of Kanauj, it may be at once identified with the *Assai Ghát* on the Jumna, six miles to the south of Etawa, and about sixty miles to the south-west of Kanauj. The name of the second stage is written *Sahina,* سہہینا, for which, by the simple shifting of the diacritical points, I propose to read Sahania, سہنیا, which is the name of a very large and famous ruined town, situated twenty-five miles to the north of Gwalior, of which some account will be given in the present report. Its distance from the *Assai Ghát* is about fifty-six miles. The third stage named *Jandara* by M. Reinaud, and Chandra by Sir Henry Elliot, I take to be *Hindon,* reading حندون for چندرا. Its distance from *Sahaniya* by the Khetri Ghát on the Chambal river is

[1] [Reinaud's reading.]

about seventy miles. The fourth stage, named *Rajori,* still exists under the same name, twelve miles to the south of *Mácheri,* and about fifty miles to the north-west of *Hindon.* From thence to *Narainpur* and *Bairát,* the road lies altogether through the hills of Alwar or Mácheri, which makes it difficult to ascertain the exact distance. By measurements on the lithographed map of eight miles to the inch, I make the distance to be about sixty miles, which is sufficiently near the twenty parasangs, or seventy miles of Abú Ríhán's account.

According to the other itineraries of Abú Ríhán, *Narána* was twenty-five parasangs to the north of *Chitor* in *Mewár,* fifty parasangs to the east of *Multán,* and sixty parasangs to the north-east of *Anhalwára.* The bearings of these places from *Bairát* are all sufficiently exact, but the measurements are more than one-half too short. For the first distance of twenty-five parasangs to *Chitor,* I would propose to read sixty-five parasangs, or 227 miles, the actual distance by the measured routes of the Quarter-Master General being $217\frac{3}{4}$. As the distance of *Chitor* is omitted in the extract from Abú Ríhán, which is given by Rashídu-d Dín,[1] it is probable that there may have been some omission or confusion in the original of the *Táríkh-i Hind* from which he copied. The erroneous measurement of fifty parasangs to Multán is, perhaps, excusable on the ground that the direct route through the desert being quite impassable for an army, the distance must have been estimated. The error in the distance of Anhalwára I would explain by referring the measurement of sixty parasangs to Chitor, which lies about midway between Bairát and Anhalwára. From a comparison of all these different itineraries, I have no hesitation whatever in identifying *Bazána* or *Narána,* the capital of *Karzát* or *Guzrát,*[2] with *Náráyanpur,* the capital of *Bairát* or *Vairát.* In Firishta the name is written either *Kibrát,* قبرات as in Dow, or *Kairát,* قيرات as in Briggs, both of which names are an easy misreading of ويرات *Wairát* or *Virát,* as it would have been written by the Muhammadans.

* * * * * * *

According to Abú Ríhán the town was destroyed, and the people

[1] [Rashídu-d Dín gives the distance as fifteen parasangs, see p. 60.]

[2] [See the variant readings in p. 59—to which may be added كشورات, from Sir H. Elliot's MS.]

retired far into the interior. By Firishta this invasion is assigned to the year A.H. 413, or A.D. 1022, when the king (Mahmúd), hearing that the inhabitants of two hilly tracts named *Kairát* and *Nárdin* (or *Bairát* and *Naráyan*) still continued the worship of idols (or lions in some manuscripts), resolved to compel them to embrace the Muhammadan faith. The place was taken and plundered by Amír 'Alí."]

Nirún.—Sákúra.—Jarak.

Amongst the many places of which it is difficult to establish the true position in ancient Sind, Nírún or Nairún is one of the most perplexing, for several reasons. Its first syllable, even, is a controverted point, and while all the French authors uniformly write it Byroun, after Abú-l Fidá,[1] the English equally persist in following Idrísí[2] (p. 78), and writing it Nírún and Nerún. What imparts a presumptive correctness to the French reading is, that it is set down as the birthplace of the celebrated Abú Ríhán al Birúní. But here, *in limine*, several strong objections may be raised,—that Abú Ríhán was a Khwárizmian, and is so called by the best authorities,—that throughout his descriptive geography of India, he is more deficient in his account of Sind than in any other part,—that he nowhere mentions it as his birthplace,—and that no one ever heard of any Bírún in Sind, though many local traditions speak of a Nírún, and concur in fixing its locality. Abú-l Fidá certainly writes it Bírún, but there is often an assumption of accuracy about him which has been far too readily conceded by the moderns; for he was merely a distant foreigner, who never left Syria except to go to Mecca and Egypt, and he was therefore compelled to copy and rely on the defective information of others. Istakhrí, Ibn Haukal, and the *Ashkálu-l Bilád* are not quite determinate in their reading, but the *Chach-náma* and the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* never write it in any other form than with the initial N, followed by *yá*, which leaves us still in doubt whether the word be Nairún, Nírún, or Nerún; but it is certainly neither Birun, nor Bírún, nor Bairún, nor Byroun.

Other considerations with respect to the name of Abú Ríhán, will be found in the Note devoted to that philosopher, in the second volume of this work.

[1] *Géographie d'Abou-l Féda*, p. 348. [2] *Géographie d'Edrisi*, Tom. I. p. 16.

Under the dynasty of the Ráís, Nírún was included within the government of Bráhmanábád (p. 158). The inhabitants of Nírún solicited from the Arabs a cartel of protection, as their city was "on the very road of the Arabs to Sind" (p. 157). After the conquest of Debal, "Md. Kásim directed that the catapults should be sent by boat towards the fort of Nírún (p. 47), and the boats went up the stream called Sindh Ságara,[1] while he himself advanced by way of Sisám"[2] (p. 157). When Md. Kásim went from Debal "to the fortress of Nírún, which is twenty-five parasangs distant, he marched for six days, and on the seventh arrived at Nírún, where there is a meadow which they call Balhár, situated on the land of Barúzí,[3] which the inundations of the Indus had not yet reached (p. 158), and the army consequently complained of being oppressed by thirst. This drought was seasonably relieved through the efficacy of the general's prayers,—"when all the pools and lakes which were round that city were replenished with water." He then "moved towards Síwistán (Síhwán) by several marches, until he reached Bahraj or Mauj,[4] thirty parasangs from Nírún" (p. 158). After his expedition to Síwistán and Búdhiya, he was directed by Hajjáj to return to Nírún, and make preparations for crossing the Indus (p. 163). He accordingly

[1] [Sir H. Elliot read this name as Dhand Ságara; but the MS. of the E. I. Lib. gives it distinctly as "Sind-ságar," and this has been adopted in the text. Sir H. Elliot's copy seems rather to read Wahand, or Wahind-ságar, a name which is also admissible, see p. 256. It is called in the text an *áb*, or "water," which has been rendered by "stream," as it is manifest that the only water communication between Debal and Nírún must have been by one of the channels of the Indus. According to Capt. McMurdo, Debal was situated on the most western branch of the Indus, called "Ságára," up which Muhammad Kásim conveyed his engines. *Journ. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I. pp. 29, 32.]

[2] [Both MSS, agree in reading "Sísam" as the name of the place by which Muhammad Kásim proceeded, but it can hardly be the place of that name to which he advanced after the capture of Síwistán (pp. 160, 161).] Biláduri merely mentions the advance to Nírún (p. 121).

[3] [This sentence has unfortunately slipped out of the translation as printed at p. 158.] The word again occurs—"from the camp of Barúzí," and must be the name of a place. If the reading had not been plain in both instances, I should have preferred "Nírúní."

[4] [Sir H. Elliot's MS. of the *Chach-náma* gives this name as "Bahraj," but the E. I. Library copy has "Mauj," and this reading is confirmed by the MS. of the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (p. 7). On the other hand, Istakhrí's map as given by Moeller lays down "Bahraj" in the locality indicated by the Chach-náma. A conflict of authority leaving the true reading doubtful, though "Bahraj" seems preferable.]

moved back by several difficult marches "to the fort which is on the hill of Nírún,"[1] where there was a beautiful lake and charming grove (p. 163). This fort was the nearest point to the capital of the Khalif. After crossing the Indus, a garrison was left at Nírún, to keep open the communications in the rear and protect the convoys (p. 144).

Istakhrí (p. 28) and Ibn Haukal tell us that "Nírún lies between Debal and Mansúra, but nearer to the latter, and that any traveller who wishes to go to Mansúra, must cross the river Indus at Manjábarí, which is on the western bank, and stands opposite to Mansúra" (p. 37). The subsequent geographers copy these authors, as usual, adding little further information. Idrísí places it distinctly on the western bank (p. 78). Abú-l Fidá says it is fifteen parasangs from Mansúra, and fixes it in latitude 26° 40′, on the authority of the Kánún of Birúní.[2]

The name of Sákara or Ságara, which is mentioned above, requires a few words of notice. The *Chach-náma* merely mentions that "the fleet of Md. Kásim came to anchor in the lake of Ságara;" but the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* says, "having placed his manjaníks on boats, he sent them to the fort of Nírún, by way of the water of Sakúra, while he himself marched by land."[3] Elsewhere, we are informed in the same work, that "Debal, now called Thatta, was in the land of Sákúra."[4] Again, Tharra, which was a strong fort near Thatta, was "in the land of Sákúra."[5] Again, Dewal, Bhambúr, Bagár, and Tharra were each "excellent cities in the land of Sákúra."

In the *A'yín-i Akbari* Sákúra is entered as a Pergana in Sirkár Thatta; and in the *Tárikh-i Táhiri* it is also spoken of as a Pergana, lying under the Makalí hills, in which Thatta itself was included[6] (p. 257). Mas'údí speaks of a Ságara or Shákira (p. 24), two days' journey from the town of Debal; and it is added that both branches of the Indus disembogue into the sea at that place. It does not seem improbable that we have the same word in the Sagapa

[1] Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis*, p. 179. He insists upon reading Bîrûn. M. Reinaud considers the original to be ambiguous in this passage.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 240.

[2] *Géographie d'Abou-l Féda*, Texte Arabe, p. 348.—D'Anville, *Eclaircissements sur la Carte de l'Inde*, p. 37, *et seq.*

[3] MS. p. 6. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 1. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 11. [6] MS. pp. 20, 48.

of Ptolemy and Marcianus Heracleotes, for they call it "the first and most westerly mouth of the river Indus."[1]

We may consider the stream of Sákúra to correspond with the prolongation of the Gisrí or Ghárá creek, which at no very distant time must have communicated with the Indus above Thatta. Indeed, Mr. N. Crow, writing in the year 1800, says, "By a strange turn that the river has taken within these five and twenty years, just above Tatta, that city is flung out of the angle of the inferior Delta, in which it formerly stood, on the main land towards the hills of Buluchistán."[2]

The position here assigned to the Sákúra, points out the direction where we are to look for Nírún, to which, by means of that stream, there seems to have been a water communication—at least approximate, if not direct.

It is quite evident that Nírún was on the western bank of the Indus. Not only do we find Muhammad Kásim going there in order to make due preparations for "crossing" that river, not only do we find Dáhir, on receiving the intelligence of the capture of Debal, directing Jaisiya to "cross over" from Nírún to Bráhmanábád without delay (MS. p. 102), but it is also so represented both in the text, and on the maps, of Istakhrí and the *Ashkálu-l Bilád.* Nevertheless, M. D'Avezac, in the map prefixed to the *Memoire sur l'Inde*, places it on the eastern bank. His authority stands deservedly high, but can be of no value against the positive testimony here adduced to the contrary.

How then it came in modern times to be considered identical with Haidarábád it is impossible to say, but so it is laid down unhesitatingly from the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, down to the latest English tourist.[3] Even if it could be accounted for by supposing that the Falailí then constituted the main stream of the Indus, we should nevertheless find that the distances assigned to Nírún from various places named would not make it correspond in position with Haidarábád.

[1] *Geog.*, Lib. vii.—*Periplus*, p. 32, in Hudson's *Geograph, Græci Minores*, Vol. I.

[2] Dr. Burnes, *Visit to the Court of Sinde*, p. 162.—See also Capt. McMurdo, *Journ. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 25.

[3] *T. Kirám*, MS.—Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. p. 218.—McMurdo, *Journ. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. 1. pp. 30, 234.—Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, Vol. III. p. 31.—Elphinstone, *History of India*, Vol. I. p. 504.—Burton, *Sindh*, pp. 131. 376. The latter says its ancient name is not only Nerun's Fort, but Patalpúr. If so, we can be at no loss for Pattala.

And here it is obvious to remark, that the establishment of its locality depends chiefly upon the sites which are assigned to other disputed cities, more especially to Debal and Mansúra. I have elsewhere stated my reasons for considering Debal to be represented by Karáchí, and Mansúra by Haidarábád. Much also depends on the real value of the farsang,[1] which greatly varied in different places, even in neighbouring provinces. As it was probably modified in Sind by the local *kos*, we may ascribe to it the small standard of two miles and a half, which we know it to have had upon the Tigris, according to the latest and most accurate investigations. Or, without assigning to these roughly estimated distances an accuracy which they were never intended to bear, we may consider the Sindian parasang to vary from two to three miles, so as in no instance to be less than the one, or more than the other. It is usual, and doubtless more correct, to fix the standard at a higher value than even three English miles; but this is evidently quite inapplicable in Sind, and would be even more decisive against the identity of Debal and Thatta, than the present hypothesis.[2]

Guided by all these considerations, I am disposed to place Nírún at Helái, or Heláya, a little below Jarak, on the high road from Thatta to Haidarábád. The correspondences in other respects appear exact, in every instance of comparison.

It has a direct communication by a road over the hills with Bela and would be the first place in the valley of the Indus which the Arabs could reach by land, and therefore nearest to the capital of the Khiláfat.

Lakes abound in the neighbourhood, and are large enough, especially the Kinjar, to have admitted Muhammad Kásim's fleet.

[1] On the Persian farsang, the Greek parasang, or Arabic farsakh, see the *Metrop. and Penny Cyclop.*, v. "Parasang."—Ainsworth's *Preface to Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand.*—Grote's *Hist. of Greece*, Vol. XI. pp. 19-22.—Ouseley's *Orient. Geog.*, p. xxii.—Rennell's *Geog. of Western Asia*, I. xli.—Reinaud, *Géog. d'Abou-l Féda*, Tom. I.—Freytag, *Lex. Arab.*, s.v.—Forbiger, *Handbuch der alt. Geog.*. Vol. I. p. 555. In Khúzistán it is reckoned at three miles and three quarters, —*Journ. R. Geog. Soc.*, Vol. IX. p. 31. This is also the length assigned by Ouseley and Kinneir. On the Tigris we have it given as only two miles and a half.—*Trans. Bombay Geog. Soc.*, Vol. X. p. 119.

[2] Mas'údí (p. 21) is represented as laying down the Sindian parasang at eight miles. The same passage is rendered by Reinaud as "yodjanas," which would also imply a long parasang.—*Mémoire*, p. 59.

Nírún is represented as twenty-five parasangs from Debal. (The real distance is seventy British statute miles between Helái and Karáchí.)

Nírún was situated on a hill, which would admit of its being identified with very few other places of note near the Indus. It lay between Debal and Mansúra, but was nearer to the latter. (This position also corresponds with that of Helái). It was fifteen parasangs from Mansúra. (Thirty-five miles is the distance between Helái and Haidarábád.)

We need scarcely pursue the comparison farther. We may rest assured that Nírún was, if not at Helái, at least at no great distance from it, and was certainly not Haidarábád. It is worthy of remark that Helái itself is a place of undoubted antiquity, and there are two remarkable hills in its neighbourhood covered with ruins, representing perhaps the Hyala of Diodorus.[1]

Next to Helái, Jarak offers many points of probability. It is only twelve miles from Helái, and therefore the distances already laid down, with no great profession of exactness, would answer nearly equally well. Its commanding position, on a ledge of rock overhanging the Indus, necessarily denotes it to have been always a site of importance, and this is confirmed by the evidence afforded by several substantial remains of masonry on the banks of the river, which still arrest the observation of the traveller at that place.

Sadúsán.

The *Táríkh-i Alfí*, in a passage relating to Sultán Jalálu-d dín's proceedings on the Indus, mentions that Sadúsán was subsequently called Sístán. Though the writer here commits the common error of confounding Sístán with Sihwán, or Siwistán, on the Indus, yet he leaves us in no doubt what correction to apply, and we thus derive from him an interesting piece of information; for the position of Sadúsán, which is so frequently mentioned in the Arab accounts of Sind, has not hitherto been ascertained.

Sámúí.—Tughlikábád.—Kalá-kot.

Sámúí deserves notice from the attempt which has been made to establish it as the celebrated Minnagara of the ancient geographers. It was the capital of the Jáms of the Samma dynasty, and, according

[1] *Biblioth. Histor.*, Lib. xvii. cap. 104.

to the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, it was founded by Jám Pániya,[1] under the Makalí hills, about three miles north-west of Thatta.

Subsequently, the fort of Tughlikábád was built by Jám Taghúr or Tughlik, on the site of the older Kalá-kot, about two miles south of Thatta; but that, as well as its predecessor, was left unfinished by its founder (p. 272). By a strange vicissitude, the name of Tughlikábád is now comparatively forgotten, and that of Kalá-kot erroneously called Kalán-kot (the great fort), though for a time superseded, has restored the just claims of Rájá Kalá, and still attracts the attention of the traveller. Lt. Burton calls it Kallián-kot. I fear to differ from so good a local authority, but believe Kalá-kot to be more strictly correct.

The ruins of Sámúí, Samúiya, or Samma-nagar, "the city of the Sammas," are to be traced near Thatta; and, under the wrong and deceptive spelling of Sa-minagar, have induced Col. Tod, Sir A. Burnes, and many who have too readily followed them—including even Ritter, who considers the question settled "incontestably,"—to recognise in that name the more ancient and more famous Minnagara. The easy, but totally unwarrantable, elision of the first and only important syllable has led to this fanciful identification.[2]

Sindán, Súbára or Súrabáya, and Saimúr.

[These three towns were all south of Kambáya, and the first two were ports. Saimúr, though a place of trade, is not distinctly said to be a port, but it is laid down on the sea-shore in the map. Abú-l Fidá says that Sindán was also called Sindábúr, but this is hardly in accordance with Al Bírúní and Rashídu-d dín (pp. 66, 68). He also notices the variant forms of Súfára and Súfála for Súbára. The route as given by Istakhrí, Ibn Haukal and Idrísí is—

Kambáya to Surabáya, four days;
Súrabáya to Sindán, five ,,
Sindán to Saimúr five ,,
And the first two add, Saimúr to Sarandíb, 15 days.

Idrísí also states Broach to be two days from Saimúr. Al Birúní

[1] [This is the "Jám Júna, son of Bábiniya," of Mír Ma'súm.]

[2] Tod, *Rájasthán*, Vol. I. p. 86; II. 220, 256, 312; and *W. India*, pp. 466, 481.—Burnes. *Travels*, Vol. III. pp. 31, 79; and *Cabool*, pp. 16–18.—Lt. Burton, *Sindh* p. 388; and *Unhappy Valley*, Vol. I. p. 105.—*T. Kirám*, MS. pp. 19, 20, 82, 84.—Ritter, *Asien*, Vol. IV. pt. i. p. 475.—McMurdo, *Journ. R. A. Soc.*, I. 30, 232.

makes the distance from Broach to Sindán fifty parasangs, and from Sindán to Súfára six parasangs. Abú-l Fida says that Sindán was the last city of Guzerát, and the first of Maníbár (Malabár), three days' journey from Tana. It is hardly possible to reconcile all these statements, but there seems to be sufficient evidence for making Sindán the most southerly. It was on a bay or estuary a mile and a-half from the sea, and the modern Damán is probably its present representative. Súbára was similarly situated at the same distance from the sea, and finds a likely successor in Surát. Istakhrí's statement would make Saimúr the most southerly, but this is at variance with Mas'údi and Al Bírúní, who say that it was in Lár (the country round Broach), and with Idrísí's statement of its being at only two days' journey from Broach. But it is not easy to see how it could have been only two days from Broach and yet five from Sindán. Notwithstanding the incongruity of these statements, it must have been a place of considerable size and importance. It is the only one of these three towns that has received notice by Kazwíní. His account of the place is given in page 97 *supra*, but it supplies no data on which to fix the locality. Abú-l Fidá does not mention it, and the *Marásidu-i Ittilá'* affords no help, for it merely describes it as a city of Hind, bordering on Sind near to Debal.]

Túr.—Muhatampúr.—Dirak.—Vijeh-kot.

Túr was the ancient capital of the Súmra dynasty, called also by the name of Mehmetúr, and written by the local historians as Muhatampúr and Muhammad-Túr. It was situated in the Pargana of Dirak, and its destruction has been mentioned in the Extracts from the *Táríkh-i Táhirí* (p. 256). But its real ruin dates only from 'Aláu-d dín's invasion of Sind.

The ancient Pargana of Dirak is represented by the modern divisions of Cháchagám and Badban on the borders of the Tharr, or sandy desert between Parkar and Wanga Bázár. There is a Pargana of Dirak still included in Thatta, which may be a portion of the older district of that name.

Another capital of the Súmras is said to have been Vijeh-kot, Wageh-kot, or Vigo-gad (for it is spelt in these various forms), five miles to the east of the Púrán river, above the Allah-band.

The site of Túr has been considered to be occupied by the modern

Tharri, near Budína, on the Gúngrú river. There are, to be sure, the remains of an old town to the west of that place; nevertheless, the real position of Túr is not to be looked for there, but at Shákapúr, a populous village about ten miles south of Mírpúr. Near that village, the fort and palace of the last of the Súmras is pointed out, whence bricks are still extracted of very large dimensions, measuring no less than twenty inches by eight.[1] Other fine ruins are scattered about the neighbourhood, and carved tomb-stones are very numerous. Fragments of pearls and other precious stones are occasionally picked up, which have all apparently been exposed to the action of fire. The people themseves call this ruined site by the name of Mehmetúr, so that both the name and position serve to verify it, beyond all doubt, as the ancient capital of the Súmras.

The curious combination of Muhammad-Túr, is an infallible indication that "Mehmet" and "Muhatam" are merely corruptions of "Muhammad," for this name is wretchedly pronounced in Sind. The present mode is *Mammet*—our own old English word for an image, or puppet, when in our ignorance we believed *Mawmetrie*, or the religion of the false prophet, to be synonymous with idolatry, and *Mahound* with the Devil. So Shakespere, in *Romeo and Juliet*, says—

> "A whining *mammet*, in her fortune 's tender."

And Spenser, in his *Faerie Queene*—

> "And oftentimes by Termagant and *Mahound* swore."

The still grosser corruption of Muhammad into "Baphomet," or "Baffomet," is not to be laid to the charge of our nation. This was the name of the idol, or head, which the Templars are falsely alleged to have worshipped,—*quoddam caput cum barbâ quod adorant et vocant salvatorem suum.* Raynouard argues that this word originates from a misprint, or mispronunciation, of Muhammad; but Von Hammer and Michelet lean to a Gnostic origin, which we need not stay to consider, being satisfied that "Baffomet" is only another, and still more extravagant disguise, under which Europeans have exhibited the name of Muhammad.[2]

[1] *Bég-Lár-náma*, MS. p. 8.—*Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. pp. 162, 166.—Dr. Burnes, *Visit to the Court of Sind*, p. 134.—Capt. McMurdo, *Journ. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I. pp. 24, 226, 233.

[2] Raynouard, *Monuments hist. rel. á la condamnation des Templiers*, pp. 261-302; and in Michaud's *Hist. des Croisades*, Tom, V. p. 572; and in *J. des Savants*, for March and April, 1819.—Von Hammer, *Mysterium Baphometi revelatum* in *Fundgruben des Or.*, Vol VI. pt. i.—Michelet, *Histoire de France*, Tom. III. p. 145.

NOTE (B.)—HISTORICAL.

The Ráí Dynasty.

The *Chach-náma* (p. 138) mentions only the three immediate predecessors of the usurper Chach, and in this it is followed by the *Táríkh-i Sind.* It states that "Ráí Siharas, the son of Díwáíj (called also Sháhí-Sháhí) was defeated and slain by the army of king Nímroz,[1] which entered Kirmán from the direction of Fárs; and that he was succeeded by his son Ráí Sáhasí." It will be observed from the annexed extract, that the *Tuhfátu-l Kirám* gives two additional reigns, which are not, however, referred to any specific authority of ancient date.

"*Dynasty of the Ráís.*—Their capital was the city of Alor, and the boundaries of their country were—on the east, Kashmír and Kanauj; on the west, Makrán and the shore of the sea of 'Umán, that is, the port of Debal; on the south, the port of Súrat (Suráshtra); and on the north, Kandahár, Sístán, the hills of Sulaimán and Kaikánán. As the commencement of this dynasty has not been ascertained, I content myself with mentioning some of the names which are known.

"*Ráí Díwáíj.* He was a powerful chief, whose absolute rule extended to the limits above mentioned. He formed alliances with most of the rulers of Hind, and throughout all his territories caravans travelled in perfect security. On his death, he was succeeded by his son,

"*Ráí Siharas,* who followed the steps of his father in maintaining his position in happiness, comfort, and splendour, during a long reign. His celebrated son was

"*Ráí Sáhasí,* who also swayed the sceptre with great pomp and power. He followed the institutions of his ancestors, and accomplished all his desires.

"*Ráí Siharas II.* was his son and successor. King Nímroz raised an army for the purpose of attacking him, and the Ráí, having

[1] [Sir H. Elliot considers Nímroz to be the name of the king, but it is quite open to read the words "Bádsháh Nímroz" as "king of Nímroz." This reading seems preferable, and has been adopted in the translation of the Chach-náma, p. 139.]

advanced to the borders of Kích to meet it, selected a field of battle. The flame of war blazed from morn to midday, when an arrow pierced the neck of the Ráí, so that he died. King Nímroz, after plundering the camp, returned to his own country. The army of Siharas assembled in a body, and seated his son Sáhasí upon the throne.

"*Ráí Sáhasí II.* excelled his ancestors in estimable qualities. Having, within a short time, settled affairs within the borders of his kingdom, he enjoyed rest and peace in his capital. He remitted the taxes of his subjects, on condition that they should raise (or repair) the earthwork of six forts: viz., Uchh, Mátela, Seoráí, Mad (or Mau), Alor, and Siwistán. He had a chamberlain named Rám, and a minister mamed Budhíman. One day, Chach, son of Síláij, a Brahman of high caste, came to Rám, the chamberlain, who was so pleased with his society, that he introduced him to the minister."

The names of these rulers are thus given by Capt. Postans, in two different papers in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and on the authority of the same work, the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* :—

No. cxi, 1841, p. 185.—"Rahee Dewahey, Rahee Siheersin, Rahee Sahursee, Rahee Siheersin the 2nd, Rahee Sahee."

No. clviii. 1845, p. 79.—"Rahi Dawahij, Sahiras, Rahi Sahasi, Rahi Sahiras the 2nd, Rahi Sahasi the 2nd."

In an earlier number of the same *Journal* (No. lxxiv. Feb., 1838, p. 93), James Prinsep observed, "*Diwaij* seems a corruption of *dwija* 'the Brahman;' and *Sahurs* resembles much the genitive *sáhasa* of our Saurashtra coins, of whom the first is a *swámiputra*, or son of a Brahman; but the date seems too recent. See Vol. VI. p. 385." But it appears from the passage just quoted, that it was a Bráhman dynasty which superseded the family of Díwáij, and there is no reason to suppose that Díwáij was himself a member of that caste.

The same Persian work, from which the above extract is taken, states that the reigns of these five Ráís lasted for the long period of one hundred and thirty-seven years, and that Chach, by his victory over Mahrat, Ráná of Chitor, established himself on the throne about he first year of the Hijra. It will be seen from the following Note, hat as this date must of necessity have been placed too early,

the year 10 H. has been preferred, as the era of Chach's accession, and the extinction of the Ráí dynasty.

Pottinger, on the authority of a native work called the *Majma'-i Wáridát*, states that the dynasty had endured for two thousand years; which, as we know from Ptolemy and the Periplus that the country was subject to frequent revolutions at the early period of our era, and at the time of Alexander was under no single ruler, must be regarded as pure fiction. If we allow that there were really five reigns, there is no great improbability in assuming 137 years, as above mentioned, for the correct period of their duration; and thus we should obtain the Christian year 495 as that in which the dynasty commenced.

It is generally assumed that Khusrú Naushírwán was the king of Persia by whom Siharas II. was slain; but as Naushírwán died in 479 A.D., it would leave, at the very least, 53 years necessary for the reign of Sáhasí II.—even supposing that his predecessor was killed in the very last year of Naushírwán, which we know cannot have been the case, as that potentate had been, for some time previous, employed in the western portion of his large empire. It is therefore quite evident, that king Nímroz[1] has been wrongly interpreted to mean that great Persian monarch; and we must therefore use Nímroz in its usual application of Sijistán, and allow the opponent of Siharas to be no more formidable a personage than the governor, or ruler, of that province; or, if we must necessarily have a Persian king—notwithstanding that no one of the name of Nímroz ever sat on the throne—then Khusrú Parvíz (591-628 A.D.) an equally great conqueror, would answer all the requirements better; for we know that the eastern provinces towards the Indus revolted in the reign of Hormuz, his father and predecessor, and his recovery of them seems indicated by his having 960 elephants in his train—which could only have been procured from India.

Doubtless, Naushírwán did invade Sind or its borders,—because the fact is vouched for by unquestionable authority in the best

[1] In one passage he is styled "Bádsháh Nímroz," and a few lines afterwards "Sháh Fárs Nímroz." It will be seen from a passage quoted in the succeeding note, that Hormuz is represented as "the son of Fárs" in the *Chach-náma*; it would appear therefore that in that work "Fárs" is identical with "Naushírwán."

Persian annalists, and is shown by the relations, political, commercial, and literary, which appear then to have arisen between Persia and India; but it must have been during one of the earlier reigns of this dynasty; or if during the reign of Siharas II., it must have preceded the attack which resulted in that monarch's death. That he and Naushírwán were contemporary, during some portion of their reigns, is by no means improbable—for the latter reigned 48 years; and if we allow 40 for the reign of Sáhasí II., and 40 likewise for the reign of Siharas II.—the same period which Chach enjoyed, though his first years were signalized by internal rebellions and foreign invasions—we shall then find the 20 first years of Siharas's correspond with the 20 last years of Naushírwán's reign.[1]

It would detain us too long to enter upon any speculations respecting the country and race whence this dynasty derived its origin. I will merely remark, that the Scythian barbarians from Sind, who expelled the Gehlotes from Balabhipúra in the beginning of the sixth century,—the Yue-tchi, who re-established themselves on the Indus about the same time,—the Ephthalites, or white Huns, whom Cosmas declares at that period to have ruled upon the banks of that river,—and the Sáh dynasty of Suráshtra,—all offer points of relation, comparison, and contact, to which a separate dissertation might be devoted.[2]

[1] Compare Firdúsí, *Shdh-náma*, ed. Macan, p. 1632; Pottinger, *Travels in Belochistan*, p. 386; Schlegel, *Indische Biblioth.*, Vol. I. p. 203; De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, Tom. II. p. 469; Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, Vol. I. p. 141; Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. pp. 232-9; C. F. Richter, *über die Arsac. und Sassan. Dyn.* ap. *Erdk. v. Asien*, Vol. IV. part i., p. 524; Gladwin, *Ayeen Akbery*, Vol. II. p. 118; *As. Res.*, Vol. IX.; *Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. III. p. 385; Elphinstone, *Hist. of India*, Vol. I. p. 400; Bohlen, *das alte Indien*. Vol. II.; *Ancient Univ. Hist.* Vol. IX. pp. 305-9, 312, 318; L. Dubeux, *L'Univers Pittoresque*, "La Perse," pp. 327, 328.

[2] Melch. Thévenot, *Rec. d. Voyages curieux*, Part i. pp. 21, 22; Montfaucon, *Coll. nova Patrum*, Vol. II. pp. 132, 179, 337-9; *As. Res.*, Vol. IX. p. 113; Tod, *Ann. of Raj.*, Vol. I. pp. 216-9; II. 311-2; *Western India*, pp, 83, 147-9, 214, 268, 271; Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 407; T. Benfey, *Indien*; Lassen, *Indische Alterthums.*, Vol. II.; F. Baudry, *Encycl. Moderne*, Tom. XVIII., col. 153; Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes*, p. xxx.; *Mém. sur. l'Inde*, pp. 104, 124-7; *Journal A. S. B.*, Vol. IV. pp. 480, 684; VI. 338; 1837, pp. 377, *et seq.*; *Journal R. A. S.*, Vol. IV. p. 398; VI. 351, 439; B. Nicholson, *ib.*, Vol. XIII. pp. 146-163; V. de St. Martin, *Études de Géographie ancienne*, Tom. I., p. 245; Thomas' Prinsep.

The Bráhman Dynasty.

Though we have no reason to complain of any want of detail respecting the political transactions of this dynasty, yet we are left in considerable doubt respecting the chronological adjustment of the few reigns which it comprises, and even the very name of Chach is a subject of some uncertainty. Gladwin has "Juj;"[1] Briggs has "Huj;"[2] the two Manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Royale have "Hoj;"[3] Reinaud spells the name "Tchotch;"[4] Renouard leans to "Jaj," as he considers it a corruption of Yajnya;[5] S. de Sacy gives reasons for considering it to be "Hijaj;"[6] Pottinger writes "Chach;"[7] and he is followed by all English authors. This is certainly in conformity with native usage, and we have several existing instances of the same combination—as Chachpúr, Cháchar, Cháchagám, Chachí, Chachar, and similar names of places in the valley of Indus.

It is to this usurper I am disposed to attribute the introduction of the game of chess to the western world; and this question invites us to some further considerations respecting the correct mode of writing his name. Although Firdúsí informs us, that it was an ambassador of the king of Kanauj who introduced this game at the court of Naushírwán,[8] the statement of Ibn Khallikán seems more to be relied on, when he says that Sassa, son of Dáhir,[9] invented the game during the reign of the Persian king Sháhrám. It is true that we have to notice here an error in the parentage, as well as a contradiction with himself; for, in another place, he assigns the invention to Balhít, whom he makes a contemporary of Ardashír, son of Bábak, who reigned four centuries before Sháhrám[10]—but the main statement seems to be upheld by independent testimony, and it

[1] *Ayeen Akbery*, Vol. II. p. 119. [2] *Ferishta*, Vol. IV. p. 401.

[3] *Fragments Arabes*, p. xxvii. [4] *Ibid.* and *Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 125-153.

[5] *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, v. "Scind."

[6] *Journal des Savants*, 1840, p. 225. [7] *Travels in Belochistan*, pp. 317-9.

[8] *Sháh-náma*, ed. Macan; Vol. IV. pp. 1719-1734.—Hyde, *Historia Shahiludii*, pp. 69-92, reprinted in the *Syntagma dissertationum*, Vol. II.—Freret, *Mém. de l'Acad.*, Tom V. p. 250.—Görres, *Heldenbuch von Iran*, Vol. II., p. 452.—Bohlen, *das alte Indien*, Vol. II. p. 67, *et seq.*

[9] According to the Chach-náma (p. 152) Chach was the son of Síláíj, son of Basábas.

[10] De Slane, *Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. III. p. 71, *et seq.*; Gildemeister, *de reb. Indicis*, p. 141; Hyde, *ut suprà*; N. Bland, *Journal R. A. S*, Vol. XIII. pp. 13, 14, 20, 26, 62. [D. Forbes, *History of Chess.*]

will be seen, from Tabarí's sequence of these Persian reigns, that Chach must necessarily have been contemporary with Sháhrám, or Shahr Írán, or Shahriyár, as he is otherwise called.

The name of "Sassa" assumes the various forms of "Sissa," "Sahsaha," "Súsá," "Sísa," and "Sa'sa'." Mr. Bland, in his learned article quoted below, says they are all obviously corruptions of Xerxes, or of a name which has served as its origin—not the Persian king, but a philosopher so named, who is said by Polydore Virgil and others to have flourished in the reign of Evil-Merodach at Babylon. I look upon this as too recondite, and consider that the transposition of the parentage above alluded to, as given by Ibn Khallikán [and Biláduri[1]], is more than countervailed by the superior authority of Tabarí; who, while he omits all notice of Chach, under that identical name, yet mentions Sassa, (who cannot possibly be meant for any other person than Chach), and speaks of Dáhir, his son, as being his successor.[2] Firishta also speaks of Dáhir as the son of Sa'sa', so that we are fully entitled to consider "Sassa," as the Arabic mode of representing "Chach"—just as we have "Shanak" for the Hindí "Chank," "Shatranj" for "Chatur-anga, "Sín" for "Chín," "Shásh" for "Chách," a town on the Jíhún,[3] and many other similar conversions in the Arabic—since, there being no palatine letter corresponding with *ch* in that language, recourse can only be had to the sibilants; as may frequently be observed even in the Persian also, where no such necessity exists.[4]

Another preliminary question to settle respecting Chach, relates to his tribe and descent. There could have been no hesitation on this point, had it not been for the Chinese traveller, Hwen Tsang, who states that, at the time of his visit to Sind, the king was of the "Shu-to-lo" race.[5] This has been variously interpreted to mean a "Kshattríya,"[6] a "Súdra,"[7] and a Rájpút of the "Chatur," or

1 [Biláduri mentions "Sasa," "son of Dahir," *ante*, p. 125.]

2 Tabarí, in *Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 176, 179.

3 *Sháh-náma*, ed. Macan, pp. 982, 1659; *Géogr. d'Abou-l Féda*, texte Arabe, p. 494.

4 See J. A. Vullers, *Institut. Linguæ Persicæ cum Sansc. et Zend. comparatæ*, pp. 18, 26, 47.

5 *Foe-koue-ki*, ed. Remusat, p. 393.

6 "Rex e stirpe Xatrorum;" Gildemeister, *de reb Ind.*, p. 14.

7 "Le roi, qui, sans doute, etait Tchotch, appartenait à la caste des Soudra;" Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 153. [See Stanislas Julien, Hwuen Thsang, Tome II., 170.]

"Chitor," tribe.[1] This latter is on the supposition that it refers to the king who was succeeded by Chach, and who was related to the ruler of Chitor—but this is not admissible, for the Chinese Buddhist did not commence his travels till 628 A.D.,[2] and after traversing the whole of Chinese Tartary, Turkistán, Northern Afghánistán, Kashmír, the valley of the Ganges, the Eastern and Western Coasts of the Peninsula, and Guzerát, could not have reached Sind much before 640, when Chach was fully established upon the throne. If we could introduce the traveller into Sind before Chach's accession, I should prefer "Kshatriya," or the modernized "Chattrí," to any other interpretation of "Shu-to-lo,"—but, seeing that not a single Chinese name within, or on the borders of Sind, admits of any positive identification, we need not trouble ourselves about the meaning of this doubtful word. Our Arab and Persian authorities leave us no room to doubt that Chach was a Bráhman—at least by descent, if not also by religious persuasion; and the present Sársut (Sáraswata) Bráhmans of Sind claim him as one of their progenitors.

[According to the *Chach-náma*, Chach was a Brahman who was introduced to Sáhasí Ráí by his Chamberlain. Being taken into service, he won the confidence of the Ráí, and the more tender regards of the Rání, his wife. He became Chamberlain, and, on the death of the Ráí, he ascended the vacant throne, and married the widow, whose love he had previously rejected. The irregular succession provoked the resentment of Mahrat, chief of Jaipúr (or Chitor), a relation of the deceased Ráí, who marched with his army to destroy the usurper and recover "his inheritance." In great perplexity Chach conferred with the Rání, who shamed him into resistance by proposing to change garments, and herself to lead the army against the foe. Chach then went forth to battle, and when the forces met, Mahrat came forward and proposed, as the matter was purely a personal one, to settle the dispute by single combat. Chach represented that he was a Brahman, and unaccustomed to fight on horseback. His magnanimous foe then alighted to meet

[1] Lt. Burton, *Sindh*, p. 380.

[2] Klaproth says he travelled between 630 and 660.—*Reise des Chinesischen Buddhapriesters H. T.* etc. Reinaud says, between 628 and 645—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 149.—M. Stan. Julien, in his valuable translation just published (1853), fixes the period more accurately between 629 and 645.

him on equal terms, when Chach treacherously sprung upon his horse and slew his adversary before he could recover from the surprise. After this Chach appears to have felt no Brahmanical repugnance to war and bloodshed.]

With respect to the period of his reign, we learn from the *Chach-náma* (p. 151) that Chach in or about the year 2 H.—and about the fourth year after his accession[1]—advanced to Kirmán, being instigated to that measure by the fact of the Persian throne being then occupied by a woman.

Again, we learn (MS. p. 70) that Chach had been ruler of Sind for thirty-five years, when Mughaira attacked Debal, some time between the years 13 and 16 H.

After Chach had reigned forty years, he was succeeded by his brother Chandar, who died in the eighth year of his reign (p. 152–4).

Chandar was succeeded by his nephew Dáhir, who was slain in the month of Ramazán, 93 H. (p. 170).

The *Tárikh-i Sind* (MS. pp. 14-30) has briefly abstracted the account in the *Chach-náma*, but has given no date throughout, and has carelessly omitted all notice of Chandar.

The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* gives a far better abstract of the *Chach-náma*. It represents (MS. p. 6) that Chach, after killing Mahrat, the prince of Chitor, established himself on the throne in the year 1 H.—that he reigned forty years (*ib.*)—that Chandar, who succeeded him, died in the eighth year of his reign (*ib.*)—that Dáhir was killed in the year 93 H., after having reigned thirty-three years (MS. p. 15)—and that the whole period of the Bráhman dynasty lasted ninety-two years (*ib.*)—which, however, is a manifest inconsistency, because in the detail, no more than eighty-one years, at the most, are assigned to the three reigns.

There seems reason to believe that these discrepancies can be reconciled by two very slight corrections in the reading of the *Chach-náma*.

Instead of "thirty-five years," in the first quotation, we should

[1] It may be proper in this place to remark, that Al Bírúní mentions the establishment of a Sindian era, which commences with the winter solstice of 625 A.D.—3 A.H. As M. Reinaud justly remarks, that the commencement of a new era generally indicates a change of dynasty, he is disposed to attribute the establishment of the Bráhman dynasty to this year.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 147.

read "three *or* five years," as the period that Chach had reigned, when Mughaira attacked Debal. The form of expression is very common in denoting an indefinite period; and, as the disjunctive particle *or* is, in such uses of distributive numerals, always omitted, the difference in the reading becomes scarcely perceptible.

And in the first quotation, instead of "about the year 2 H.," I would read "about the year 10 H."—*dah* for *do*. The reading of *do* is quite out of the question, for there certainly was no female reign at so early a period as the second year of the Hijra, and none even before the tenth, if indeed so early. The confusion respecting these ephemeral reigns of the later Sassanians is notorious, and especially respecting the order of the three queens, Túrán-dukht, Azurmi-dukht, and Dukht-zanán—the last of whom is generally altogether omitted, and is perhaps identical with Azurmi-dukht;—but no author attempts to place either of them before 10 A.H. Now, since the *Chach-náma* represents that the queen mentioned by him was one of the successors of Kisra-bin-Hormuz-bin-Fárs, who had been murdered—alluding, of course, to Khusrú Parvíz—and since we learn from a passage in Tabarí that one of Kisrá's daughters was Dukht-zanán, who succeeded to the Persian throne for a short time in the year 13 H.;—and since the *Rauzatu-s Safá* assigns the reign of Túrán-dukht, another of his daughters, to the year 14 H.;—we may assume as certain that the expedition of Chach towards Kirmán occurred in one or other of those years.[1]

These simple emendations bring us close enough to the truth, to satisfy us with respect to the general accuracy of the *Chach-náma*. Where there is so much room for doubt, and where even Tabarí is not quite consistent with himself, or in conformity with others, even if the *Chach-náma* should be in error three or four years—and we have no right to assume that such is the case—there would still be no ground for impeaching the veracity of that valuable chronicle; and we are thus enabled with considerable confidence to assign to each event of the Bráhman dynasty of Sind its proper date, according to the Hijra computation.[2]

[1] As all three queens—if, indeed, there were three—were daughters of Khusrú Parvíz, and as all their reigns are comprised within two, or, at most, three years, it matters little which we select.

[2] For the doubts which prevail respecting the proper period, sequence, and names

	A.H.
The accession of Chach to the throne of Sind	10
His expedition to Kirmán, in the fourth year	14
Mughaira's attack, in the fifth year	15
Chach's death, after a reign of forty entire years.........	51
Chandar's death, in the eighth year of his reign	59
Dáhir's death, after a reign of thirty-three entire years	93

The advances of the Arabs towards Sind.[1]

Scarcely had Muhammad expired, when his followers and disciples, issuing from their naked deserts, where they had hitherto robbed their neighbours and quarrelled amongst themselves, hastened to convert their hereditary feuds into the spirit of unanimity and brotherly love. Their energies, at all times impetuous, were now solely concentrated upon executing the injunctions of the "king of fierce countenance, understanding dark sentences,"[2] that they should enforce belief at the point of the sword, which was emphatically declared to be "the key of heaven and of hell."[3] Terror and devastation, murder and rapine, accompanied their progress, in fulfilment of the prophetic denunciation of Daniel, that this descendant

of the Sassanian princes between Siroes and Yazdijird, see—besides Mírkhond, Khondamír, and the Persian authorities—J. S. Assemanni, *Bibliotheca Orient. Clement.-Vat.*, Tom. III., p. 419; Eutychii *Annales*, Vol. II. pp. 253, 357, 408; Malcolm, *History of Persia*; Dubeux, *L'Univers Pittoresque*, "La Perse," pp. 333-6; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, Vol. I. pp. 63-65, and the Tables in the *Ancient Univ. Hist.*, Vol. IX. pp. 211-277; Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Biog.*, v. "Sassanides;" Moreri, *Grand Diction. Historique*, Tom. IV., p. 136, v. "Perse;" D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Or.*, v. "Sassanian," and *Enc. Metrop.* "Early Or. Hist.," p. 414. [Mordtmann in *Zeitschrift. D. M. G.*, Vols. VIII. and XII.; M. K. Patkanian in *Jour. Asiatique*, 1866, p. 220.]

[1] [A note in Sir H. Elliot's private copy shows that he intended to revise this article, after an examination of Tabarí, and, in fact, to make Tabarí's account the basis of his own. The editor was at first disposed to realize as far as possible this intention, but as the whole of Tabarí's history is now in course of translation, and will ere long be published, under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society, it has seemed preferable to let Sir H. Elliot's work stand as he himself penned it. There is in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society a MS. History of Sind, from the commencement of the Arab conquest. It enters into full details drawn, like Sir H. Elliot's, from Sindian authorities.]

[2] *Daniel*, ch. viii. 23.

[3] Compare Chapters ii., iv., viii., ix., xxii., xlvii., lxi., etc., of the *Korán*. See also Sale, *Kurán*, Prelim. Disc., p. 194; Lane, *Selections from the Kurán*, p. 70; Reland, *De Jure Militari Moham.*, p. 5, *et seq.*

of Ishmael[1] "shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practice, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people; and through his policy, also, he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand; and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and stand up against the Prince of Princes."[2]

And so it was, that, within twenty years, they made themselves masters of Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Persia. The conquest of Persia was a mere prelude to further extension in the east; and though a more difficult and inhospitable country, as well as internal dissensions, checked their progress for some years afterwards, yet it was not in the nature of things to be expected that they should long delay their attacks upon the rich and idolatrous country of India, which offered so tempting a bait to their cupidity and zeal. Accordingly, attention was early directed to this quarter, and it will be our business now, in collecting some of the incidental and scattered notices which betray the settled purpose of the Arabs to obtain a footing in India, to trace the slow but certain progress of their arms, until it issued in the conquest of Sind by Muhammed Kásim.

Abú Bakr, A.H. 11–13. A.D. 632–634.
'Umar, A.H. 13–23. A.D. 634–643.

Under the Khiláfat of 'Umar,—A.H. 15 or 16,—a military expedition set out from 'Umán, to pillage the coasts of India. It appears to have proceeded as far as Tána, in Bombay. As 'Umar had not been consulted on the expedition, he forbad that any more should be undertaken to such distant parts; and to 'Usmán Bin Ásí Sakifí, governor of Bahrain and 'Umán, under whose orders the piratical vessels had been despatched, he signified his displeasure in very marked terms:—"Had our party," he wrote, "been defeated,

[1] Gibbon's gratuitous scepticism respecting the Ishmaelitish origin of the Arabians has been well exposed in App. I. to Forster's *Mahometanism Unveiled.* See also Faber's *Calendar of Prophecy*, and Fry's *Second Advent of Christ.* Occasionally, however, these authors carry the argument too far. Brucker has also arraigned the Bible genealogy of the Arabs, *Hist. Crit. Philosph.*, Vol. I. p. 214. Muhammad's own Ishmaelitish descent may admit of doubt; but that does not affect the question respecting the Arabs in the northern part of the peninsula. See Sprenger, *Life of Muhammed*, p. 18; Sale, *ubi supr.* p. 11; Reinaud's Sarrazins, 231.

[2] *Daniel*, ch. viii. 24, 25.

be assured that I would have taken from your own tribe as many men as had been killed and put them all to death" (*supra* p. 116).

About the same time, Hakam, the brother of 'Usmán, who had been placed in charge of Bahrain, sent an expedition against Broach, and despatched his brother, Mughaira Abíu-l 'Ásí, to the bay of Debal, where he encountered and defeated his opponents, according to the *Futúhu-l Buldán* (*supra*, p. 116); but the *Chach-náma* represents that he was slain. That work also mentions that the naval squadron was accompanied by troops, that Debal was occupied by merchants, and that the governor, Sámba, son of Díwáij, had been nominated to that post by Chach, who at that time had ruled thirty-five[1] years in Sind (MS. p. 70).[2]

Shortly after, Abú Músá Asha'rí, who had been one of the companions of the prophet, and was otherwise conspicuous in the history of that period, was appointed governor of 'Irák (Basra), when Rábi, bin Ziyád Hárisí, one of his officers, was sent to Makrán and Kirmán. Orders were also despatched to Abú Músa, from the capital of the empire, directing him to afford all the information in his power respecting Hind, and the countries leading to it. As he had lately learnt the disastrous result of Mughaira's expedition, he wrote in reply to say, that "the king of Hind and Sind was powerful and contumacious, following the path of unrighteousness, and that sin dwelt in his heart." Upon which, he received peremptory orders not by any means to enter upon a holy war with that country.[3]

It is notorious that 'Umar had always a particular horror of naval expeditions, and it is probable that it arose from this untoward defeat. This repugnance is usually attributed to a later period, when, upon the conquest of Egypt by 'Amrú bin 'Ásí, the Khalif wrote to his lieutenant for a description of the sea; who replied:—"The sea is a great pool, which some senseless people furrow, looking like worms upon logs of wood." On receipt of this answer, it is said, 'Umar forbad all navigation amongst the Musulmáns, and transgressors were severely punished. Mu'áwiya was the first

[1] *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 9; Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*, Vol. II. p. 118; *Memoire sur l'Inde*, p. 170.

[2] [This is the statement of the MS., but in page 412 reasons are given for proposing to read "3 or 5" instead of 35.]

[3] *Chach-náma*, MS. p. 70.

Khalif under whom this prohibition was relaxed, and who despatched maritime expeditions against the enemies of his empire. The original cause of the restriction was probably that which has been already indicated, and its continuance may perhaps be ascribed to the unskilfulness of the Arabs upon the element to which the subjects of the Greek empire were accustomed from their birth. Had the Musulmáns along the shores of the Mediterranean been as expert as the Arab navigators of the Indian ocean, there would have been no need to feel alarm at the result of actions upon the high seas.[1]

In the year 22 H., 'Abdú-lla bin 'Ámar bin Rabí' invaded Kirmán, and took the capital, Kuwáshír,[2] so that the aid of "the men of Kúj and Balúj"[3] was solicited in vain by the Kirmánís. He then penetrated to Sístán, or Sijistán, and besieged the governor in his capital, who sued for peace when he found that "his city was as a tent without ropes." After this he advanced towards Makrán. In vain, also, did the chief of that country obtain the aid of the ruler of Sind, for their united armies were surprised and defeated in a night attack. With an ardour augmented by his success, 'Abdu-lla requested leave to cross the Indus; but the Khalif, true to his cautious policy, which restrained his lieutenants both on the northern and western frontiers, opposed this still more distant adventure.[4]

The invasions of this year are confirmed by Hasan bin Muhammad Shírází, who is a careful writer; but the names of the generals are differently represented. "In the year 22 H. Sijistán was conquered by 'Amrú bin al Tamímí and 'Abdu-lla bin 'Umar Khattáb. In this year also, Makrán was conquered by 'Abdu-lla bin 'Abdu-lla bin 'Unán, who had moved against that place from Kirmán. The ruler, who in the native language was styled Zanbíl, and was also king of Sind, was killed."[5]

[1] A passage in Procopius, *Bell Pers.*, i. 19, 20, seems to show that, in the time of Justinian, the Homerites of the Erythræan sea were no great navigators. The question has been examined in another note.

[2] See Vuller's *Geschichte der Seldschuken*, p. 75.

[3] The Arabic and Persian Lexicons say, they were barbarous tribes, inhabiting the mountainous borders of Makrán, and descended from the Arabs of Hijjáz. In the latter are of course to be recognized the modern Bulúch.

[4] *Tárikh-i Guzída*, quoted in *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 171.

[5] *Muntakhabu-t Tawáríkh*, under the Khiláfat of Umar. The name of Zanbíl will be treated of under the History of the Ghaznivides.

The names are otherwise given in the *Habíbu-s Siyar.* Kirmán was conquered by Suhail bin Udí and 'Abdu-lla bin Autibán, Sijistán by 'Asim bin 'Amrú Tamímí, and Makrán by Hakkam bin 'Amar Saulbí. The conquests are also ascribed to a year later. Shohrug, the lieutenant of Fárs, was forced to yield his province to the victorious Musulmáns; upon which, Mujáshia bin Mas'ud took possession of the cities of Sirján and Jíruft, while 'Usmán bin Abíu-l 'Así advanced to Istakhar. In the same quarter, Sauria bin Zanním, employed with a separate division on the route from Istakhar to Kirmán, experienced a more determined resistance. In besieging one of the strongholds into which the natives had thrown themselves, he was suddenly attacked by a sally from the garrison, as well as by a numerous body of Kurds who had advanced to their relief, and was only saved through the aid of a miracle. In the end, however, the Musulmáns were victorious. These are evidently all the same transactions, disguised by change of names,—the "Kurds" of the *Habíbu-s Siyar* being the "Kúj" of the *Guzída.*

Dr. Weil, following Tabarí, gives other variations, and remarks upon Abú-l Fidá's and Elmacin's (Al Makín's) omission of the conquest of the Persian provinces in the south. The general's name is 'Abdu-lla bin Attab. "Kufej," or "Kufess," is given instead of "Kúj." The invasion of Makrán is ascribed to 23 H., in which same year, it is said, the conquest of Fárs was brought to a conclusion. The capture of Shíráz is also mentioned, although it is ordinarily supposed not to have been built till seventy years afterwards by Muhammad Kásim.[1]

'Usmán, A.H. 23–35. A.D. 643–655.

'Usmán bin Abíu-l 'Así was not very rapid in his conquest of the province of Fárs, for he was repulsed before Istakhar, and it is not till the year 26 H., that we find him taking Kázerún and the still famous Kila'-i sufed, or white fort, between Istakhar and the Persian Gulph.[2] The whole province does not seem to have been reduced till 28 H.

In A.H. 30, a formidable insurrection took place at Istakhar, when

[1] *Geschichte der Chalifen,* Vol. I. pp. 95-98.
[2] Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 2; Price, 139, 156. *Rauzatu-s Safá*

the Musulmán governor fell a victim to the fury of the people. The fugitive king of Persia, Yazdijird, hastened to the scene, in the hope of retrieving his miserable fortunes; but after being nearly surprised among the ruined columns of the ancient palace, he was defeated with great loss by 'Abdu-lla bin 'Umar and 'Usmán, near that capital, and compelled to fly to Kirmán, and afterwards to Sijistán and Khurásán. The citadel of Istakhar was carried by assault, and many of the ancient Persian nobility, who had sought an asylum within that fortress, were put to the sword.[1]

During the next year, the pursuit of Yazdijird was followed up into Khurásán under 'Abdu-lla bin 'Ámar, then governor of Basra, after obtaining the permission of the Khalif to advance into that country. The southern provinces of the Caspian not having yet been finally conquered, it was considered the more feasible route to march by way of Fárs and the borders of Kirmán, and so advance through the desert. A rebellion which then existed in the latter province was quelled by a detachment of one thousand horse under Mujáshia. Rabí' bin Ziyád Hárisí was, at the same time, despatched to secure the obedience of Sijistán, in which province he received the submission of the metropolis, Zaranj; and 'Abdu-lla himself, having compelled the city of Tabbas to surrender on capitulation, entered the Kohistán, where he met with a sturdy resistance; but ultimately, with the assistance of Ahnaf bin Kais, he took Hirát, Sarakhs, Tálikán, Balkh, Tukháristán, and Naishápúr, and brought the whole province of Khurásán under subjection.[2]

Firishta attributes to the following year a proselyting expedition to the eastward, which is said to have been despatched from Baghdád; but as that town was not built for more than a century afterwards, no great value can attach to his sources of information. Baghdád did not become the seat of the Khiláfat till the time of Abú Ja'far Al Mansúr, in 148 A.H. 765 A.D. The three first Khalifs established themselves at Medína. 'Ali, in 36 H., chose Kúfa as his metropolis; and in 41 H., the Ummayides constituted Damascus

[1] Abulpharagii *Dynast*, p. 116; *Habibu-s Siyar*; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I. p. 163; but compare also the Appendix, p. vii., in Vol. III., where the circumstances are stated differently, after Biláduri.

[2] Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 3; Price, *Retrospect of Mahommedan History*, Vol. I. p. 161; Biláduri, in *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I., Anhang, pp. ix., x.

their capital: and so it continued during the whole period of their dynasty, which expired in 132 H., when Abú-l Abbás seated himself at Anbár, on the Euphrates;[1] and his successor, Al Mansúr, after remaining a few years at Háshimíya, in the same neighbourhood, finally established himself at Baghdád, where the seat of the Khiláfat continued, with occasional transfers to Sámarrá, till its extinction by Hulákú in 656 H.—1258 A.D.

The same kind of error frequently occurs in Persian authors respecting the government of 'Irák, or of the two 'Iráks, 'Arabí and 'Ajamí, in writing of the period treated of in this note. It was seldom that the government of the two 'Iráks, and rarely that the whole of even 'Irák-i 'Arabí, was centred in the same individual. This province, which may be considered to correspond with Babylonia, contained the two chief military cantonments of Kúfa and Basra. The former town was of some antiquity, and the seat of an Arabian prince before the time of Muhammad; but the latter was founded in A.H. 15, chiefly with the view of interrupting the communication with the Persian Gulph, and preventing the flight of the royal family of Persia by the sea route to India.[2]

It was not till the time of Mu'áwiya, that these two important places were entrusted to the charge of one person. By him their government was bestowed upon his bastard brother, Ziyád, of whom we shall find frequent mention in the following paragraphs. By the succeeding Khalif they were, after some interval, conferred upon 'Ubaidu-lla bin Ziyád.[3] The two governments were once more combined in the person of Hajjáj, who was invested with greater power than any of his predecessors.[4]

[1] This was the original capital of the kings of Híra, before they removed to the latter town. It was destroyed by the soldiers of Julian. Respecting its position, see Dr. Gustav. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I. p. 35. Its successive ruins at various periods are to be seen the Castle of Felugia. See also D'Anville, *L'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 71; D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*, v. "Coufah."

[2] Compare Weil, *Gesch. der Chal.*, Vol. I. pp. 39, 72, 75, 84, and Anhang, p. ix.; Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. X.; Renouard, Art. "Persia," in *Encyclop. Metropolitana*; Preston, *Makámát of Al Harírí*, p. 37.

[3] *Supra*, p. 117; Ockley, *History of the Saracens*, pp. 369, 387, 391.

[4] The succession to these governments may be traced in the following passages of the first volume of Price's *Mohammedan History;* Kúfa, pp. 128, 137, 152, 153, 168, 184, 191, 192, 262, 379, 383-9, 392, 426, 445, 524, 536, 543; Basra, pp. 123, 146, 159, 164, 184, 191, 192, 230, 349, 379, 381, 385, 389, 392, 429, 439, 446, 451,

To revert to the eastern conquests—Dárábgard, which together with Fasá was taken in 23 H., subsequently revolted, and was again taken in 28 H.[1]

Abdu-lla 'A'mar, who was a cousin of the Khalif, and had succeeded the popular Abú Músá Asha'rí in the government of Basra, thinking the opportunity favourable for extending the Muhammadan conquests in the east, obtained permission to detach Hakím bin Jaballa al 'Abdí to explore Sijistán and Makrán, as well as the countries bordering on the valley of the Indus; but it appears that Hakím reported so unfavourably of the vast regions which he examined, that all idea of conquest in that direction was abandoned.—"Water is scarce, the fruits are poor, and the robbers are bold. If few troops are sent there they will be slain; if many, they will starve" (*supra*, p. 116). The discord which prevailed among the Musulmáns after the death of 'Usmán, was an additional reason for not prosecuting any adventures in so remote a region; but private adventure does not seem to have been debarred, and was, no doubt, prosecuted under the tacit consent of the Khalif.[2]

'Alí, A.H. 35–40. A.D. 655–660.
Hasan, A.H. 40–41. A.D. 660–661.

Under the succeeding reign of 'Alí, it is related, on the authority of 'A'mar bin Háris bin 'Abdu-l Kais, that Tághar bin Dá'ir was appointed to the charge of the frontier of Hind, and an army was placed under his command, comprising a select body of nobles and chiefs. Towards the close of the year 38 H., they marched by way of Bahraj and Koh-Páya, obtaining on the road great booty and many slaves, until they reached the mountains of Kaikán, or Kaikánán, where they met with a stout resistance from the inhabitants, of whom no less than twenty thousand had assembled to intercept their progress through the passes. But when the Arabs shouted out "Alláhu akbar," and their voices re-echoed from the hills to the right and left, the infidels, hearing these shouts of triumph, were

460, 529, 543, 548. And in the first volume of Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen*; Kufa, pp. 85, 135, 171-2, 176, 195, 369, 411, 428, Anh. p. vi.; Basra, pp. 72, 173, 195, 269, 277, 353, 366, 411, 611.

1 Biláduri, ap. Weil, *Gesch. der Chal.*, Vol. I. Anhang, p. ix.

2 *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 172; *Chach-náma*, MS. p. 72; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 9.

confounded and alarmed. Some came forward and embraced Islám, and the rest took precipitately to flight. From that time to the present, says the credulous author, voices proclaiming that God is great, "Alláhu akbar," are heard at the same season throughout these mountains. It was upon this occasion that Háris bin Marra, distinguished himself by his bravery. "They were engaged in this victory when they were informed of the martyrdom of 'Alí; and on their return, when they arrived at Makrán, they learnt that Mu'áwiya bin Abí Sufyán, was Khalif.[1]

This is, no doubt, the same expedition which Biláduri (p. 116) attributes to Harab bin Marra Al 'Abdí,—that is, a man of the ancient and powerful tribe of *'Abdu-l Kais* (the *Abucæi* of Ptolemy), which was established in Bahrain, and devoted itself chiefly to piracies on the high seas. The same country has always been prolific of such enterprises, until they were effectually repressed by the British Government in India. The name of Al 'Abdí shows that the preceding narrative is founded on the authority of a member of that tribe, and 'Ámar, being perhaps a son of the very Háris, the hero of the story, family pride may have suppressed all notice of the defeat. Harab's adventure commenced and ended at the same times which are mentioned in the preceding paragraph, but the result is represented very differently. At the opening of the campaign, he was so successful, that in a single day he divided one thousand captives amongst his adherents. Nevertheless, he was in the end completely defeated in the country of Kaikán, and only a few Arabs survived to tell the tale of their disasters.

Col. Tod mentions that the generals of 'Alí made conquests within the kingdom of Sind itself, which were abandoned at that Khalif's death; but he does not give his authority for this improbable statement.[2]

DYNASTY OF THE UMMAYIDES.

A.H. 41–132. A.D. 661–750.

1. *Mu'áwiya*, A.H. 41–60. A.D. 661–679.

Under the Khiláfat of Mu'áwiya, the first of the Ummayides, we

[1] *Chach-náma*, MS., p. 73; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., p. 9.
[2] *Annals of Rájasthán*, Vol. I., p. 242.

are informed by a respectable authority, that 'Abdu-r Rahmán conquered Sind in the year 42 H.[1] It seems, however, probable that the expedition here alluded to is the one which occurred two years later, under Muhallab, one of 'Abdu-r Rahmán's officers, and which is more fully recorded in a subsequent Note upon the advances of the Arabs on the Kábul frontier.

In A.H. 46, 'Abdu-lla bin Suár, who was about that time entrusted with the command of the Indian frontier on the side of Kaikán, and "who was so generous and hospitable that no other fire but his own was ever lighted in his camp," enriched himself with the spoil taken from the eastern borders; and when he returned to Mu'áwiya, presented that Khalif with some of the horses of Kaikán. He remained some time with Mu'áwiya, and then returned to Kaikán, where, being attacked by the Turks with all their forces, he was slain in the conflict (p. 117).[2]

The *Chach-náma* adds, amongst other details of this expedition, which need not be here given, that Mu'áwiya appointed 'Abdu-lla bin Sawáriya, at the head of four thousand cavalry, "to the government of Sind," and said, "in the country of Sind there is a mountain which they call Kaikánán. There the horses stand very high, and are well made in all their proportions. They have before this time been received among the spoils taken from that tract. The inhabitants are treacherous, and are protected by their mountain fastnesses from the effects of their rebellion and enmity." He sent also 'Ámar bin 'Abdu-lla bin 'Ámar to conquer Armáel. After sustaining a complete defeat from the Kaikánís (called Turks by Biládurí), who swarmed around, and closed their egress by the passes, the remnant of the Arab army returned to Makrán.

This is related on the authority of "Muhlat, who heard it from Hindalí, who reported it on the authority of Kásim, who said, 'I heard it from Nasr bin Sufyán.'" This Hindalí is frequently mentioned in the *Chach-náma* as a transmitter of these traditions.[3]

The statement of the next incursion is somewhat confused.

Upon the death of 'Abdu-lla, Sinán bin Salma was appointed to

[1] *Táríkh-i Yafi'í*, sub ann. 42 H.
[2] Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I. p. 291.
[3] *Chach-náma*, MS., pp. 74, 75; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., p. 9.

succeed him; but Mu'áwiya wrote to Ziyád, the powerful governor of 'Irák, who also held the lieutenancy of Khurásán, Sijistán, Bahrain, and 'Umán, besides Kúfa and Basra, directing him to select a man better suited to command on the marches of India. Accordingly, Sinán was superseded by Ahnaf Kais, "the ablest among the true believers," who went to Makrán, but was removed after a period of two years and one month. Hindalí is again one of the authorities for this account.[1]

By Biláduri (p. 117) this is otherwise represented. Ziyád bin Abú Sufyán raised Siná bin Salama to the command of the Indian frontier. He was a man of merit, and feared God, and was the first who obliged soldiers to affix to their oath the penalty of divorce from their wives. On proceeding to assume charge of his functions, he reduced Makrán, and founded cities in that country. He established his residence there, and exacted a rigorous account of the revenues of the province. By Ibn Al Kalbí this conquest is attributed to Hakím, above mentioned.

Ziyád then raised Ráshid bin 'Amrú, of the tribe of Azd, to the command. Ráshid went to Makrán, and thence made a successful inroad upon Kaikán; but was subsequently slain in an attack upon the Meds. He is said to have been succeeded by the Sinán, before noticed, who exercised his functions for two years (p. 117).[2]

"Abú-l Hasan heard from Hindalí, who had heard from Bin-i Aswad," that when Ziyád had suspended the son of Salama from his functions, Ráshid bin 'Umar Al Khizrí, a man of good birth and of noted courage, was summoned to the presence of Mu'áwiya, who seated him by the side of his throne, and entered into long and familiar discourse with him. He pointed out to his officers that Ráshid was an excellent man, to whom their obedience was due, and that they should aid him in the battle, and not leave him alone in the field.

When Ráshid arrived at Makrán, he had an interview with Sinán, respecting whom he asseverated with an oath that he was a great man, well worthy to head an army in the day of battle. Sinán had received orders from Mu'áwiya to meet Ráshid on the road, and to

[1] *Chach-náma*, MS., p. 76.
[2] Weil, *Gesch. der Chal.*, Vol. I. p. 291.

communicate to him full information respecting the state of Hind and Sind. When Ráshid had duly learnt this, he determined on prosecuting his route towards the frontier; and having received the revenue which had been assessed upon Koh-Páya, he went on to Kaikánán, where he collected the tribute due for the current and preceding years, and brought away much plunder and many slaves.

After a stay of one year, he returned by way of Siwistán, and reached the hills of Mandar and Bahraj, where the inhabitants had assembled to the number of fifty thousand to obstruct his passage. The contest raged from morning till evening, when Ráshid was martyred.

Ziyád appointed Sinán to take his place, and bestowed great honours upon him, notwithstanding he had so lately been disgraced, because, as our author says, he had been blessed at the time of his birth by the prophet, who had himself bestowed the name of Sinán upon him. After advancing to Kaikánán, he met with great success, and established his rule in several countries, and at last reached Budha, where he was by some treachery put to death.[1]

Ziyád then conferred the command of the Indian frontier upon Al Manzar bin al Jarúd al 'Abdí, who was surnamed Al Asha'as. He invaded Núkán (Búdha ?) and Kaikán; and the Arabs were enriched with booty,—for the whole country became a prey to their devastations. They seized upon Kusdár, where they made many captives. Al Manzar died in that town (p. 117).[2]

2. *Yazíd I.*, A.H. 60-64. A.D. 679-683.

3. *Mu'áwiya II.*, A.H. 64. A.D. 683.

In the year 61 H., we find mention of another governor of the Indian frontier, of the name of Al Manzar, or Al Munzir; but as the one before mentioned had been appointed by Ziyád, who died in 53 H., and as the second Al Manzar, or Al Munzir, was appointed by 'Ubaidu-lla bin Ziyád, who succeeded his father, after a short interval, in the government of 'Irák, including both Kúfa and Basra, and as, moreover, the parentage is represented as entirely different, we must needs conclude that they are different personages. The one with whom we now have to deal was son of Hár, son of Bashar,

1 *Chach-náma*, MS., pp. 77, 78; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., p. 9.

2 Weil, *Geschichte der Chal.*, Vol. I., p. 292.

who "put on the vesture of government under evil auspices," for, as he was journeying, his mantle was caught in a splinter of wood, and was rent; and 'Ubaidu-lla bin Ziyád, who had nominated him, predicted, on that account, that he would not return alive from the journey he had undertaken;[1] but he had selected him, as no one was his equal in constancy and courage. And true it was, that no sooner had Al Munzar arrived within the borders of Búrání, than he fell sick and died.[2]

His son, Hakkam, was in Kirmán, when his father died. He was treated with kindness by 'Ubaidu-lla, who presented him with three hundred thousand dirhams, and appointed him to succeed his father for six months, during which period he is represented to have conducted himself with energy and boldness.[3]

One of the commanders appointed to the Indian frontier by 'Ubaidu-lla, was Harri al Báhalí. He engaged with great fervour and success in the border warfare, and acquired immense booty (p. 118).[4]

4. *Marwán I.*, A.H. 64-65. A.D. 683-684.
5. *'Abdu-l Malik*, A.H. 65-86. A.D. 684-705.

To the year 65 H. Colonel Tod attributes a Muhammadan invasion of Rájpútána, by way of Sind, in which Mánik Ráí, the prince of Ajmír, and his only son were killed. But the whole story is puerile and fictitious; independent of which, the Arabs had quite enough to do nearer home.[5]

When 'Abdu-l Malik, the son of Marwán, ascended the throne, his dominions were circumscribed within the limits of Syria and Palestine, rebellion being rife in the various provinces. The east was especially affected by these internal commotions. Kúfa was in the hands of Muktár and the Shí'ites, who had taken up arms to avenge the death of Husain, the son of 'Alí. The Azárikans, or followers of Náfi' ibn Azrak, had established themselves in the provinces of Fárs, Kirmán, and Ahwáz; and Arabia and Khurásán

[1] And as Samuel turned about to go away, Saul laid hold upon the skirt of his mantle, and it rent. And Samuel said unto him, "The Lord hath rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day."—1 *Sam.* xv. 27, 28.
[2] *Chach-náma*, MS., p. 72; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., p. 9.
[3] *Chach-náma*, MS., p. 80.
[4] Weil, *loc. citt.*
[5] *Annals of Rájasthán*, Vol. II. p. 444.

obeyed 'Abdu-lla ibn Zubair, the rival claimant of the Khiláfat, who was in possession of Mecca. Within eight years after ascending the throne, 'Abdu-l Malik triumphed successively over all his enemies, re-established the authority of the Ummayides over the Muhammadan empire, and began to restore the foreign relations of Islám, which had greatly declined during the early vicissitudes of his reign.

'Ubaidu-lla bin Ziyád, one of the ablest of his generals, invaded the territory of Kúfa, but was defeated and slain, in 67 H., by the army which advanced against him under Muktár. This disaster was not retrieved till four years afterwards, by 'Abdu-l Malik's obtaining possession of Kúfa. Meanwhile, Muhallab had defeated the Azárikans, whom he had pursued into the very heart of Kirmán, and deprived them of their conquests in Fárs and Ahwáz. He then deserted 'Abdu-lla's cause, and submitted to 'Abdu-l Malik. Khurásán was obtained by similar corruption and treachery, and 'Abdu-lla was slain at Mecca by the army commanded by Hajjáj bin Yúsuf Sakifí. Thenceforward, 'Abdu-l Malik had leisure to attend to the extension of the empire towards the east.

To this especial object was directed his nomination of his successful general, Hajjáj, to be governor of 'Irák, who commenced his rule by conferring the charge of Makrán upon Sa'íd bin Aslam Kalábí. Sa'íd, however, had unfortunately to encounter the rivalry of Mu'áwiya and Muhammad, the sons of Haras, surnamed the 'Alláfí, from the title of 'Alláf, which was borne by one of their ancestors (p. 118).

As the 'Alláfís, or 'Allánís as they are styled in the *Chach-náma*, are conspicuous in the subsequent history of Sind, that work dwells more particularly upon their history. It appears that upon Sa'íd's arrival at Makrán, he put to death a man of the name of Safhúí bin Lám al Hamámí. This man was claimed as a relative and fellow-countrymen of the 'Alláfís, who came from 'Umán, and they determined to seek satisfaction for his death. Accordingly, they attacked Sa'íd, who was then on his return from collecting the revenues of his jurisdiction, killed him in the fray, and took possession of Makrán. Hajjáj then ordered Sulaimán 'Alláfí, one of the leading men of that tribe, to be seized, and sent his head to the family of

Sa'íd. At the same time, more vigorous measures were taken to assert the authority of the government, and Mujáa' was directed to proceed to Kirmán. He sent forward 'Abdu-r Rahmán bin Asha's to lead the advance, but he was waylaid by the 'Alláfís, and slain. They did not, however, think proper to engage in further collisions with the government, but fled to Sind in 85 H., where they sought the protection of Dáhir, who received them kindly, and entertained them in his service.[1]

The 'Alláfís remained in Sind till the arrival of Muhammad Kásim, when they came forward and sued for forgiveness, which was accorded to them, as will be seen in the translated Extracts from the *Chach-náma* (p. 168).

Sa'íd was succeeded by Mujjá', the son of the Si'r Tamímí, most probably the same Mujjá' above mentioned, who is called in the *Chach-náma* and the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, the son of Sa'íd, as well as the son of Safar in the former, apparently by error of the transcriber. He despoiled the border districts, and took many prisoners from the territory of Kandábel, the entire conquest of which was not effected till some years afterwards by Muhammad Kásim. Mujjá', after holding his office for the period of only one year, died in Makrán, about the same time as the Khalif 'Abdu-l Malik (p. 118).[2]

6. *Walíd I.* A.H. 86–96. A.D. 705–715.

Under this powerful prince the Khiláfat attained the greatest extent of dominion to which it ever reached. A little previous to the accession of Walíd, Muhammad, son of Hárún, was appointed to the Indian frontier, where he was invested with full powers to conduct operations as he thought best.[3]

He was directed to search out the 'Alláfís, and to seize them by every means within his power, in order that the blood of Sa'íd might be avenged by their death and destruction. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 86,[4] he secured one of the 'Alláfís, who was put to death by direct orders of the Khalif, and his head was despatched to Hajjáj, with a letter, in which the governor promised,

[1] *Chach-náma*, MS., pp. 80, 81; and *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., pp. 7, 9.

[2] *Chach-náma*, MS., p. 82; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., pp. 7, 9; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I. p. 504.

[3] *Chach-náma*, MS., p. 82.

[4] Firishta says he was not appointed till 87 H.—*History of Sind.*

"if his life were spared to him, and his fortune propitious, he would seize all the rest of that obnoxious tribe." He was engaged, according to one author, for five years, according to another, for five months, in the important occupation of "conquering the rivers and forests."[1]

Under the auspices of the cruel tyrant, Hajjáj, who, though nominally governor only of 'Irák, was in fact ruler over all the countries which constituted the former Persian kingdom, the spirit of more extended conquest arose, which had hitherto, during the civil wars, and before the re-establishment of political unity under 'Abdu-l Malik and his son Walíd, confined itself to mere partial efforts on the eastern frontiers of the empire. By his orders, one army under Kutaiba, after the complete subjugation of Khawárazm, crossed the Oxus, and reduced, but not without great difficulty, Bukhára, Khojand, Shásh, Samarkand, and Farghána—some of which places had been visited, though not thoroughly subjected, at previous periods, by the Muhammadan arms. Kutaiba penetrated even to Káshgár, at which place Chinese ambassadors entered into a compact with the marauders.[2] Another army had, by Hajjáj's directions, already operated against the king of Kábul, and a third advanced towards the lower course of the Indus, through Makrán.

The cause of this latter expedition was the exaction of vengeance for the plunder, by some pirates of Debal, of eight vessels, which the ruler of Ceylon had despatched, filled with presents, pilgrims, Muhammadan orphans, and Abyssinian slaves, to propitiate the good-will of Hajjáj and the Khalif. The pirates are differently named by the authorities whom we have to follow. The *Futúhu-l Buldán* says they were "Med." The *Chach-náma* says they were "Tankámara." The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* says they were "Nankámara;" but in a subseqent passage gives the name more distinctly as "Nagámara." 'Abdu-lla bin 'Isa, who wrote a commentary upon the Díwán of the poet Jarír, towards the close of the fourth century of the Hijra, says they were "Kurk," for which a marginal reading

1 *Chach-náma*, MS., pp. 82. 83; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, p, 10.

2 Hammer, *Gemäldesaal*, Vol. II. pp. 123, 124; Abel Rémusat, *sur la Geog. de l'Asie centrale*, pp. 94-106. Compare also, respecting the relations between the Persians and Chinese, De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, Tom. I., pp. 54-59; Fréret, *Mémoires de l'Acad.*, Tom. xvi., pp. 245-255; *Chine in Univ. Pittoresque*, Asie I. 297.

substitutes "Kurd." Reiske states his inability to comprehend what tribe is meant by this name. Reinaud says, "Kurds" are out of the question;[1] but that "Kurks" are mentioned by Ibn Al Asír, under the annals of 151 H., as having made a descent upon Jidda, and that two years afterwards a flotilla was despatched from Basra to make an attack upon the "Kurks," whom he surmises to be probably natives of Coorg, to the east of Mangalore.[2] But these are an inland nation, and cannot possibly have been engaged in maritime expeditions. Whoever they were, they must have been inhabitants of Debal, or its immediate neighbourhood, and though the name be extinct now, the Kurk, Kerk, or Kruk, may possibly represent a tribe which flourished at one time near the mouth of the Indus.[3]

The Meds are familiar to us, as being frequently mentioned by Ibn Haukal and the early writers on Sind.[4] The name of Tangámara presents great difficulties; but as there is a variation about the first letter, and as the omission of diacritical points would admit of the word being read Sangámara, it may be proper to point out, if that should be the correct reading, the identity of the two first syllables with those of Sangada, which Arrian tells us was the name of the mainland in the neighbourhood of Krokala.[5] How far the name extended does not appear, but it is curious that, to our time, it seems to be preserved beyond the eastern mouth of the river, in the celebrated pirate-coast of the Sanganians, or Sangárs, who for centuries have committed their ravages on the shores of Sind and Guzerát, until their total suppression under our government.[6] It

[1] They are, however, a very migratory race. We find them in Khurásán, Kábul, Fárs, Kirmán, the Dasht-i be-daulat, and even in Sind, in the province of Kachh Gandáva, where they are classed as Bráhúis. It is also worthy of remark, that Ibn Haukal speaks of some of the inland Jats as being "like unto the Kurds."—Gildemeister, *Scriptor. Arab. de rebus Indicis*, p. 181.

[2] *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 181.

[3] See separate note respecting the Kerks.

[4] The Meds are also treated of in a separate note.

[5] Ἐκ δὲ Κρωκάλων ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχοντες ὄρος . . . ἔπλωον . . . ὁ δὲ χῶρος ἅπας Σάγγαδα.—*Nearchi Paraplus*, p. 5, in Hudson's *Geograph. Minores*, Vol. I.

[6] The principal station of the Sangárs is Juckow, in Kachh. Al. Hamilton says:—"The next province to Catchnaggen (Cach-nagar) is Sangania. Their seaport is called Baet, very commodious and secure. They admit of no trade, but practice piracy." Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, Vol. VIII. p. 310. See also Ovington

may be remarked, also, that there is a tribe called Sangúr still dwelling on the coast of Makrán, at Malán and Batt.

It is probable, therefore, that the several authorities may be right in part, and that the different piratical tribes of the mouths of the Indus may have joined in the expedition which gave Hajjáj grounds for demanding reparation from Dáhir, the ruler of Sind.

Upon his declaring his inability to restrain their excesses, Hajjáj earnestly solicited from the Khalif permission to exact due vengeance from Dáhir and his subjects, offering to pay, from his own resources, double what would be exhausted from the public treasury. But the Khalif replied:—"The distance is great, the requisite expenditure will be enormous, and I do not wish to expose the lives of Musulmáns to peril."[1] In the same spirit of caution, or forbearance, Músa was checked in his career of conquest in Spain; and when the remonstance was disregarded, a second envoy, despatched with more peremptory orders, seized the bridle of his horse in the presence of the whole army, and led him away to Damascus to answer for his contumacy.[2]

When, at last, the repugnance of the Khalif had been overcome by the urgent remonstrances of Hajjáj, and by his generous offer of double payment, which was at a subsequent period rigorously demanded, 'Ubaidu-lla bin Nabhán, was sent against the sea-port of Debal, where he met with defeat and death (p. 119).[3]

Hajjáj then wrote to Budail, of the Bajalí tribe, directing him to advance against Debal. As Budail was at 'Umán, M. Reinaud considers it probable that he proceeded by sea to his destination; but the *Chach-náma*, though somewhat confused, is fuller than the *Futúhu-l Buldán*, and tells us that Budail was ordered to proceed to Makrán, that Muhammad Hárún was directed to place three thou-

and D'Anville. Tod says the name was not that of any particular nation, but simply "Sangamdharians," the pirates of the "Sangams," or sacred embouchures of rivers. —*West. India*, p. 442, "Sankha," or "Sankhadwár," the old name of Bet, offers an equally probable origin. Mac Pherson (*Ann. of Comm.* I., 172) suggests Sangara, the joined canoes mentioned in the Periplus.

[1] Abú-l Fidá, *Annal Mosl.*, Vol. I. p. 107; *Chach-náma*, MS. p. 85; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 10.

[2] Condé, *Hist. de la Dom. de los Arabes en Esp.*, ap. De Marlès; Reinaud, *Sarrazins*, xviii.; Crichton, 336.

[3] Biláduri, *Fragments Arabes*, p. 190.

sand men at his disposal, for the purpose of proceeding to Sind, and that 'Abdu-lla bin Kahtán Aslamí was ordered to join him from 'Umán, which he accordingly did at Nairún. Budail advanced at the head of three hundred men from Makrán, and was joined on the way by the reinforcements from Muhammad Hárún. In the battle which ensued, Budail, after fighting gallantly, was thrown from his horse, surrounded by the enemy, and killed, and many Musulmáns were taken captive. The *Futúhu-l Buldán* and the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* represents the action as having taken place at Debal, but the *Chach-náma* is not clear upon this point.[1]

Hajjáj was sorely afflicted at this disastrous result of his expedition, and vowed that he would take ample vengeance for the various indignities which had been heaped upon him. As the people of Nairún dreaded the consequences of Hajjáj's anger, and reflected that their city stood on the very road by which the Arabs would enter Sind, their governor, who was a Samaní, or Buddhist, sent privily some confidential messengers to Hajjáj, promising to remit tribute regularly, and soliciting from him some writing, under which Nairún might be secured from further annoyance at the hand of the Musulmáns. This bond was readily granted, and the Samaní was enjoined to obtain the freedom of the prisoners taken in the late action, with the threat of "putting to the sword of Islám the lives of all infidels as far as the borders of China, if this demand was not complied with."

After this, 'Umar bin 'Abdu-lla requested that the government of Hind might be confided to him, but he was rebuked by Hajjáj, and told that the astrologers, after being consulted, had pronounced that the conquest of that country could be effected only by the hand of Muhammad Kásim.[2]

Muhammad Kásim, as he is universally styled by the Persians, but by Biláduri, "Muhammad bin Kásim Sakifí," and by Abú-l

[1] Briggs gives the leader's name as "Budmeen." Reinaud as "Bodayl." Lt. Postans as "Bazil." The *Chach-náma* as "Bazíl," or "Buzail." [Biláduri gives it distinctly "Budail."] As "Budail" is an old Arabic name, it is probably the correct reading in this passage. Compare Ferishta, Vol. IV. p. 403; *Fragments Arabes*, p. 190; *Journal A.S.B.*, No. clviii., p. 85; *Chach-náma*, MS., pp. 85, 86; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., p. 8; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I., p. 504; Sale, *Korán*, Vol. I. p. 138.

[2] *Chach-náma*, MS., p. 86; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., p. 8.

Fidá, "Muhammad bin Al Kásim," was in the bloom of youth, being only seventeen years of age, when this important command was conferred upon him. It is probable that, although he is represented to have already administered the province of Fárs with ability, he obtained his appointment less from personal merit, than from family interest, for he was cousin and son-in-law of Hajjáj; but the result showed the wisdom of the selection. His rapid career of conquest along the whole valley of the Indus, from the sea to the mountains, has been fully narrated in the translations from the *Futúhu-l Buldán* and *Chach-náma*. From them it is evident, that his successes, like those of his contemporary, Tárik, in Spain, were as much attributable to his temper and policy as to his courage and strategy. There was, though by no means little—as Debal and Multán bear witness—yet much less, wanton sacrifice of life than was freely indulged in by most of the ruthless bigots who have propagated the the same faith elsewhere. The conquest of Sind took place at the very time in which, at the opposite extremes of the known world, the Muhammadan arms were subjugating Spain, and pressing on the southern frontier of France, while they were adding Khwárazm to their already mighty empire. In Sind, as in Spain, where submission was proffered, quarter was readily given; the people of the country were permitted the exercise of their own creeds and laws; and natives were sometimes placed in responsible situations of the government. Much of this unwonted toleration may, in both instances, have arisen from the small number of the invading force, as well as from ignorance of civil institutions; but we must still allow the leaders credit for taking the best means of supplying these deficiencies, and seeking assistance from the quarters most able to afford it.[1]

The two authorities above-mentioned differ from each other in some particulars, and the *Chach-náma*, which is the source of the Persian accounts, furnishes a few details, wearing, especially towards

[1] Respecting Spain, see De Marlès *Histoire des Arabes en Espagne*, Tom. I. p. 14; III. 401; Lockhart's *Spanish Ballads*, xvii. Tárik's moderation was by no means imitated by his early successors. The soldiery plundered the towns, devastated the country, and profaned the churches. A native historian has remarked that the miseries of the vanquished constituted the happiness of the victors.—Mariana, *De rebus Hispaniæ*, Lib. vi., c. 19.

the close, the appearance of embellishment; but there is no startling discrepancy in the general history of the conquest, of which the broad features are preserved with fidelity in both naratives.

The Persian authorities, following the *Chach-náma*, mention that Muhammad Kásim penetrated to Kanauj, which, as the borders of that country then extended nearly to Ajmír, is no improbable circumstance, if we do not construe the expression to signify literally that the city of Kanauj was conquered. But even the possession of that great capital would not have satisfied the ambitious aspirations of Hajjáj; for he had ordered Muhammad to penetrate to China; and with the view of exciting emulation between him and Kutaiba, had promised, that whichever of them arrived there first should be invested with the government of the celestial empire: a fair challenge and a fair start,—for in the self-same year, one was on the Indus, the other on the Jaxartes, in the same longitude, and at the same distance from the eastern goal, which fanaticism and avarice, as well as the desire to secure a safe and remote asylum upon the death of Walíd, had designated to these rival generals as the guerdon of success and victory.[1]

The Progress of the Arabs in Sind.

From faith in Firishta, who has been followed exclusively by our modern historians, it has been usual to consider that the conquest of Sind was effected by only six thousand men, who, by some misapprehension of the original, are wrongly stated to be Assyrians. The more correct statement, given by our Arab authorities, shows that, independent of an advanced guard under Abú-l Aswad Jaham, which was ordered to join Muhammad Kásim on the borders of Sind, there were six thousand picked cavalry from Syria and 'Irák, six thousand armed camel-riders, thoroughly equipped for military operations, with a baggage train of three thousand Bactrian camels, which, however, Mír Ma'súm converts into three thousand infantry. In Makrán, Muhammad Kásim was joined by the governor, Muhammad Hárún, with other reinforcements; and five catapults, together with the necessary ammunition, were transported by sea to Debal. The number of men conveyed by the naval squadron may be esti-

[1] *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 186; *L'Univers. Pitt. Asie*, v. 327.

mated by the fact, that we find one catapult alone requiring no less than five hundred men to work it. These heavy machines had been used by the Prophet in the siege of Táif, and had done effective service only a few years before at Damascus and Mecca, as well as in the re-conquest of northern Africa; but they were so ponderous that they could be rarely used, except where the means of transport by water existed, or but a short distance by land had to be traversed. Hence Kutaiba, in his campaign beyond the Oxus, was often compelled to regret that a long and tedious land-carriage deprived him of the advantage of these implements, which were nearly indispensable in the operations in which he was engaged.

Besides these Arab troops, we find the Jats and Meds enlisting under Muhammad Kásim's banners, which, independent of its moral effect in dividing national sympathies, and relaxing the unanimity of defence against foreign aggression, must have been of incalculable benefit to him, in his disproportionate excess of cavalry, which could be of but little service in a country intersected by rivers, swamps, and canals.

This desertion of the native princes was doubtless occasioned by the severity with which they had treated the Jats and Lohánas upon the capture of Bráhmanábád. The inhibition of riding on saddles and wearing fine clothes, the baring the head, the accompaniment of a dog, the drawing of and hewing wood for the royal kitchen, were more suited to Musulmán intolerance than the mild sway of Hindúism; and accordingly, after the conqueror's first acquisitions, we find him so indifferent about retaining the good will of his allies, that he imposed the same conditions upon them, which he enforced with even greater stringency than his predecessors.

After the news of Muhammad Kásim's success reached Damascus, he was joined by other troops and adventurers eager for plunder and proselytism; insomuch that when he left Multán, for the purpose of proceeding to Dípálpúr and the north, we find it stated in the *Táríkh-i Sind* and *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, that he had no less than 50,000 men marching under his standard, besides those whom he had left in the forts and garrisons of Sind. Hence we may see, that paucity of numbers was by no means so much against the chance of Muhammad Kásim's success as has hitherto been supposed.[1]

[1] Elphinstone's *History of India*, Vol. I. p. 510.

There is no occasion here to follow this conqueror through all the rapid stages of his successful career. These will be found fully set forth in the translations from the *Chach-náma* and *Futúhu-l Buldán*, which furnish details hitherto wanting in the authorities accessible to us. Abú-l Fidá and Abú-l Faraj tell us merely that Hind was conquered by Muhammad Kásim in the year 94 H. Ibn Kutaiba, ascribes the conquest to 93 H., but gives no particulars. Elmacin (Al Makín) only tells us that Hind and Sind were conquered, and that King Dáhir was slain by the Musulmáns, and had his head cut off; and Weil gives the following as the sum of all that the great historian Tabarí has to say upon this theme: "In the year 90 (?) Muhammad ibn Kásim, whom Hajjáj had appointed to command an army, slew the king of Sind, named Dass ibn Sassa. In the year 94, Muhammad ibn Kásim conquered India. In the year 95, the farthest India was conquered, with exception of Kíraj and Almandal."[1] A like complaint has been made of the meagreness of our modern writers with respect to this interesting period of Indian history, but without just cause, for they really had no documents to appeal to.

Though Muhammad left Shíráz in the year 92 H., he does not appear to have reached Debal till the beginning of the following year. The precise date is not mentioned, yet Hajjáj replies to the announcement of its capture, on the 20th Rajab, 93 (1st May, 712 A.D.); so, as news between Sind and the capital is said to have been conveyed in seven days, the fall of Ḍebal may be dated in the beginning of that month.[2]

After the conquest of the capital Alor, in Ramazán of the same year, the *Futúhu-l Buldán* carries him no further than Multán, from which place he returns on hearing of Hajjáj's death; but the *Chach-náma* takes him to the very foot of the Kashmír hills, to the part where the Jhelam debouches from the mountains, and forms the streams and islands which cannot fail to strike the traveller with the minute correctness of Quintus Curtius, in describing (viii. 45) the scene of Alexander's decisive victory over Porus, after passing the Hydaspes. In the *Chach-náma*, the place is called *Panj-máhiát*,

[1] *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I. pp. 161, 184, 188, 506; *Annales Moslemici*, Vol. I. p. 148; *Historia Dynastiarum*, p. 201; *Historia Saracenica*, p. 84.
[2] *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., p. 1.

or "The Five Waters,"—a miniature Panjáb, in short (*supra*, p. 144). It was here that Chach fixed the boundary of Sind and Kashmír; and the planting of fir-trees, to mark the site, shows how elevated a spot these conquerors had reached in their northern progress.

The balance of authority is perhaps in favour of Jalálpúr, as the place of Alexander's crossing the Hydaspes: argument and ocular demonstration conclusively decide in favour of the upper passage; but we need not discuss the point further. The literature of the question may be ascertained by consulting the references in the note.[1]

The Khalif Walíd died six months after Hajjáj, in Jamáda I. A.H. 96—A.D. January, 715; and as Muhammad Kásim's recal was immediately consequent upon that event, he must have remained altogether about three years and a quarter in Sind and the Panjáb.

Our authorities differ respecting the mode of Muhammad Kásim's death; but it must be admitted that there is much more probability in the statement of the *Futúhu-l Buldán* than in that of the *Chach-náma*, which is followed by all the later writers. The former states that he was seized, fettered, imprisoned, and tortured to death with the Khalif Sulaiman's sanction; the latter, that the two daughters of Dáhir, who had been sent to the capital for the Khalif's haram, complained that they had already been violated by their father's conqueror,—upon which, Walíd, in a fit of wrath, ordered that he should be sewn up in a raw cow-hide, and so transmitted to Damascus. When his body was exhibited to the girls, they declared that their assertion was untrue, and that they had uttered it merely to be avenged on the destroyer of their family and country. The tale goes on to say, that the capricious tyrant, in an agony of remorse for his hasty conduct, ordered them to be immured alive. Others say they were tied to horses' tails, and so dragged about the city.[2] The

[1] Droysen, *Geschichte Alex's*, p. 389; Burnes, *Travels to Bokhara*, Vol. 1. p. 57; Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. IV. pt. i. pp. 452-4; vii. p. 93; Elphinstone, *Caubul*, p. 80; Williams, *Life of Alex.*, p. 267; *Trans. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I. pp. 148-199; H. T. Prinsep, *Journal A. S. Bengal*, 1843, p. 628; J. Abbott, *ibid.*; Vol. XVII. p. 1; XVIII. and 1852, pp. 219-231.

[2] The account given in the *Chach-náma* has been already printed. The following is from Mír Ma'súm. It will be seen that both these authorities represent the Khalif Walíd as the destroyer of Muhammad Kásim. "At that time a letter came from the Khalif Walíd, to this effect:—'After taking Alor, you sent to the capital, among the prisoners, two daughters of Rája Dáhir, in charge of Muhammad, the son of 'Alí

whole story certainly savours more of romance than reality, but the reason which has been advanced against it—namely, that the

Tuhmán Hamadání, accompanied by Abyssinian servants. One night the Khalif had the two girls brought into his haram, and he then gave them into the charge of the bedchamber attendants, with orders to pay them every attention, and present them when they had recovered from the fatigues of their journey. Two months afterwards the Khalif remembered these two Hindi slaves, and ordered them to be brought into his presence. An interpreter accordingly summoned them. When their veils were thrown back, the Khalif, on seeing them, became distracted with admiration of their great beauty. He then asked them their names; one said her name was Parmal-Deví, the other said her name was Súraj-Deví. The Khalif ordered the attendants to leave one of them there. She then rose and said: 'I am not fit for the bedchamber of the Khalif, because Muhammad bin Kásim dishonoured us both before he sent us to the Khalif.' When the interpreter explained this, the fire of anger and jealousy was kindled in the Khalif, and he gave orders that as a punishment for this want of respect, Muhammad bin Kásim should be wrapped up in the raw hide of an ox, and be sent to the capital. To enforce this order, the Khalif wrote some words of menace in the margin of the letter in his own hand, 'Wherever Muhammad bin Kásim may be, when this reaches him, he is to come to the capital, and make no fail in obeying this order.' Muhammad bin Kásim was at Udhápúr, when the Khalif's chamberlain brought this mandate. When he had read it he directed that officer to carry the order into effect. He accordingly wrapped Muhammad bin Kásim in a raw hide. Three days afterwards the bird of life left his body and flew to heaven. The chamberlain put the body into a box, and carried it to the capital. When he arrived in Syria, he brought the box before the Khalif on a day of public audience. The Khalif enquired if Muhammad were alive? the chamberlain replied that he had been enclosed in a raw skin, and that he died three days afterwards. The Khalif then directed the box to be taken into the female apartments, and ordered that it should be opened there in his presence. He then called for the daughters of Rája Dáhir, and said, 'Come and see how supreme are my commands; behold, Muhammad bin Kásim!' They both came forward to look at him and recognized him, and, raising their hands, they blessed and praised the Khalif. They then said, 'Kings of great justice should not proceed hastily in perilous matters, nor act precipitately upon the information of friends or enemies in the most important of all concerns.' When the Khalif enquired what was the meaning of their address, they replied: 'We raised this charge against Muhammad bin Kásim out of enmity to him, because he slew our father, and through him dominion and wealth have departed from our house; we have come as prisoners into a foreign land; the king in his anger did not weigh our words, nor distinguish between our truth and our falsehood, but issued his fatal order. The truth is, this man was to us as a father, or a brother; his hands never touched the skirts of our purity; our object was to revenge our father, and so we made this accusation. Our wishes have been fulfilled, but there has been a serious failure in the king's justice.' When the Khalif heard this, he was overwhelmed with remorse for a whole hour; but the fire of anger then burst from the furnace of his bosom, and he gave orders for the two girls to be tied to the tails of horses, and, after being dragged round the city, to be thrown into the Tigris (*Dajla*). Muhammad bin Kásim was buried at Damascus. Two years after his death the people of India rebelled, and threw off their yoke, and only from Debalpur to the Salt Sea remained under the dominions of the Khalif."

sewing up in a hide was a Tátár mode of punishment, and not Arab—constitutes no valid objection; for, though it undoubtedly was practised by the Tátárs—as when the savage Hulákú murdered the last Khalif of Baghdád—yet an earlier example might have been discovered in the Arab annals. Even before the time of the Sind conquest, we find the adherents of the first Mu'áwiya enclosing the body of the governor of Egypt in the carcass of an ass, and burning both to ashes.[1] And as for the general tone of romance which runs through this version of Muhammad Kásim's death, we find a case somewhat parallel in contemporary history; for, when Músa, the conqueror of Spain, was treated with similar indignity by Sulaimán—the same relentless Khalif who persecuted the conqueror of Sind,—and was lingering in misery and exile at Mecca, the head of his son, who had been murdered at Cordova, was thrown down at his father's feet, while the tyrant's messenger taunted him in the midst of his agony and despair.[2]

CONTINUATION OF THE UMMAYIDE DYNASTY.

7. *Sulaimán*, A.H. 96-99. A.D. 715-717.

Yazíd, who was appointed to succeed Muhammad Kásim, died eighteen days after his arrival in Sind. Habíb, the son of Muhallab, was then appointed to pursue the war in that country; for, in the interval, the princes in India had revolted, and Jaisiya, the son of Dáhir, had regained possession of Bráhmanábád. The local historians, indeed, tell us that, for two years after the departure of Muhammad Kásim, the natives recovered and maintained possession of the countries which had been conquered from them. Habib encamped on the banks of the Indus, and the inhabitants of Alor submitted to him, after he had defeated a tribe which opposed him in arms (p. 124).

'Ámar bin 'Abdu-lla is also mentioned as one of the Sindian governors during this reign.[3]

[1] Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I. p. 242.

[2] Cardonne, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domin. des Arabes.* Tom. I., p. 98. Gibbon, Chap. li.

[3] *Tarikh-i Sind*, MS., p. 37; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., p. 18; *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I. p. 571.

8. *'Umar II.*, A.H. 90-101. A.D. 717-720.

The Khalif Sulaimán, who died A.H. 99—A.D. 717, was succeeded by 'Umar bin 'Abdu-l Azíz. 'Umar addressed letters to the native princes, inviting them to embrace Islám, and to swear allegiance; proposing, as the reward of their acquiescence, that they should be allowed participation in the rights and privileges of other Musulmáns. The son of Dáhir, and many princes, assented to these proposals, and took Arab names. 'Amrú bin Muslim al Baháli was the Khalif's lieutenant on this frontier, and he was successful in the invasion of several Indian provinces (p. 124).[1]

9. *Yazíd II.*, A.H. 101-105. A.D. 720-724.

Under the reign of Yazíd bin 'Abdu-l Malik, the sons of Muhallab fled to Sind with their families. 'Amrú sent Hálál al Tamímí in pursuit of them, and on his encountering the fugitives at Kandábel, he slew Mudrak, Mufazzal, Ziyád, and all the sons of Muhallab, including Mu'áwiya, who had placed Muhammad Kásim in chains. This happened in the year 101 or 102 H., and forms an episode of some interest in the civil warfare of the Ummayides, which is fully recounted by the Arabic historians of that dynasty.

When Yazíd, the son of Muhallab, had fairly committed himself to a contest with his namesake, the reigning Khalif, he had, in order to extend his power, and procure an asylum in the event of defeat, despatched his agents to obtain possession of the several provinces of Ahwáz, Fárs, Kirmán, and Makrán, as far as the banks of the Indus. Kandábel, "on the remotest frontiers of the empire," he had especially consigned to the charge of Wadda ibn Hamíd al Azdí, in order that he might ensure a safe refuge for his family in case of any disaster. His defeat and death shortly ensued;—upon which, Mufazzal and his other brothers, having equipped at Basra a sufficient number of vessels for the conveyance of themselves and the surviving members of the Muhallabí family, embarked for the coast of Kirmán, whence they proceeded, as originally designed, to Kandábel. There Wadda proved treacherous to his charge, and the whole family, it is commonly said, were extirpated in the action which took place under its walls; but some

[1] *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 191; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., p. 18.

members, at least, must have survived; for, besides others of the same family, we read of one Yazíd Muhallabí, fifty years afterwards, as governor of Africa, and his son, Dáúd, as governor of Sind.[1] The women and children were sold into slavery, from which they were only redeemed by the humanity of a generous individual, named Jarráh, the son of 'Abdu-lla.[2]

10. *Hashám*, A.H. 105-125. A.D. 724-743.

14. *Marwán II.*, A.H. 127-132. A.D. 744-750.

'Amrú was succeeded in the command of the Indian frontier by Junaid, son of 'Abdu-r Rahmán al Marrí, in which appointment, originally made by 'Umar, the governor of 'Irák, he was confirmed by the Khalif Hashám, son of 'Abdu-l Malik.

From the mention of the "Sindian frontier," it would appear that the Arabs were still excluded from the province itself; and it is, indeed, said in the passage from the native historian quoted above, that the new converts again apostatized, and revolted against the government. Junaid proceeded to Debal, but upon his reaching the banks of the Indus, the son of Dáhir opposed his passage, on the ground that he himself had been invested by the Khalif 'Umar with the government of his own country, in consequence of having become a Muhammadan. A contest took place between them on the lake of As-sharkí, when, the vessel of the son of Dáhir being quite disabled, he was made prisoner, and subsequently put to death. Sasa, his brother, fled towards 'Irák, to complain of Junaid's conduct; but he also, having been cajoled by the perfidious promises of Junaid, was killed by that Amír.

Junaid sent an expedition against Kíraj, which had revolted. The walls having been demolished by battering rams, the town was taken by assault, and pillaged. He despatched his officers also to various other places, of which it is difficult to determine the names. They may be mentioned as Marmád,[3] Mandal,[4] Dalmaj, Barús, Uzain,

[1] Ibn Khaldún, in *Hist. de l'Afrique*, by *M. Noël Desvergers*, quoted in *Mém.*, p. 194.

[2] Abú-l Fidá, *Ann. Mos.*, Vol. I. p. 442, and note 207; Erpenii Elmacin, *Hist. Sarac.*, p. 78; Price, *Muham. Hist.*, Vol. I. pp. 531-543; Weil, *Geschichte der Chal.*, Vol. I. p. 603.

[3] Had not Broach been subsequently mentioned, I should have conceived this word to be meant for the river Nerbudda (Narmada). It may be a mere repetition of the syllable which forms the root of Marusthalí, "or great sandy desert," itself the origin of Márwár.

[4] See Note *A*, page 390.

Máliba, Baharimad, Al Bailáimán,[1] and Jurz ; but in most instances, it is almost impossible to identify them, with any approach to certainty (p. 126).[2] It is sufficient to observe, that these several expeditions are represented to have been rewarded with immense booty, and that about this period the extension of the Arab conquests, both by sea and land, seems to be confirmed by passages in the Hindú, as well as the Chinese, chronicles.[3]

Junaid was succeeded, about 107 A.H., by Tamím bin Zaid al 'Utbí, who had been previously sent to Sind by Hajjáj. He was found to be feeble and incompetent, but generous and profuse withal, having lavished no less than eighteen millions of *tátaríya*[4] dirhams, which he found in the public treasury of Sind. He died near Debal, "at a place called Buffalo Water, because herdsmen drove their cattle into it, to protect them against the bears (*dabáb*), which infested the banks of the Mihrán." Under his government the Musulmáns evacuated some Indian provinces, and, "up to this period," says Biláduri, "they have not recovered them all, and their settlements are not so far in advance as they had been previously."

After Támím, the government was entrusted by Khalad, governor of 'Irák, to Hakim al Kalabí. The inhabitants of Hind had relapsed into idolatry, except those of Kassa. Had they also followed the pernicious example, the Arabs would have been deprived of all retreat in case of danger. Hakim built a city on the eastern borders of a lake, which he named Mahfúza, "the guarded."[5] He made this a place of refuge for the Musulmáns, established it as the capital, and resided in it. Hakim entrusted 'Amrú bin Muhammad bin Kásim[6] with an expedition beyond Mahfúza, from which he returned victorious; and when 'Amrú was, in his turn, nominated

[1] "Nílmán" probably. There is a "Nílhán" mentioned in the *Chach-náma* (p. 160), and a "Nílma" in the *Bég Lár-náma* (p. 292). The latter is midway between 'Umarkot and Jesalmír. [2] *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 192.

[3] Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. pp. 231, 242-250, 781; Ma-twan-lin, in *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, Tom. I. p. 196; *L'Univers. Pitt.*, *Asie* I. p. 300, *et seq.*

[4] This word is supposed to be corrupted from the "Stater" of the Greeks [but see note, *supra*, p. 3.]

[5] The province of Las, above Sunmíání Bay, answers well to this safe position of retreat, in the event of Arab discomfiture.

[6] From this parentage we may consider him to be a son of the conqueror of Sind.

governor, he founded a city "on this side the lake, which he called Mansúra, 'the victorious,' and which is now," adds Biládurí, "the capital, where the governors reside."

Hakim recovered from the enemy some of the territories which had been lost; but, though the people were content with his government, he was murdered during his administration. The governors who succeeded continued the war against the enemy, and reduced to obedience many of the provinces which had revolted. The names of these governors are not mentioned by Biládurí; but the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* says, respecting this period, "Sulaimán, the son of the Khalif Hashám, on being put to flight in his action with Marwán, was appointed to Sind, which he ruled well, and remained there till the accession of the 'Abbásides, when he hastened to pay his respects to Saffáh. Abú-l Khattáb also was appointed to Sind by Marwán."[1] The *Táríkh-i Sind* also mentions this latter appointment.[2]

DYNASTY OF THE 'ABBÁSIDES.

1. *Abú-l 'Abbás as Sáffáh.* A.H. 132–136. A.D. 750–754.

When the 'Abbásides succeeded to the Khiláfat, Abú Muslim entrusted the government of Sind to 'Abdu-r Rahmán, who went to Sind by way of Tukháristán, and met on the frontier Mansúr bin Jamhúr, the governor on the part of the late Ummayide Khalif.[3] 'Abdu-r Rahmán was totally defeated, his army put to flight, and he himself slain (*supra*, p. 127).[4]

Abú Muslim then conferred the governorship upon Músa bin K'ab ut Tamímí, who, on his arrival in Sind, found the Indus placed between him and Mansúr. The rivals, however, managed to encounter each other, and Mansúr and all his troops, though far superior to their opponents in numbers, were compelled to fly; his brother was slain, and he himself perished of thirst in the sandy desert.[5]

1 *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 18.

2 This may have been the same Abú-l Khattáb who was governor of Spain in Marwán's time. There was also a contemporary Zendic leader of this name.—M. Quatremére, *Journal Asiatique*, Aug. 1836, p. 131.

3 Ibn Khaldún and Elmacin wrongly assert that he was appointed by Saffáh.—See Weil, *Geschichte der Chal.*, Vol. II. p. 15.

4 [See note upon the coins of 'Abdu-r Rahmán and others, *supra*, p. 374.]

5 Hammer, *Gemäldesaal der Lebensbeschreibungen*, Vol. II. p. 158. Weil, *Geschichte der Chal.*, *ubi suprà*.

Músa, when he became master of Sind, repaired Mansúra, enlarged the mosque, and directed several successful expeditions against the infidels. According to the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, it was Dáúd bin 'Alí who expelled the Ummayide governor.

2. *Abú Ja'far al Mansúr.* A.H. 136–158. A.D. 754–775.

About the year 140 H., the Khalif Al Mansúr appointed Hashám to Sind, who conquered countries which had hitherto resisted the progress of the Muhammadan arms. He despatched 'Amrú bin Jamal with a fleet of barks to the coast of Barada,[1] against which point, we are informed by Tabarí and Ibn Asír, another expedition was despatched in 160 H., in which, though the Arabs succeeded in taking the town, sickness swept away a great portion of the troops, while they were stationed in an Indian port, and the rest, on their return, were shipwrecked on the coast of Persia; so that the Khalif Mahdí was deterred from any further attempts upon India.[2]

A body of troops, at the time when 'Amrú was employed against Barada, penetrated into "the kingdom of Hind, conquered the country of Kashmír, and took many women and children captive."[3] The whole province of Multán was also reduced. At Kandábel, there was a party of Arabs, whom Hashám expelled the country. They are suspected, with some reason, to have been adherents of 'Alí.[4]

[1] [This name has been rendered "Nárand," in page 127, after Goeje, but as the MS. has no points, the word may be *Bárand*, *Bárid*, etc.] MM. Reinaud and Weil despair about identifying this name. I believe it to be Barada, or Jetwár, on the coast of Guzerát, and the Bárúd, or Bárúa, of Birúní. Perhaps, also, it may have some connection with the Bar-ace of Ptolemy, and the Periplus. Barada stretches along the south-western shore of the Peninsula of Guzerat, between the divisions of Hálár and Sorath. The port of Púrbandar, in Barada, is the great emporium of this and the neighbouring coasts, on account of its favourable position. The town, which was captured in 160 H., and which is represented to have been a large one, was probably Ghúmti, of which the ruins attract the curiosity of the traveller, and still continue to excite the devotion of the Hindús. Tradition says it stood a siege of seven or eight years, but the precise era of its destruction is not known.

[2] *Frag. Arabes*, pp. 3, 120, 212.—*Gesch. der Chal.*, Vol. II. p. 115.

[3] This does not mean the present province of Kashmír. Hwen Tsang speaks of the Panjáb, about A.D. 640, as being a dependency of Kashmír, and the upper portion of the plain-country was frequently attached to that kingdom. The Kashmírian annals ignore these Sindian victories, and even interpose the glorious reign of Lalitáditya. See Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 10–14.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 152–4, 188–191.—Stan. Julien, Hiouen Thsang, I. 162.

[4] Corrig. ex Tabarí, ap. Kosegarten, *Chrestomathia*, pp. 98–104. Conf. *Fragments*, 212; *Mém.*, 193; Gildemeister, 23; Weil, II. 56; Abú-l Fidá, II. 28.

About this time, the Sindian Arabs engaged in a naval expedition against Kandahár,[1] at which place the idol-temple was destroyed, and a mosque raised upon its ruins. Here, again, we have greatly to reduce the distance within which these operations are supposed to have been conducted. M. Reinaud, in his earlier publication,[2] in which he is followed by Dr. Weil,[3] considered the place here indicated to be Kandhár, near the Gulf of Cambay; but, in his subsequent one,[4] he inclines to the opinion that Gandhára, on the Upper Indus, is meant; of which Waihind was the capital. There is little probability of either being correct, and we need not look any further than the peninsula of Káthíwár, on the north-west angle of which is situated Khandadár, one of the objects of our attack in 1809, when, unlike its neighbour, Mália, it surrendered to Col. Walker's detachment without resistance.

Under Hashám, the supreme authority was enforced with vigour throughout the whole country, and the people are represented to have lived in abundance and content.

The government of Sind was then bestowed upon 'Umar bin Hafs bin 'Usmán, a Súfrian, commonly called Hazármard.[5] This must have been previous to 151 H., for in that year we find him transferred to the government of Africa, where he was killed in the year 154 H. He was succeeded in the African government by Yazíd bin Hátim, or bin Mazíd Muhallabí, while Rúh, the brother of Yazíd, became governor of Sind in 154 and 155 H. (771 A.D.). At the time of Rúh's departure for the valley of the Indus, some one observed to the Khalif Mansúr, that the two brothers had little chance of being enclosed in the same tomb. Nevertheless, upon the death of Yazíd, he was succeeded in Africa by his brother Rúh, and the two brothers were actually interred by the side of one another at Kairoán.[6]

5. *Hárúnu-r Rashíd*, A.H. 170-193. A.D. 786-809.

We have, during this prosperous period, another instance of transfer between Africa and Sind; for Dáúd bin Yazíd Muhallabí,

1 [Goeje's text gives "Kandahâr."]
2 *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 212.
3 *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. II. p. 56.
4 *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 196.
5 Tabarí and Abú-l Fidá place the government of Hashám subsequent to that of 'Umar.
6 Ibn Asír, *Kámilu-t Tawáríkh*, anno. 171, ap. *Mém.*, p. 194. The years of Rúh's Sindian administration are differently given in *Fragments*, p. 213.

who had provisionally succeeded his father in the former province, was appointed to the latter about the year 184 H. (800 A.D.), and died there while holding the office of governor.[1] These transfers, no doubt, were designed to prevent governors becoming too powerful and independent, by maturing intrigues, and courting popularity with the inhabitants of any particular province; but they must have also been attended with the salutary effect upon the governors themselves, of removing prejudices, suggesting comparisons, imparting knowledge, and enlarging the general sphere of their observation.

The native historians mention other governors during this reign. One, a celebrated Shaikh, called Abú Turáb, or Hájí Turábí. He took the strong fort of Tharra, in the district of Sákúra, the city of Bagár, Bhambúr, and some other places in western Sind. His tomb, which bears on its dome the early date of 171 H. (787 A.D.), is to be seen about eight miles south-west of Thatta, between Gúja and Korí, and is visited by pilgrims.[2]

Abú-l 'Abbás was also a governor of Sind during Hárún's Khiláfat, and remained in that post for a long time. This is all the information which we derive from Mír Ma'súm respecting the Arab governors, though he professes to give us a chapter specially devoted to this subject.[3]

The vigour which marked this period of the Sindian government may, perhaps, be judged of by the impression which the advances of the Arabs were making upon the native princes on the northern frontier of India. Even the Khákán of Tibet was inspired with alarm at the steady progress of their dominion.[4]

One interesting synchronism connected with the reign of Hárún should not be omitted in this place. Tabarí mentions that this Khalif despatched, by the Arabian sea, an envoy, accompanied with numerous presents, to some king of India, representing that he was sore afflicted with a cruel malady, and requesting, as he was on the point of travelling on a distant journey into Khurásán, that the famous Indian physician, Kanka or Mánikba, might be sent to attend

[1] Abú-l Fidá, *Annales Moslem*, Vol. II. p. 78.
[2] *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. pp. 19, 234.
[3] *Táirkh-i Sind*, MS. p. 38, and *Tuhfatu-l Kiram*, MS. p. 19.
[4] Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. II., pp. 163, 180.

him on his tour in that province ; promising, on the honour of a prince, that he should be permitted to return to his country immediately on the Khalif's arrival at Balkh. The physician, who was sent in compliance with this request, was so successful in his treatment, that his imperial patient was in a short time sufficiently recovered to proceed to his destination, through the passes of Halwán. Nevertheless, the Khalif died at Tús, before he had accomplished all the purposes of his journey; but, in due time, the Indian physician, according to promise, was allowed to proceed to Balkh, whence he returned in safety to his native country ; which, if not Sind itself, was probably no great distance from it, as the embassy of invitation had proceeded by sea. Some authorities, however, represent that the physician, in the first instance, crossed over the Hindú-kush, and returned home by the Persian Gulf.[1]

7. *Al Mámún*, A.H. 198-218. A.D. 813-833.

During this Khiláfat, Bashar bin Dáúd, who was invested with the chief authority in Sind, raised the standard of revolt, withheld payment of the revenues, and prepared to resist the Khalif with open force. Ghassán bin Abbád, an inhabitant of Kúfa, and a near relative of the Khalif, who had about ten years previous been governor of Khurásán, Sijistán, and Kirmán, was sent, in 213 H., against the insurgent, who surrendered himself to Ghassán under promise of safe conduct, and accompanied him to Baghdád, where he obtained pardon from the Khalif.[2]

Ghassán then appointed "to the government of the frontier," Músa, son of the famous Yahya, the Barmekide, and younger brother of Fazl and Ja'far, the ministers of Hárúnu-r Rashíd. Músa captured and slew Bala, king of As-Sharkí (the east), though five hundred thousand dirhams were offered as a ransom (p. 128).

In another work, Músa's appointment is ascribed to Hárún's reign. He was removed, because he squandered the revenues. He was succeeded by 'Alí bin 'Isá bin Hámán.[3]

There appears some difficulty about this period, with respect to

[1] Ibn Abú Usaibiah, in *Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 110.—Price, *Mohammedan History*, Vol. II. p. 88.—A. Sprenger, *Biographical Dict.* L. U. K., Vol. II., p. 300.

[2] Abú-l Fidá, *Annales Moslem.*, Vol. II. p. 150.

[3] *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 18.

the succession to the government of Sind. It is asserted that, previous to the arrival of Ghassán, Táhir bin Husain, who had been the main cause of the elevation of Mámún to the Khiláfat, received Sind as a portion of his eastern government, when he was appointed to Khurásán in 205 A.H. (820 A.D.), in which province he died before he had held it two years. Others, again, say that 'Abdu-lla bin Táhir (the Obaid-ulla of Eutychius)[1] received the province of Sind, when he succeeded to his father's government in Khurásán. Firishta also tells us, that the Sámánís extended their incursions to Sind and Thatta; but it may reasonably be doubted if either they, or the Táhirís,[2] exercised any power in the valley of Indus, any more than did the Suffárides (except perhaps Ya'kúb), or the Búwaihides, whose seats of government were much nearer, and who had many more facilities for establishing their power in that direction. There is a confusion, also, respecting the precise date of the Barmekide governor above alluded to.[3]

8. *Al-Mu'tasim-bi-llah*, A.H. 218-227. A.D. 833-841.

Músa, the Barmekide, after acquiring a good reputation, died in the year 221 H., leaving a son, named 'Amrán, who was nominated governor of Sind by Mu'tasim-bi-llah, then Khalif. 'Amrán betook himself to the country of Kaikán, which was in the occupation of the Jats, vanquished them, and founded a city, which he called Al Baizá, "the white," where he established a military colony. He then returned to Mansúra, and thence went to Kandábel, which was in the possession of Muhammad bin Khalíl. The town was taken, and the principal inhabitants were transferred to Kusdár. After that, he sent an expedition against the Meds, killed three thousand of them, and constructed a causeway, which bore the name of "the Med's causeway." Upon encamping near the river Alrúr,[4] he summoned the

[1] Eutychii *Annales*, Vol. II. p. 430.

[2] [See note on the Tátariya dirhams, *supra*, p. 3; Thomas' Prinsep, Vol. II. p. 118.]

[3] Compare M. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, Tom. III. p. 496.—M. de Slane, *Dict. d'Ibn-Khallikán*, Tom. I. p. 542.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 198.—*Fragm. Arabes*, p. 215.—Gildemeister, *de reb. Indicis*, p. 24.—Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. II. p. 228.

[4] [This is the reading of Goeje's text (see *supra*, p. 128), but Sir H. Elliot read "Aral," respecting which he says] This river, by some considered an artificial canal, runs from the lake Manchhar, and falls into the Indus, near Sihwán.

Jats, who were dependent on his government. "When they obeyed the call, he stamped a seal upon their hands,[1] and received from them the capitation tax, directing that when they presented themselves to him, they should each be accompanied by a dog, so that the price of a dog rose as high as fifty dirhams."

The meaning of this strange provision is not very evident, but we have seen above, that it originated with the Bráhman dynasty, and was approved by Muhammad Kásim. It does not appear whether the tribute-dogs were taken away by the Arabs, or whether it was intended to encourage the breed, by making it necessary that every man should have his dog. It is only for one of these two reasons that the price could have been enhanced. In the former case, they must have been taken, either for the purpose of being slaughtered[2] by the Arabs, in order to diminish their number, which might have amounted to a nuisance, or they were taken and kept to be used by themselves, as by the Tálpúr princes of later times, in hunting—or in watching flocks, as we see them employed to this day in the Delta, where they allow no stranger to approach a village. For the same reasons they are held in high repute in Bulúchistán.

Had any people but Saracens been rulers in Syria and Mesopotamia, we might have even surmised that these animals were an article of export, for the celebrity of Indian dogs was great among the ancient occupants of the same country, and by them they were largely imported, as they were considered the best for hunting wild beasts, and even lions were readily attacked by them.[3] Xerxes, as Herodotus tells us, was followed in his expedition to Greece by Indian dogs, of which "none could mention the number, they were so many" (vii. 187); and Tritæchmes, the satrap of Babylon, kept

[1] This means, most probably, a permanent brand, which at that time was a favourite mode of marking a distinction between Christians, or Jews and Muhammadans.—*Mod. Universal Hist.*, Vol. XI. p. 16.

[2] This is improbable, because, however unclean they may be in the eyes of the faithful, the killing of them is considered unlawful, "since they have souls!" This decision was gravely pronounced by a Turkish muftí, on the occasion of a plague in Constantinople, when they were transported to a desert isle.—*Ibid.* Vol. X. p. 196.

[3] These were perhaps from the countries of the upper, rather than the lower, Indus. The Sind hound is described by Vigne, in his *Travels in Kashmir*, Vol. II., p. 411. Respecting the ancient estimation of these Indian dogs, see the passages from Strabo, Diodorus, Ælian, Plutarch, and Gratius, cited by R. Geier, *Alexandri M. Hist. Scriptores*, p. 378; Ctesias, *Indica*, c. 25; *Arist. Hist. Animal.* VII. 23.

such a number of Indian dogs, that four considerable towns in the plains were exempted from all other taxes, and devoted to their maintenance" (i. 192). But, as dogs are held in abomination by Muhammadans, we cannot conceive that these tribute-dogs were disposed of in this fashion. Whatever may have been the cause of this article of the engagement, it is a curious fact, that the effect seems to have survived in the very scene of these operations; for it is notorious, that the rare crime of dog-stealing is practised to the west of Aral and Manchhar, and travellers are obliged to adopt especial precautions in passing through that district.[1]

After this triumphant affair with the Jats, 'Amrán again attacked the Meds at several different points, having many Jat chiefs under his banners; and he dug a canal, by which the sea-water flowed into their lake, so that the only water which they had to drink became salt.

The spirit of faction which prevailed between the Nizárian and Yamánían Arabs, was the cause of 'Amrán's death, he having been appointed by 'Umar bin 'Abdu-l 'Azíz al Habbárí, who espoused the Nizárian cause, and whose family, in Ibn Haukal's time, was supreme in Mansúra. It was during 'Amrán's government, that the Indians of Sindán[2] declared themselves independent; but they respected the mosque, which the Musulmáns of the town visited every Friday, for the purpose of reading the usual offices and praying for the Khalif. Sindán had been originally captured by Fazl bin Máhán, once a slave of the family of Sáma,—the same probably that afterwards made itself master of Multán. He sent an elephant to the Khalif Mámún, and prayed for him in the Jámí' Masjid, which he erected in Sindán. At his death, he was succeeded by his son Muhammad, who fitted out a flotilla of seventy barks against the Meds of Hind, put many of them to the sword, and took Mália.[3] In his absence, one of his brothers, named Máhán, treacherously usurped the government of Sindán, and wrote to propitiate the goodwill of Mu'tasim; but the Indians declared against

[1] Masson's *Travels in Afghanistan, etc.*, Vol. II. p. 141.

[2] There was a Sindán fifty parasangs south of Broach, and eleven north of Tána, which is spoken of by the old Arab geographers (see p. 402). But the town here spoken of is more probably the Sindán, or Sandán, in Abrása, the southern district of Kachh. See Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 46, 47.

[3] [This name is unintelligible in the text, it may be Málí, Kálí, or Fálí].

him, and crucified him, and subsequently, as before stated, proclaimed their independence, by renouncing allegiance to the Muhammadans (p. 129).

It was in 'Amrán's time, also, that the country of Al 'Usaifán,[1] situated between Kashmír, Kábul, and Multán, was governed by a certain prince of good understanding. His son falling ill, the prince asked the priests of one of the idols worshipped by the inhabitants, to beseech the idol to heal his son. The priests, after absenting themselves a short time, returned, and said the idol had heard their prayers, yet the son died notwithstanding. The prince, exasperated at their fraudulent pretensions, demolished the temple, broke the idol in pieces, and massacred the ministers. He then called before him some Musulmán merchants, who developed to him the proofs of the unity of God, upon which he readily became a convert to the faith (p. 129).

Among the notices of Mu'tasim's reign, we find it mentioned that, in order to reward Ikshín, the Turk, for his seizure of the notorious fanatic Bábek, who had spread great consternation by the effects of his first successes, the Khalif bestowed upon him twenty millions of dirhams from the province of Sind—which was equal to two years' revenue; but it does not appear that Ikshín ever went there to collect it, and it was probably a mere assignment upon the general revenues, which might be paid when convenient, or altogether repudiated. The mention of a particular province is strange, under the circumstances of the time, and would seem to show that but little was received into the general treasury from that source. Ikshín, in short, was entitled to collect that amount, *if he could*, by rigid extortions in the province itself; just as, at a later period of Indian history, the miserable *jágírdár* was put off by assignments upon turbulent and rebellious provinces.[2] The value of such drafts, even

[1] If the Yúsufzáis had not been declared to have occupied their present tracts at a much later period, we might have conceived them to be here alluded to. We might even trace the earlier and extinct Assacani in this name, as written in Arabic characters. See Mützell's note to Quintus Curtius, viii. 37.—Arrian, *Indica*, i.—C. Müller, *Scriptores rerum Alex.*, p. 102.—*L' Univers Pitt*, ix. Babylonie, 306.

[2] "I represented to Abdul Hasan, that it was His Majesty's (Jahángír's) pleasure and none of my request, and being His Majesty's gift, I saw no reason for being deprived of my right." * * * "I could not get a living that would yield me

upon the general treasury, may be estimated by an amusing anecdote related of the Khalif Al Hádí. An eminent Arab poet having once presented to him some of his lucubrations, the prince, who was a good judge of such performances, discovered such beauties in them that he was extremely pleased, and said to him :—" Choose for your recompense, either to receive 30,000 dirhams *immediately*, or 100,000 after you have gone through the delays and formalities of the Exchequer." The poet replied with great readiness :—" Give me, I pray, the 30,000 now, and the 100,000 hereafter ;" which repartee, we are told, was so pleasing to the Khalif, that he ordered the entire sum of 130,000 dirhams to be paid down to him on the spot, without any deduction.[1]

15. *Al Mu'tamad-'alà-llah*, A.H. 256-279. A.D. 870-892.
18. *Al Muktadar-bi-llah*, A.H. 295-320. A.D. 908-932.

During the nine reigns which occupied the period between Al Mu'tasim and Al Muktadar, the power of the Khalifs had been gradually on the decline. The Turkish guard had become more and more outrageous and arbitrary ; independent dynasties, such as the Táhirides and Suffárides, after having shorn the kingdom of some of its fairest provinces, had themselves expired ; eunuchs, and even women,[2] had sat upon the judgment seat and dispensed patronage, while corruption and venality openly prevailed ; and now, at a later period—notwithstanding that literature flourished, and the personal dignity of the Khalif was maintained in the highest splendour — yet, not only had the Sámánís conquered the whole of Máwaráu-n nahr and Khurásán, not only had the Dailamites penetrated to the borders of 'Irák, and all northern Africa, except Egypt, had been lost for ever to the Khiláfat,

anything, the Vizier giving me always assignments on places that were in the hands of outlaws or insurgents ; except once that I had an assignment on Lahor by special command of the king, but of which I was soon deprived." * * * "The nobles had their assignments either upon barren places or such as were in rebellion ; Abul Hasan having retained all the good districts to himself."—Capt. Hawkins' *Narrative*, in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages*. Yet the writer, according to a compatriot who visited Agra in 1610, was "in great credit with the king, entitled by the name of a *can*, which is a knight, and keepeth company with the greatest noblemen."—Capt. R. Coverte, in Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, Vol. VIII. p. 256.

[1] *Modern Universal History*, Vol. II. p. 152.

[2] *Elmacin*, 345.

but, as if to crown the measure of its misfortunes, the Karmatian heretics, having plundered Kúfa, Basra, and Sámarra, had possessed themselves of Mecca during the very time of pilgrimage, had massacred the pilgrims, and even carried off the sacred black stone itself, the principal and universal object of Muhammadan veneration.

Under such circumstances, the most distant provinces necessarily partook of the decline from which the heart of the empire was suffering; and Sind, neglected by the imperial government, came to be divided among several petty princes, who, though they transmitted no revenue and rendered no political allegiance to the Khalif, were, like other more powerful chiefs, who had assumed independence, glad to fortify their position by acknowledging his spiritual supremacy, and flattering him by the occasional presentation of some rarity from the kingdoms which they had usurped. Among these ostentatious displays of empty fealty in which revolted governors were wont to indulge,—comprising, in the words of Gibbon, "an elephant, a cast of hawks, a suit of silk-hangings, or some pounds of musk and amber,"[1] we may specially mention two loyal and characteristic offerings from India,—"a cart-load of four-armed idols,"[2] and "the largest and longest teak-tree which had ever been seen"[3] (p. 129).

The virtual renunciation of political control in Sind may be dated from the year 257 H., when the Khalif Mu'tamad, in order to divert the Suffárides from their hostile designs against 'Irák, conferred upon Ya'kúb ibn Lais the government of Sind, as well as of Balkh and Tukháristán, in addition to that of Sijistán and Kirmán, with which he had been already invested.[4]

[1] *Decline and Fall*, Chap. li.

[2] *Biographical Dictionary*, L.U.K., Vol. II. p. 287; *Mém. sur l'Inde*, 289.

[3] *Fragments Ar. et Pers.*, p. 216. M. Reinaud contends that the word *sdj* here means a species of dress, which had belonged to some man of extraordinary stature. This is by no means probable,—whereas a teak-tree from Sind, where so many were imported from Malabar, would have been natural and appropriate. Teak is the *ξύλα σαγαλίνα* of Arrian's Periplus, which Vincent conceives to be an error for *σανδαλίνα*. He wrongly attributes another error to the reading of *σησαμίνα*—which has proved equally puzzling to Salmasius, as well as to Heeren and his Oxford translator. Both words are perfectly correct, and are derived from two native terms, *sdj* and *sísam*, in use at the present day.—Vincent, *Commerce and Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. II. pp. 378, 379; Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, Talboys, Vol. III. pp. 439; S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, Tom. III. pp. 473, 474; *Gildemeister*, 39; *Hofmam. V. Santalina and Sasem.*

[4] Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. II. p. 438.

The two principal kingdoms which were established in Sind a few years after this event, were those of Multán and Mansúra, both of which attained a high degree of power and prosperity. It is probable that the independence of those states commenced upon Ya'kúb ibn Lais' death in 265 H. (879 A.D.), for his successors were comparatively powerless, and the Sámánís, at the commencement of their rule, had little leisure to attend to so remote a province as Sind.

Mas'údi, who visited the valley of the Indus in the year 303-4 H.—915-6 A.D., and completed his "*Meadows of Gold*" in 332 H.—943-4 A.D., furnishes a brilliant account of the state of Islám in that country. The Amír of Multán was an Arab of the noble tribe of Kuraish,[1] named Abú-l Dalhat al Munabba, son of Assad as Sámí, and the kingdom of Multán is represented to have been hereditary in his family for a long time, "nearly from the beginning of Islám,"—meaning, probably, its introduction into Sind; and Kanauj, he asserts, was then a province of Multán, "the greatest of the countries which form a frontier against unbelieving nations."

He was descended from Sáma, son of Lawí, son of Ghálib, who had established himself on the shores of 'Umán before the birth of Muhammad. The Amír had an army in his pay, and there were reckoned to be 120,000 hamlets around the capital. His dominion extended to the frontier of Khurásán. The temple of the Sun was still an object of native pilgrimage, to which people resorted from the most distant parts of the continent, to make their offerings of money, pearls, aloe-wood and other perfumes. It was from this source that the greater part of the revenue of the Amír was derived. Mas'údí remarks, as does Ibn Haukal, that the threat of injuring or mutilating the idol was sufficient to deter the native princes from engaging in hostilities with the Amír.

Mansúra was governed by another Kuraishí, whose name was Abú-l Mundar 'Umar bin 'Abdu-lla. He was descended from Habbár bin Aswad, who was celebrated for his opposition to Muhammad, and on the return of the prophet to Mecca in triumph, was among the few who were excepted from the terms of the amnesty which was at that time proclaimed. He subsequently became a convert, and towards the year 111 A.H., one of his descendants came to the

[1] The Kuraishís still muster very strong in the neighbourhood of Multán.

valley of the Indus to seek his fortune. Some time after, his family, taking advantage of the anarchy which prevailed in the country, made themselves masters of the lower Indus, and established themselves at Mansúra. Our voyager states, that he was kindly received by the Amír, as well as his minister. While he was there, he found some descendants of the Khalif 'Alí, whom persecution had compelled to seek a refuge in that distant country.

The principality of Mansúra extended from the sea to Alor, where that of Multán commenced. It was said to contain 300,000 villages, which is, of course, a ridiculous exaggeration; but the whole country was well cultivated, and covered with trees and fields. Nevertheless, the inhabitants were obliged continually to protect themselves against the aggressions of the Meds and other savage tribes of the desert.

The chief of Mansúra had eighty elephants of war. Their trunks were armed with a kind of curved sword, called *kartal*, and were covered with armour to protect them in fight.[1] The entire body of the animal was similarly protected, and each was attended by a detachment of five hundred infantry. Other elephants, not used in war service, were employed to carry burdens and draw chariots.[2]

23. *Al Muti'-li-llah*, A.H. 334–363. A.D. 945–974.
25. *Al Kádir-bi-llah*, A.H. 381–422. A.D. 991–1031.

A few years after Mas'údí, the valley of the Indus was visited by Istakhrí, and by Ibn Haukal, who has included nearly the whole of Istakhrí's relation in his own, and has entered into some further detail.

The account of Sind by Ibn Haukal, who wrote his work after the year 366 H. (976 A.D,), when he was for a second time in India, has been given in the preceding pages, and need not be repeated here. With respect to the condition of the country at the time of his visit, he observes that Multán was not so large as Mansúra, and was defended by a citadel; that the territory was fertile and produce cheap, but that its fertility was inferior to that of Mansúra, and its

1 Kazwíní mentions a ridiculous story of a man, named Hárún, who wrote a poem, in which he boasted of having contended with an elephant so armed, and having put it and its attendant host to flight, by eradicating its tusks. *'Ajáibu-l Makhlúkát*, v. "Multán."

2 *Supra*, p. 18; *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 213–217.

soil was not cultivated with the same care. The Amír[1] lived outside the town, and never entered it, except for the purpose of going to the mosque, on Fridays, mounted on an elephant. There appears to have been no native coinage, but the money in circulation was chiefly Kandahárian and Tátaríyan dirhams. The dress of the Sindians was like that of the people of 'Irák, but the Amírs habited themselves like the native princes. Some persons wore their hair long, and their dresses loose, with waistbands, on account of the heat, and there was no difference between the garb of the faithful and idolaters.

The Amírs of Multán and Mansúra were independent of one another; but both deferred to the spiritual authority of the Khalif of Baghdád. The former was still a descendant of Sáma bin Lawí, and the latter a descendant of the Habbárí family.

Alor, the ancient Hindú capital, was nearly as large as Multán, surrounded by a double wall, and was a dependency of Mansúra. Its territory was fertile and rich, and it was the seat of considerable commerce. Ráhúk (or Dahúk) also, on the borders of Makrán, and to the west of the Hála range, was included in Mansúra.

There were other principalities to the west, besides these two in the valley of the Indus:—such as Túrán; which was under the authority of a native of Basra, named Abú-l Kassam, "tax-gatherer, administrator, judge, and general, who could not distinguish between three and ten:"—and Kusdár; which was governed by an Arab, residing in Kaikánán, named Mu'ín bin Ahmad, who admitted the name of the 'Abbáside Khalif into the public prayers:—and Makrán; the ruler of which was 'Ísa bin Ma'dán, who had established his residence in the city of Kíz, about the size of half of Multán:—and Mushkí, on the borders of Kirmán; which was presided over by Matahar bin Rijá, who had an independent jurisdiction extending through three days' journey, but used the Khalif's name in the public services of religion.[2]

Ibn Haukal observes, that at Mansúra and Multán, and in the rest

[1] Istakhrí speaks of him as *Málik*. Ibn Haukal calls him *Amír*; but the chief of Mansúra he designates as *Málik*; so that it is evident he uses the terms in the same signification.

[2] Gildemeister *de rebus Ind.* p. 173.

of the province, the people spoke the Arabic and Sindian languages; in Mákrán, Makránian and Persian.

With respect to those other parts of India to which the Musulmáns resorted, such as the maritime towns in the jurisdiction of the Balhará, between Cambay and Saimúr, Ibn Haukal observes that they were covered with towns and villages. The inhabitants were idolaters, but the Musulmáns were treated with great consideration by the native princes. They were governed by men of their own faith, as the traveller informs us was the case with Musulmáns in other infidel dominions, as among the Khazars of the Volga, the Alans of the Caucasus, and in Ghána and Kaugha in Central Africa. They had the privilege of living under their own laws, and no one could give testimony against them, unless he professed the Muhammadan faith. "I have seen," says Ibn Haukal, "Musulmáns of this country invoke against other Musulmáns the testimony of natives of probity who did not profess the Muhammadan creed; but it was necessary that the adverse party should first give his consent." They had erected their mosques in these infidel cities, and were allowed to summon their congregations by the usual mode of proclaiming the times of prayer.

Such privileges could only have been conceded to men whose favour was worth gaining, and it is to be regretted that they were indisposed to show to others in similar circumstances the indulgences so readily allowed to themselves. In the Middle Ages, it was only the power and political influence of the Amalfitans, Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese, that were sometimes able to extort from the reluctant Musulmáns those immunities, which were willingly granted by the more easy and indifferent Crusaders and Greeks,—comprising the security of their changes, magazines, and churches, the recognition of their Bailos, the privilege of being tried by their own laws, and by judges of their own appointment. These republics must then have occupied in Egypt and Constantinople the same kind of position as the Arabs on the coast of India, excepting that the tenure of the former was more precarious, and more subject to the caprices of despotism, the fluctuations of trade, and the ascending or waning influence of the principal carriers.

The commercial establishments in the peninsula of India do not

seem to have excited any religious scruples in the minds of the Khalifs, or even of those casuistical divines who guided the consciences of these "Vicars of God" and their subjects. Trade was openly prosecuted in that land of infidels by Arab merchants, without any fulminations from these spiritual authorities, and probably with their encouragement. In this respect, there was a singular contrast between the sentiments that animated Muhammadans and Christians: for to Christians, on the contrary, whether merchants or princes, the permission of their "Vicar of God" was necessary, before they could traffic with infidels; as only he, in his infallibility, could authorize a departure from the most sacred injunctions of Holy Writ. Even as late as the year 1454, the dispensing power to trade with Muhammadans was exercised in favour of Prince Henry of Portugal by Pope Nicholas V., in a famous Bull, which refers to similar concessions from his immediate predecessors, Martin V. and Eugenius IV., to Kings of that country.

This intercourse with the Saracens was not merely subject to these formal, and perhaps interested, restrictions, but was strongly and honestly reprobated by many sincere believers: and not without reason, when we reflect, that some of these traders, especially the Venetians, disgraced their honour and their faith by supplying the Egyptian market with Circassian slaves, and even rendered their mercenary assistance in driving the Crusaders from Acre, the last and only stronghold left to them in Palestine:—

> E non con Saracin, nè con Giudei,
> Che ciascun suo nemico era Cristiano,
> E nessuno era stato a vincere Acri,
> Nè mercantante in terra di Soldano.[1]

The revenues, which the Arab princes of Sind derived from their several provinces, are pronounced to have been very small,—barely more than sufficient to provide food and clothing and the means of maintaining their position with credit and decency; and, as a

[1] Dante, *Inferno*, Cant. xxvii. See also *Parad.* Cant. ix. xv. The sentiment was common, and Petrarch exclaims against this venality, with equal indignation, in his *Trionfo della Fama*. On the general subject, compare Muratori, *Antiquit. Ital. med. ævi*, Vol. II. col. 905–16; *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 934; Robertson, *Disquis. on Ancient India*, Notes xlv. and xlvii.; Heeren, *Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades*, Pt. ii. sec. 1; Reinaud, *Sarrazins*, 238; Brencman *de Republ. Amalf.*, 8; McPherson, *Annals of Commerce*, I. 370, 396, 435; Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Scrip.*, Vol. VI. col. 186, XII. 322, 330; XVII. 1088, 1092.

necessary consequence, only a few years elapsed before they were driven from their kingdoms, and compelled to yield their power to more enterprising and energetic assailants.

The Karmatians of India are nowhere alluded to by Ibn Haukal;[1] but it could not have been long after his visit, that these heretics, who probably contained within their ranks many converted natives and foreigners as well as Arabs, began to spread in the valley of the Indus. Abú-l Fidá dates the commencement of their decline from 326 H. (938 A.D.). This was accelerated by two ignominious defeats in Egypt in 360 and 363, and their overflow was completed in 'Irák in 375 (985 A.D.). It must have been about this latter year that, finding their power expiring in the orignal seat of their conquests, they sought new settlements in a distant land, and tried their success in Sind. There the weakness of the petty local governments favoured their progress, and led to their early occupation both of Mansúra and Multán,—from which latter place history records their expulsion by the overwhelming power of Mahmúd the Ghaznivide.

It appears from local histories, as well as the *Kámilu-t Tawáríkh*, that Mahmúd also effected conquests in Sind. Though this matter is not commonly recorded by his historians, there is every likelihood of its truth; for, being in possession of Kusdár and Multán, the country was at all times open to his invasions. As it is well established that, after the fall of Somnát, he marched for some days along the course of the Indus, we can readily concur with the *Kámilu-t Tawárikh* in ascribing his capture of Mansúra to the year 416 H., on his return from that expedition: and, as it is expressly stated that he then placed a *Muhammadan* prince on the throne, we may safely infer that the previous occupant had rejected that faith, and was therefore a Karmatian, who, having usurped the government from the Habbárí dynasty, had thus, after a duration of three centuries, effected the extinction of the Arab dominion in Sind.[2]

1 [Unless they were the inhabitants of "Rasak, the city of schismatics."]

2 Compare Mordtmann, *das Buch der Länder*; Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 163–182; Ouseley, *Oriental Geography*; *Modern Universal Hist.*, Vol. II. pp. 383, 387, 398, 415; *Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 233–242; *Fragm. Arabes*, p. xxiv.; D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orientale*, v. "Carmath;" Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. II. p. 675; III. 11, 33, 65; De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns.*; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 21. Hamza Isfahání, ed. Gottwaldt, Vol. II. p. 156, *et seq.*; Abú-l Fidá, *Annal. Mosl.*, Vol. II. p. 406.

Sind under the Arabs.

Having in the previous Note exhausted all the scanty materials which history has left us respecting the political progress of the Arabs in Sind, we may now proceed to consider some of the questions connected with the maintenance of their power in that province.

The internal administration of the country was necessarily left in the hand of the natives; as the Arabs, upon their first acquisition of territory, had brought with them no men capable of exercising civil functions. Indeed, wherever we follow the steps of these fanatics, we find them ignorant of the first principles of public economy, and compelled, by the exigencies of their position, to rely upon native assistance in the management of the finances and accounts of their subject provinces. So, indeed, in a certain measure, do the English in India; but with this essential difference, that they direct and control the ministerial officers, both of collection and record, introduce their own systems, modify or abrogate the old ones as occasion arises, and initiate all proceedings connected with the several departments of the exchequer: but the Arabs, either through indolence, pride, or ignorance, left themselves at the mercy of their subordinates, and were unable to fathom the depths of the chaotic accounts kept by their native financiers, who practised the most ingenious devices of flattery, falsehood, cajolery, and self-interest—rendered more acute by religious hatred—in order to blind their credulous dupes as to the actual resources of the countries which they governed. The rack and the threat of circumcision would sometimes extort the illicit accumulations of past years; but, in the long run, the pliant and plausible officials were the gainers; and compromises, in a little ready cash, were gladly accepted, in lieu of closer scrutiny and more accurately balanced ledgers.

Hence those charges so readily brought, and so eagerly listened to, by Khalifs as well as Amírs, of defalcations and embezzlements: hence those demands for indefinite sums from refractory servants: hence those extortionate fines, levied according to mere surmises and conjectures, since no means existed of ascertaining the real amount of revenue and expenditure. Brought up in their native deserts, with no greater knowledge of schemes of administration than was to

be obtained by studying the phylarchies of the Bedouins, and invested suddenly with dominions which they were not competent to manage, however easily they might overrun and subdue them, the Arabs were compelled to seek in the political institutions of their subjects the means of realizing the exactions which, as victors, they felt it their right to demand. The maintenance, therefore, of native officials (who were styled Bráhmans in the case of Sind) was a matter of necessity rather than choice, at least at this early period of their sway; for the guide-books mentioned by Ibn Haukal, which indicate some knowledge of statistics and finance, were the products of a much later age.

The first show of independence of such aid, even at the capital itself, was not exhibited till the reign of 'Abdu-l Malik, when he adopted an Arab currency, in supersession of the Greek and Persian money, with which trade had been hitherto carried on: though the old denominations of *denarius* and *drachma* were still retained, under the slight metamorphoses of *dínár* and *dirham*. Walíd next abolished the Greek language and character from the public offices of finance, and substituted the Arabic,—thus still further freeing the Arabs from the trammels which these foreign systems had interposed. The land-tenures and personal taxes, being based upon principles introduced by the victorious Moslems, retained their Arab nomenclature.[1]

The original conquerors of Sind received there, as elsewhere under similar circumstances, large possessions in land (*iktá'át* or *katáya'*), which, as beneficiary grants for public services, were exempt from all taxes, except the alms (*sadaka*) defined by law. They were, of course, held on the condition of continued military service, and as long as this was rendered, they never reverted to the fisc. According to the regulations promulgated by 'Umar, soldiers were not allowed to devote themselves to agriculture or any other profession, and therefore the lands of these grantees continued to be cultivated by the former possessors, now reduced to the condition of villeins and serfs.[2] Other soldiers, not so beneficed, received stipends from the public revenue, to which they themselves contributed nothing in the shape of taxes. Four-fifths of the prize-money was invariably

[1] Elmacin, *Historia Saracenica*, p. 77; *L'Univ. Pitt. Asie*, V. *Arabie*, 405-6.
[2] Reinaud, *Sarrazins*, 279, 280.—*Blacas*, I. 316.

distributed among them, and, indeed, at first, formed their sole remuneration, insomuch that a man who received pay was entitled neither to plunder nor the honour of martyrdom. One-fifth of the spoil was reserved to the Khalif for religious and charitable purposes, according to the injunctions of the Kurán. The man "who went down to the battle, and he who tarried by the stuff," received equal shares, and the horseman was entitled to a double portion. Had the Khalif attempted to augment his share, the hardy warriors would have resisted his claim, with the same freedom as the fierce and sturdy Gaul, when he raised his battle-axe, and reminded Clovis that the famous vase of Soissons was public spoil.[1]

Much also of the conquered land was, during the whole course of Arab occupation, liberally bestowed upon sacred edifices and institutions, as *wakf*, or mortmain; of which some remnant, dating from that early period, is to be found even to this day in Sind,[2] which notoriously swarms with sanctified beggars and similar impostors, and contains, according to the current saying, no less than 100,000 tombs of saints and martyrs, besides ecclesiastical establishments, which, under the Tálpúrs, absorbed one-third of the entire revenue of the State.

That the whole valley, however, was not occupied or assigned by the victors is evident, not only from the large amount of the land-tax—which, had that been the case, would have yielded no revenue to the government—but from the fact of many native chiefs being able to maintain their independence, amidst all the wars and turmoils which raged around them. This is manifest from the story of 'Abdu-lla bin Muhammad, the 'Alite, which has been related in the preceding note. There we find a native potentate, "only one amongst other Sindian kings," possessing much land and many subjects, to whom 'Abdu-lla was recommended to fly for protection, and who was represented as holding the name of the prophet in respect, though he continued to worship his own idols.

[1] Gregory of Tours, *Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum*, Lib. ii. c. 27. On the subject of the Muhammadan law of booty, compare *Heddya*, B. ix. c. 2, 4; *Mishcát ul Musábih*, Vol. II. p. 244; Defrémery, *Hist. des Samanides*, 226; Sale, *Korán*, Prel. Disc., pp. 198-201; and Vol. I. pp. 200, 207; II. 424; Reland, *De Jure Militari Muhammedorum*, Sect. 19-27; Reinaud, *Sarrazins*, 254.

[2] [Kosegarten, *Ibn Batuta*, 22.]

The conquerors, taking up their abode chiefly in cities of their own construction, cultivated no friendly intercourse with the natives, whom they contemned as a subject race, and abhorred as idolaters. They remained, therefore, isolated from their neighbours, and when their turn came to be driven out from their possessions, they left a void which was soon filled up, and their expulsion, or extermination, was easily accomplished, and nowhere regretted.

In no place do we find any allusion to Arab women accompanying Sindian camps, or—as often occurred in other fields—stimulating the soldiers to action, when they evinced any disposition to yield to their enemy,[1] The battle of the Yermouk, which decided the fate of Syria, was gained as much by the exhortations, reproaches, and even blows of the women, as by the valour of the men; for thrice were the faithful repulsed by the steady advance of the Grecian phalanx; thrice were they checked in their retreat, and driven back to battle by the women,—Abú Sufyán himself being struck over the face with a tent-pole by one of those viragos, as he fled before the enemy. In the remotest east, again, we find, as early as the time of 'Ubaidu-lla, his brother's wife mentioned as the first Arabian woman who crossed the Oxus,—on which occasion, unfortunately, she disgraced the credit of her sex, no less than her exalted rank, by stealing the jewels and crown of the queen of the Sogdians. Not many years after, the sanguinary battle of Bukhára, fought in the year 90 H., between Ibn Kutaiba and the Tátárs, was, in like manner with that of the Yermouk, restored by the tears and reproaches of the women who accompanied the Arab camp.[2] These, soldiers, therefore, were prepared for immediate colonization and settlement, and must have consisted of the surplus emigrant population already settled in Khurásán. Accordingly, we find in this instance, that Baikand was converted into a fortress, and that part of the army was located in its neighbourhood, and composed several hundred military stations.

Sind, on the contrary, on account of the distance and difficulty of

[1] Reinaud, *Sarrazins*, 18.

[2] So, with respect to the Germans, Tacitus says:—Memoriæ proditur quasdem acies inclinatas jam et labantes a feminis restitutas, constantiâ precum, et objectu pectorum, et monstratâ cominus captivitate, quam longè impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent.—*Germania*, c. 3.

communication, and the absence of intermediate Arab colonies, was invaded by men prepared for military operations alone; and who could not possess the means of carrying their families with them, when only one baggage-camel was allowed to every four men, for the transport of their food, tents, and other necessary equipments, and when supplies ran short even before the Indus was crossed.

Subsequently, when the road was more open and free, these agreeable additions to their society may have poured in, along with the later adventurers who flocked to the new conquest; but we nowhere meet with even any incidental allusion to the circumstance, but with much that militates against its probability: so that there was, perhaps, among the descendants of the Sindian colonists, less infusion of the real blood of Arabs than in any other province subjected to their dominion.

When Muhammad Kásim, upon passing the Indus, gave to any of his soldiers so disposed leave to retire to their homes, only three came forward to claim their discharge; and of these, two did so, because they had to provide for the female members of their family, who had, with the rest, been left behind in their native country with no one to protect them. Nor were the consolations of a speedy restoration to their deserted homes held out to the first conquerors. To them the return was even more difficult than the advance, as we may learn from a passage in Tabarí, where he tells that, on the accession of the Khalif Sulaimán, he wrote to those ill-used men—the companions of the gallant hero whom he had tortured to death—in these harsh and cruel terms:—"Sow and sweat, wherever you may find yourselves on receipt of this mandate, for there is no more Syria for you." Here, then, these exiles must have remained during the ten years of his reign at least; and as they were not likely to have returned in any numbers after his death, we may conceive them congregated into several military colonies, seeking solace for their lost homes in the arms of the native women of the country, and leaving their lands and plunder to be inherited by their Sindo-Arab descendants.

These military colonies, which formed a peculiar feature of Arab settlement were styled *junúd* and *amsár*,—"armies" and "cities,"—the latter appellation implying settled abodes, contrasted with the

previous migrations to which the tribes had been habituated. In many instances they rose into important cities, as in the case of Basra, Kúfa, and Damascus, and early became the principal centres of Arab learning, law, grammar, and theology, as well as of tumult, violence, perfidy, and intrigue. The principal seats of these cantonments in Sind appear to have been Mansúra, Kuzdár, Kandábel, Baizá, Mahfúza, and Multán; and indeed, the military camp near the latter town,—whether the real name be "Jandaram" or "Jundrúz" (*Gildemeister*), "Jundráwár" (*Ashkálu-l Bilád*), "Jundáwar" (*Abú-l Fidá*) or "Jandúr" (*Nubian Geographer*), seems to derive its first syllable from *jand*, the singular number of *junúd*, above mentioned.[1]

The local troops, which were enlisted in the country, dispersed to their own homes as soon as the necessity was satisfied for which they were raised; but there were some which assumed a more permanent character, and were employed on foreign service, with little chance of return.

That Sindian troops were levied, and sent to fight the battles of the Arabs in distant quarters, we have undoubted proof. I speak not here of the numerous Jats of 'Irak, Syria, and Mesopotamia, who—as I hope to be able to show in another place—were, ere long, transformed into the Jatano, or Gitano,—the Gypsies of modern Europe. These had been too long in their settlements to be called "Sindians" by a contemporary historian, like Dionysius Telmarensis, to whom the terms "Jat," "Asáwira," and "Sabábija," were more familiar. This author, in his *Syrian Chronicle*, distinctly mentions "Sindian" cohorts as forming a portion of the motley army of Alans, Khazars, Medes, Persians, Turks, Arabs, etc., which made an irruption into the Byzantine territory in 150 A.H.—767 A.D.[2] Four years afterwards, we find a body of Sindians and Khazars—said to be slaves—attempting to seize upon the imperial treasury in Harrán. Most probably, they also composed part of these foreign levies.

In admitting these provincials into their armies, the Arabs merely

[1] Possibly the Jandáwal, or Chandoul, of Kábul—the separate quarter occupied by the military colony of the Kazalbásh—may have a similar origin.—[See Note on the name *Jandrúd*, page 380, *supra*.]

[2] Jos. Sim. Assemanni, *Biblioth. Orient. Clementino-Vat.*, Vol. II. p. 103; Rampoldi, *Annali Musulmani*, Tom. IV. p. 89; *Univ. Hist.* II. 126; *Gild.*, 17.

imitated the policy of the Romans, who did the same from motives of expediency—hoping to find employment for turbulent spirits, and to neutralize the elements of rebellion, by sending foreign mercenaries into provinces remote from their native soil.[1] Thus we find Slavones and Berbers, Syrians and Copts, Babylonians and Persians, and even Christians and Jews, Magians and Idolaters, in the early period of the Khiláfat, extending the Arab conquests among distant nations; just as, in the days of its decline, the Khalifs had Africans, Farghánians, Turks, Alans, etc., acting as their Prætorian guards, both in protecting them against their own subjects, and deposing their employers at their own will and pleasure:[2]—the difference only consisted in this, that the former constituted auxiliary corps, into which, when any foreigner was enlisted, he was adopted by some Arab tribe as a member, and being called *maulá*, or client, of that tribe, he had the same rights and privileges as if he had been born in it; whereas, Mu'tasim, when he enrolled his foreign body-guard, made the Arabian troops subordinate to his mercenaries, whom, in order to elude the law, he called his own clients—an evasive practice which was continued by his successors.[3]

When the profession of faith in God and his Prophet was no longer the symbol which united these furious zealots; when literature, science, philosophy, poetry, and other objects of intellectual culture, ceased to be regarded as criminal pursuits;[4] when opulence, luxury, and the arts which refine and embellish social life, had converted roaming and rugged soldiers into indolent and effeminate voluptuaries,—the necessity of recruiting their ranks from extraneous sources, led to a modification of their military institutions, and to the abandonment of those exclusive sentiments, which had once bound the Arabs by a common tie of fraternity in rapine and propagandism. Some of these foreign recruits were, no doubt, obtained by the hopes of ready participation in the spoils which were the invariable concomitant of Arab conquests; but most of them were

[1] In the Roman occupation of Britain, we find even Indian cavalry stationed at Cirencester.—Wright. *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 252.

[2] "Firmamentum imperii et postea pestem."

[3] *Biographical Dictionary*, *L.U.K.*, Vol. II. pp. 294, 372.

[4] G. O. Fluegelii, *Dissert. de Arab. Script. Gr. Interpret.* p. 5; Reinaud, *Sarrazins*, i. 74, 243.

very unwilling soldiers, raised by an arbitrary conscription, and only reconciled to their fate, after long experience of their new profession, and when their distant homes had been forgotten. That the power of levying troops for foreign service was generally felt as a sore grievance by the unfortunate provincials, is evidenced by the terms for which the people of Tabaristán held out, when they capitulated to their victors; for while they agreed to become tributary in the annual sum of five hundred thousand dirhams, they stipulated that the Moslims should at no time levy any troops in their country.[1]

Commercial activity, also, succeeded to the zeal for war, which offered no longer the same inducements of honour and profit that had been realized by the early conquerors. A new stimulus was thus found for the spirit of adventure which still survived, in the perils and excitements of trading speculations, both by land and sea,—prosecuted at a distance and duration, which at that time it is surprising to contemplate. Sind was not backward in this season of enterprise, for she appears to have kept up a regular commercial communication with the rest of the Muhammadan empire. Caravans were often passing and repassing between that country and Khurásán, most commonly by the route of Kábul and Bámián. She also held communication with Zábulistán and Sijistán, by way of Ghazní and Kandahár. Zábulistán was, at the period of Mas'údí's visit, a large country, known by the name of the kingdom of Fíroz, and contained fortresses of great strength. The people were of divers languages and races, and different opinions were even then entertained respecting their origin. In Sijistán, which has greatly deteriorated since that period, the banks of the Hendmand were studded with gardens and cultivated fields; its stream was covered with boats; and irrigation was carried on extensively by means of windmills.[2]

[1] Washington Irving's *Successors of Mahomet*, pp. 141 and 255; from Hammer-Purgstall's *Gemäldesaal*. It is worthy of remark, that the Tapyri, whose name is preserved in Tabaristán, are not included, in the copious catalogue of Herodotus, among those joining in the armament of Xerxes.

[2] This is nearly the earliest mention we have of them, even in the east. Our knowledge of these contrivances in Europe ascends no higher than 1105 of our era. In Muhammadan countries we have allusions to them as early as 645; Price, *Retrospect of Muh. History*, Vol. I. p. 140; Du Cange, *Glossarium med. et inf. Latinitatis*, v.

With respect to the routes from the North to India, Bírúní observes:—"We reach Sind from our country (Turkistán) by going through the country of Nímroz, that is to say, Sijistán, and we reach Hind through Kábul. I do not mean to say that is the only route, for one can arrive there from all directions when the passes are open." (See p. 54.)

We learn from notices in other authors, that there was commercial traffic by sea-board also. Much of the merchandize which was carried through Sind to Turkistán and Khurásán,—and thence even so far as Constantinople,[1] by the resumption of a route which had been much frequented at an earlier period[2]—was the product of China and the ports of Ceylon, 'Umán, and Malabar; from which latter province was derived, as at the present day, all the timber used in the construction of the boats which plied on the river. From Arabia, horses were frequently imported into Sind; and armies and munitions of war were sent up the mouths of the Indus, as we have already noticed with respect to the expeditions of Muhammad Kásim and some of his predecessors.[3] The whole coast of Kirmán and Makrán was, doubtless, studded with Arab settlements of the Azdís, who were the chief mercantile carriers from Obolla and 'Umán, and who had many brethren settled in Sind; and so it has remained, indeed, from the time of Alexander to the present Imám of Maskát, for the names of Arabis, Arabius, Arabitæ, etc., of Nearchus and the ancient geographers, were most probably derived from the opposite peninsula in the west, and are still represented by the Arabú of the coast of Makrán, like as the neighbouring Oritæ, or Horitæ, seem to survive in the modern Hor-mára and Haur.[4]

The toleration which the native Sindians enjoyed in the practice

[1] Ramusio, *Raccolta di Nav.*, Tom. I. p. 374, B.; Robertson, *India*, pp. 42, 77, 106, 121; MacPherson, *Annals of Commerce*, Vol. I. pp. 141, 194, 370; Reinaud's *Rel. des Voy.*, 42; *Weil*, II. 305.

[2] Strabo, *Geog.*, lib. xi. c. 7, Vol. II. p. 427, ed. Tauchnitz; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* lib. vi. c. 17, 23; Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, Vol. I. p. 38; *Mod. Trav. India*, I. 148; *Ind. Alterthum.*, II. 531, 603; *Hakluyt*, IV. 409.

[3] Cosmos Indicopl. ap. Montfaucon, *Coll. nov. Patrum*, Tom. II. p. 334; Elmacin, *Hist. Sarac.*, Ann. 101; Kosegarten, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, p. 99.

[4] See Geier, *Alexandri M. Hist. Scriptores*, p. 128; Mützell's *Notes to* Q. Curtius, pp. 873, 874; Droysen, *Geschichte Alex's*, pp. 467-9; Vincent, *Voyage of Nearchus*, pp. 181–211; Barros, *Decadas da Asia*, Dec. iv. p. 290; Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, Vol. I. pp. 279, 297.

of their religion, was greater than what was usually conceded in other countries; but it was dictated less by any principle of justice or humanity, than the impossibility of suppressing the native religion by the small number of Arab invaders.[1] When time had fully shown the necessity of some relaxation in the stern code of Moslim conquest, it was directed, that the natives might rebuild their temples and perform their worship, and that the three per cent., which had been allowed to the priests under the former government, should not be withheld by the laity for whom they officiated. Dáhir's prime minister was also retained in office, in order to protect the rights of the people, and to maintain the native institutions; while Bráhmans were distributed throughout the provinces to collect the taxes which had been fixed. But, where power had, for a short time, enabled the Moslims to usurp the mastery, the usual bigotry and cruelty were displayed. At Debal, the temples were demolished, and mosques founded; a general massacre endured for three whole days; prisoners were taken captive; plunder was amassed; and an apostate was left in charge of the government, exercising co-ordinate jurisdiction with an Arab chief. At Nairún, the idols were broken, and mosques founded, notwithstanding its voluntary surrender. At Alor, though the lives of the inhabitants were spared, a heavy tribute was imposed; and though the temples were treated like "churches of the Christians, or synagogues of the Jews," yet that was no great indulgence, if we may judge from the proceedings at Jerusalem and Damascus—where the ringing of bells and building of chapels were prohibited; where the free admission of Musulmáns was at all times compulsory; where the forcible conversion of churches into mosques was insisted on, without the offer of compensation; and where they were sometimes devoted to the meaner uses of cow-houses and stables. At Ráwar, and 'Askalanda, all the men in arms were put to the sword, and the women and children carried away captive. At Multán, all men capable of bearing arms were massacred; six thousand ministers of the temple were made captive, besides all the women and children; and a mosque was erected in the town.

Among the chief objects of idolatry at Multán, the Bhavishya Purána and Hwen-Tsang mention a golden statue of the Sun; but

[1] Reinaud. *Sarrazins*, 35.

the Arabic writers speak of the principal idol as being composed of no other more valuable substance than wood, representing that it was covered with a red skin, and adorned with two rubies for eyes. Muhammád Kasim, ascertaining that large offerings were made to this idol, and wishing to add to his resources by those means, left it uninjured; but in order to show his horror of Indian superstition, he attached a piece of cow's flesh to its neck, by which he was able to gratify his avarice and malignity at the same time. Biládurí says it was considered to represent the prophet Job, which appears an Arab misreading of Áditya, as it is correctly styled by Bírúní, for without the vowel points, there is no great difference in the original. This idol was allowed to maintain its position during the whole period of the supremacy of the Khalifs; but Bírúní informs us, that when the Karmatians became masters of Multán, they did not show themselves equally tolerant or provident respecting the valuable resources of the shrine; for their leader, Jalam, the son of Shaibán, had the idol broken in pieces, and the attendant priests massacred; and the temple, which was situated on an eminence, was converted into the Jámi' Masjid, in lieu of the one which existed before. That was closed in order to evince their hatred of the Ummayide Khalifs, under whom it had been constructed; but when Sultán Mahmúd took Multán, and subdued the Karmatians, he re-opened the ancient mosque, upon which the new one was abandoned, and became "as a plain destined to vulgar uses."

The same idol was subsequently set up, and received the offerings of the people. How long it maintained its ancient credit is not known for certain; but at Multán, the Sun is no longer the object of worship, having yielded to the temple of Prahládpúrí, now itself in ruins, but occupying, doubtless, the same lofty eminence in the citadel which was formerly consecrated to Áditya.

On counting up the cost of the Sindian expedition, Hajjáj found that he had expended 60,000,000, and had received 120,000,000 dirhams.[1] As that could only have been the Khalif's usual share of

[1] This is from the *Futúhu-l Buldán*, and is taken as being the most exact statement. That in the *Chach-náma* differs considerably, and affords no means of comparison between actual receipt and expenditure. There is no reason to apprehend error in the transcription of these numbers, because the Arabic original does not express them in ciphers, but words.

one-fifth, the total value of the plunder obtained must have been 600,000,000 dirhams. Now, as one million of dirhams, at fivepence-halfpenny each, is equivalent to about £23,000 of our money, and as the relative value of money was ten times greater then than now, we may conceive the amount to be largely exaggerated; since the country could not by any possibility have yielded such a booty, even with the exercise of the utmost Arab violence and extortion to enforce its collection. Even if we take Hajjáj's calculation to represent the whole sum, and not merely one-fifth, we should still find it difficult to believe, either that Sind and Multán together could at that time have yielded two millions and three-quarters sterling, or that one-half of that sum could have been expended in their conquest by such a frugal and abstemious race as the Arabs, who had no need of a modern commissariat, at once extravagant and cumbersome, to follow their agile movements.[1]

The consideration of this question naturally introduces the subject of the public revenue of Sind. From the statements of Ibn Khurdádba, Ibn Khaldún, and Ibn Haukal, we derive some valuable notices of the revenue of the 'Abbásides, with more especial reference to the period of Mámún's reign. Ibn Khaldún's table has been given by Von Hammer, in his *Länderverwaltung*, and to this additions have been made by Dr. Sprenger, from the very rare manuscripts of the other authors, both preserved in the Bodleian library. From these authorities combined, we are able to deduce some useful inferences respecting the comparative revenue of the different provinces of the Khiláfat. Thus, we find that the province of Sind yielded annually a sum of 11,500,000 dirhams, and 150 pounds of aloe-wood, Multán being, most probably, included, as it is not mentioned among the other provinces. Of the neighbouring provinces, Makrán is set down at 400,000 dirhams; Sijistán at 4,600,000 dirhams, 300 variegated robes, and 20,000 pounds of sweetmeats;[2] Kirmán at

[1] All the calculations of Saracen booty in Egypt and Syria are even more extravagant, and justify the suspicions of Gibbon; though he had no right to arraign the accuracy of Elmacin's translator, Erpenius—"*felicissimus ille Arabicarum literarum instaurator*,"—as he is styled by Hottinger. I conceive that we have not yet got the proper equivalent of the early *dínár* and *dirham*. Reinaud, *Sarrazins*, 104, 192; *Univ. Pitt. Asie*, V. *Arabie*, 317.

[2] Ibn Khurdádba says 6,776,000 dirhams.

4,200,000 dirhams, 500 precious garments, 20,000 pounds of dates, and 1,000 pounds of caraway seeds;[1] Tukháristán at 106,000 dirhams; Kábul at 1,500,000 dirhams, and 1,000 head of cattle, amounting to 700,000 dirhams more; Fárs at 27,000,000 dirhams, 30,000 bottles of rose-water, and 20,000 bottles of black currants;[2] Khutlan, in Hyátila, bordering on Balkh, at 1,733,000 dirhams; Bámián at 5,000 dirhams; and Bust at 90,000 dirhams.

These amounts are to be considered merely approximate, because the revenues, unless where they were assessed at a fixed sum, varied every year according to the abundance, or scarcity, of the crop.

It may, at first, admit of doubt, whether these sums represent land-tax merely, or all the taxes in the aggregate. Ibn Khurdádba and Ibn Haukal specially say "land-tax." Ibn Khaldún uses the term "revenue." This is the more remarkable, as it will be observed from the notes, that his statements contain the lowest sums. The two accounts, of course, refer to different epochs, and frequently to different limits, which were arbitrary and fluctuating, just as our Domesday Book, having been compiled by different sets of commissioners, represents a different status in different passages, though the names of persons, classes, and tenures may be in every other respect identical. As an instance, in our Arabic record of these variations, we find it stated, under Fárs, that "Amrán bin Músa, the Barmekide, added Sind to this province, so the revenue amounted, after defraying all expenses, to 10,000,000 dirhams." The remark in itself is not particularly intelligible, but its very obscurity makes it serve the better as an illustration. It is probable that, in so large an empire, the limits of the provinces were frequently subject to alteration, to suit the views and interest of favoured governors; and that they were also, without any such personal bias, sometimes fixed on an ethnical, sometimes on a geographical, basis. Another cause of variation has been suggested—namely, that the greatest part of what had been delivered in kind in the time of Márwán, to which Ibn Khaldún refers, was paid in money in the

[1] Ibn Khurdádba says 5,000,000 dirhams, and under the Khusrús 60,000,000—the limits of the province being, of course, different. The amounts entered in the text rest on the authority of Ibn Khaldún.

[2] Ibn Khurdádba says 30,000 dirhams, but I suspect error.

time of Ibn Khurdádba. This is probable, and is the natural course of fiscal transition all over the world.

But, after giving due weight to all these considerations, the sums set down against some of the provinces are so large—whether we take the higher or lower amount, or the earlier or later date—that we must conceive them to embrace the entire collections of every kind, and must be allowed the liberty of construing *kharáj* in its enlarged sense of 'tribute,' rather than its limited one of 'land-tax,' —just, indeed, as it is so considered at the present day in Turkey.[1] The assessment upon Sind and Multán,—being 11,500,000 dirhams, or about £270,000,—must be considered moderate, if it is intended to comprise the land-tax, the poll-tax, the customs duties, and all miscellaneous items into the bargain; but it is not an improbable amount, when we contemplate the liberal alienations and reserves, which have been alluded to at the commencement of this Note, as well as the change in the value of money. Under the Tálpúrs, notwithstanding that many large and productive tracts were afforested by them, Sind is said to have occasionally yielded £400,000; and under the Kalhoras, tradition represents the revenue at the exaggerated amount of £800,000. At present, with security on all its borders, and tranquillity within them, it does not pay to the British Government more than £300,000, and the expenses have been hitherto more than double that sum. This deficiency, however, cannot last long, for its cultivation and commerce are rapidly on the increase.

The Arab governors may be considered in the light of farmers-general, for they usually bound themselves to pay to the Khalif the sums at which the various provinces,—after allowance made for ordinary expenses,—were set down in the public register. Where the disbursements were left to their discretion, and where the revenues were not fixed, but dependant upon the seasons, we may presume that, on the plea of frontier wars, local services, and internal tumults, very little was ever remitted to the capital from the remote provinces of the empire; for the governors themselves were the judges of these necessities—the declaration of peace or war being left to their arbitrary determination and pleasure.

[1] *Des Osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung.* Cantemir, *Hist. of the Othman Empire*, p. 366.

The ordinary revenue, which they were entitled to collect from the provinces committed to them, was derived from the land-tax, and from the capitation-tax upon those who had not embraced the Muhammadan religion; but there were many miscellaneous cesses besides, which, in the aggregate, yielded large returns, and contributed to swell their profits.

The land-tax was usually rated at two-fifths of the produce of wheat and barley, if the fields were watered by public canals; three-tenths, if irrigated by wheels or other artificial means; and one-fourth, if altogether unirrigated. If arable land were left uncultivated, it seems to have paid one dirham per *jaríb*, and one-tenth of the probable produce, but the statement is not clear upon this point. Of dates, grapes, and garden produce, one-third was taken, either in kind or money; and one-fifth (*khums*) of the yield of wines, fishing, pearls, and generally of any product not derived from cultivation, was to be delivered in kind, or paid in value, even before the expenses had been defrayed. One-fifth of the value of slaves and booty was reserved for the Khalif. The customs and transit dues, for which unbelievers had to pay a double rate, and the taxes on trades and manufactures, and handicrafts, were also important sources of public revenue.[1]

These taxes were according to the original institutes of 'Umar, when he assessed the Sawád, or cultivated lands of 'Irák; but, in course of time, they were everywhere greatly enhanced, even to one-half of the produce of the land, or rather according to the ability of the people to pay. In short, the rates above-mentioned were merely a nominal value put upon the land: for the collection of the revenues was, in many instances, left to rapacious farmers, who covered their contracts and benefitted themselves besides, at the expense of the cultivators. The same course of proceeding was observed by the agents of the Tálpúrs to the latest period of their

[1] See *Biog. Dict., L.U.K.* v. "Al Mámún," where the revenue table is given at length. It is also in the *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vol. VI. p. 362, *et seq.*; and in Hammer-Purgstall's, *die Länderverwaltung unter dem Chalifate*, 39; and in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, v. "Caliph." The *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XXX. p. 52, contains the most comprehensive of all these tables, with very useful remarks appended, to which the foregoing paragraphs are indebted. See also *L'Univers Pitt. Asie*, v.; *Arabie*, 403, 404.

rule in Sind, and was one of the chief causes which contributed to the impoverishment of the country.[1]

Moreover, the absence of an accurate measurement must have rendered all such assessments nugatory and fictitious; for it was only in the Sawád, above referred to, which was the small tract lying immediately around the future capital of the Khalifs, that there was anything like a detailed survey; and of that the merits were more due to their predecessors than themselves. Gibbon says, "the administration of Persia was regulated by an actual survey of the people, the cattle, and the fruits of the earth; and this monument, which attests the vigour of the caliphs, might have instructed the philosophers of every age." In this, he is by no means borne out by the passage which he quotes as his authority from the *Chorographia* of Theophanes; and, moreover, an extended sense has been given to "Persia," which really applies only to a remote corner of that large empire.[2]

Besides this ordinary land-tax, we read, in the *Chach-náma*, of other burdens laid upon Sindian cultivators, which seem to have been independent of the former: such as the *báj*, and the *'ushari*.[3] Other extraordinary conditions were occasionally imposed on some

[1] The little confidence to be placed in the apparent moderation of recorded rates, may be exemplified by modern practice in Sind, where we are told that "it was not uncommon for the government to collect vast quantities of grain for the supply of troops, when any military expedition was on foot; in which case, the rulers made no scruple of seizing a half of the produce of the whole country, leaving the farmer to settle with the cultivator the best way he could."—Capt. McMurdo, *Journal R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 240.

[2] *Decline and Fall*, chap. li. note 32. On the Sawád of 'Irák and Baghdad, see Abú-l Fidá, *Geogr.*, pp. 52, 307; *Marásidu-l Ittilá'*, ed. Juynboll, Vol. II., p. 63.

[3] Literally, "tithe-lands," like the Decumates Agri of the Romans; see Tacitus, *Germania*, cap. 29. Respecting the law of *'ushari*, see Hamilton's *Hedaya*; Harington's *Analysis*, Vol. I.; Galloway's *Law and Constit. of India*; N. B. E. Baillie's *Land-tax of India according to Muh. Law.*

Legally, no land was subject both to *kharáj* and *ushari*; but it may be questioned whether the Sindian *'ushari*, though it was confessedly considered as an indulgence, is to be construed in its strict legal application. The parties from whom it was taken were the people of Nairún and the Channas west of the Indus, of whom we still find a remnant not far from Manchhar lake, and from whom the Kalhoras are in reality descended, notwithstanding their various attempts to disguise the humiliating fact. Mr. Renouard conceives that the Kalhoras are Kurds, because the *Jahán-numá* mentions that name among the Kurdish clans. There may possibly have been some connection between them and the converted Channas, for we know that Kurds are to be found as far eastward as Gandáva.

of the tribes. We have seen above, under Mu'tasim, that the Jats dwelling beyond the river Aral were compelled to bring a dog on each occasion of paying their respects, besides being branded upon the hand. The Bhatia, Lohána, Sihta, Jandar, Máchí, and Goreja tribes had also peculiar duties devolving upon them.

Sumptuary laws, moreover, were established, and enforced with great stringency. Certain tribes were prohibited from wearing fine linen, from riding on horses, and from covering their heads and feet. If they committed theft, their women and children were burnt to death. Others had to protect caravans, and to furnish guides to Muhammadans.[1]

The natives were also enjoined, in conformity with an old law of 'Umar's, to feed every Muhammadan traveller for three days and nights. It must be confessed, however, that many of these laws were already established under the Bráhman rulers; unless, as seems not improbable, the Muhammadan aspect about these ancient institutions derives its hue from the prejudices of the historian who records them.

But whatever were the peculiar features of some of the local imposts, all the unconverted tribes were, without exception, liable to the capitation-tax (*jizya*), which, as it was a religious as well as a political duty to collect, was always exacted with rigour and punctuality, and frequently with insult.[2]

The levy of this impost in Sind from those who had not embraced Islám, was considered so important at the very earliest period, that we find Hajjáj sending another person into the province to collect it, even during Muhammad Kásim's government. "Abu Khufas Kutaiba bin Muslim came on the part of Hajjáj, and returned to Khurásán, after leaving his agents to collect the poll-tax from the infidels; and, after a time, Tamím bin Zaid came from Hajjáj on the same errand."[3]

[1] So Abú 'Ubaida, on the conquest of Emesa, imposed upon such as chose to remain in infidelity a ransom of five gold-pieces a head, besides an annual tribute; and caused their names to be registered in a book, giving them back their wives and children, on condition that they should act as guides and interpreters to the Moslims in case of need.—W. Irving, *Successors of Mahomet*, pp. 60, 261; see Kemble's *Saxons in England*, I. 294.

[2] Price, *Retrosp. of Muhamm. History*, vol. i. pp. 109.

[3] *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. pp. 18.

According to the original ordinance of 'Umar, those persons who were of any persuasion non-Muhammadan, were called *Zimmís,* or those under protection, and were assessed with a toleration, or poll-tax, at the following rates. A person in easy circumstances had to pay 48 dirhams a year, one of moderate means 24 dirhams, and one in an inferior station, or who derived his subsistence from manual labour, 12 dirhams. Women, children, and persons unable to work paid nothing. But a century had not elapsed, when 'Umar the Second, considering these rates too moderate, calculated what a man could gain during the year, and what he could subsist on, and claimed all the rest, amounting to four or five dínárs, about two pounds, a year.

As the tax ceased upon any one's becoming a Moslim—when he was enfranchised from his dependence, and was invested with the privileges of a citizen and companion—its severe enforcement was often found more efficacious than argument or persuasion, in inducing the victims to offer themselves as converts to the faith. For the professing Muhammadan had but to pay the tithe for alms, and the import and export duties of one in forty, or two and a-half per cent.,[1] and he was free from all other imposts; but, when the original principles of the government began to be departed from, when the once vigorous administration became feeble and degenerate, and the Khalifs appropriated to themselves a large proportion of the revenues which the Kurán had assigned to God, the Prophet, and his relations, then the Muhammadans themselves also became subject, as well as the protected people, to new tallages and cesses; insomuch that the severity of the pressure occasioned general discontent, and often resulted in revolution and bloodshed.

Hence we find Ibn Khaldún, the most philosophic of all the Arabian writers upon history and social economy, thus speaking of the effect of these exactions upon the government which introduced them :—"With the progress of luxury the wants of government and its servants increased, and their zeal diminished; so that it became requisite to employ more people, and to give them higher pay. Consequently, the taxes were gradually increased, till the pro-

[1] In Muhammadan Spain this duty was as high as twelve and a-half per cent. on small commodities.—See Reinaud's *Sarrazins*, 280.

prietors and working classes were unable to pay them, which led to continual changes in the government."

This increased employment of officials had no reference to those maintained for the distribution of justice to the people. In a country like Sind, where the mass of the nation professed their ancient religion, there were no tribunals for the purpose of adjudicating suits between members of that despised and depressed race. The power of life and death was exercised by every chief who could maintain the slightest show of independence, as well as by the Amírs; but, under the latter, legal formalities were more rigorously, if not justly observed. The Kází, who was appointed to the judgment-seat by their orders, professed, in controversies between Muhammadans, to decide according to the precepts of the Kurán; while even between Hindús and Muhammadans the same unerring guide was appealed to, under which, of course, the former obtained a very small modicum of justice. Public and political offences, whether by one party or the other, were tried by the same standard; but in all suits for debts, contracts, adultery, inheritance, the rights of property, and the like, the Hindús—being left without any form of law or any established judicatory to appeal to—had to accommodate their own differences, and, therefore, maintained their *panchâyats*, or arbitration committees, in full efficiency. It was fortunate, under these circumstances, that the public opinion of the caste, as expressed in these domestic and self-constituted *fora*, operated more strongly upon their minds, sentiments, and actions, than rewards and punishments derived from higher and holier sanctions.

To the Hindus, indeed, the public tribunals were only the means of extortion and forcible conversion, as they have proved themselves to be to the very latest period of Muhammadan dominion in Sind, under which, there were judicial penalties for riding on horseback, especially with a saddle; under which, the wearing of beards, and the adoption of Muhammadan costume were compulsory; and under which, religious processions, and even music, were altogether prohibited.[1] Hence there was, and could be, no sympathy between the

[1] Dr. Burnes, *Visit to the Court of Sinde*, pp. 72-75; Captain McMurdo, *Journal*

conquerors and the conquered, arising from confidence in the purity of justice,—for the primary obligations, inseparably connected with the institutions of political society, were utterly ignored by the Arab rulers of Sind, and no regard was had to that, which Milton calls—

> The solid rule of civil government;
> *   *   *   *
> In which is plainest taught, and earliest learnt
> What makes a nation happy and keeps it so,
> What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat.

It is expedient that these matters should be often brought back to remembrance and pondered on; for the inhabitants of modern India, as well as our clamorous demagogues at home, are very apt to forget the very depth of degradation from which the great mass of the people have been raised, under the protection of British supremacy.

In reflecting on the causes which accelerated the downfall of the Khalif's dominion in Sind, one of the most obvious and powerful accessories which offers itself to our view, as conspiring towards that end, is the diversity of interests and feelings among the several tribes which achieved and confirmed the conquest. No long time elapsed, after the first glow of enthusiasm had died away, and given place to more sober sentiments, when the Arabs showed themselves as utterly incapable, as the shifting sands of their own desert, of coalescing into a system of concord and subordination. The passions which agitated these hordes in their ancient abodes, the hereditary feuds and blood-revenges, which had even formed the dates of eras amoung their Bedouin ancestors, and which could be revived in all their bitterness by the recital of a ballad, a lampoon, or a proverb, were not allayed, but fostered, by transplantation from their original soil.[1] And so it was in Spain; crowds of adventurers poured in who preferred a distant fortune to poverty at home. Emigrants from Damascus occupied Granada and Cordova; Seville and Malaga were planted by settlers from Emesa and Palestine; the natives of

R. As. Soc., Vol. I. pp. 249-252; Lieut. Burton, *Sindh*, p. 358, and *Unhappy Valley*, Vol. I. pp. 225-229; Capt. Postans' *Personal Observations on Sindh*, pp. 159, 258; Sir A. Burnes, *Cabool*, p. 15.

[1] Pocock, *Specimen Histor. Arab.* pp. 43, 178; Sale, *Koran*, Vol. I. p. 233; Foster, *Mahom. Unveiled*, Vol. I. p. 6.

Yemen and Persia were scattered about Toledo; and the fertile valleys of the South were partitioned among 10,000 horsemen from Syria and 'Irák. These, as in Sind, all became so many rival factions eager in the pursuit of power, mutually rancorous and hostile, and cherishing, in the pride and petulance of their hearts, the most invidious distinctions of races and precedence.[1]

Even as early as the deposition and recall of Muhammad Kásim, we find him alluding to the clannish feud between the Sakifís and Sakásaks. "Had he chosen to appeal to the sword," he exclaims, "no cavaliers of the tribes of Sakásak or 'Akk could have wrested from him the country he had conquered, or laid violent hands upon his person." These were both Yamánían tribes; the first was descended from Saksak bin Ashrab, and the second was an offshoot of the great tribe of Azd, which, under Muhallab, was the first to carry the Arab arms into India, and which rendered itself so conspicuous in the conquest of Khurásán.[2] The Sakifí tribe, to which Muhammad Kásim belonged, was originally from Táif, about fifty miles south-east of Mecca. It continues a powerful people to this day, possessing the some fertile region on the eastern declivity of the Hijjáz chain of mountains. In the wars of the Wahábís, they defended their ancient stronghold of Táif with a spirit worthy of their ancestors.

We have seen above, under the Khiláfat of Mu'tasim, that the rancour, which prevailed between the Yamánían and Nizárian tribes, again broke out into open hostility in Sind. It was not, however, in Sind only, but wherever the Muhammadan standard was displayed, that these two great divisions were arrayed against each other; and as this feeling operated as one of the main causes of the success of the 'Abbásides against the Ummayides, its original malignity could not fail to be aggravated in every Moslim country, as long as the remembrance of that change of dynasty survived.

What imparted additional acerbity to these feuds in Sind, was

[1] Crichton, *Arabia and its People*, p. 339; Dunham, *History of Spain*, Vol. IV. p. 2; Procter, *Encyclopædia Metrop.*, Vol. XI. p. 294. All of whom are indebted, more or less, originally to Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. li. *ad finem*; and he, with his usual honesty of acknowledgment, to Casiri, *Biblioth Arab-Hispan.*, Tom. II. pp. 32, 252.

[2] The Imám of Muscat is an Azdí.—*Enc. Metr.* v. Oman.

the persecution of the adherents of 'Alí, which, though with some intermissions, especially about Mámún's time, was maintained with considerably rigour during the period of Arab occupation. We have in the preceding note seen some instances of these religious quarrels, and they must have been of frequent occurrence in Sind; for its position on the remote eastern frontier of the Empire, and the difficulty of access to it over mountains and barren sands, must have offered a promising asylum to political refugees, of which we have ample evidence that they readily availed themselves. Hence heterodoxy, during the period of the Khiláfat, flourished with unusual vigour in Sind and Makrán; and hence such schismatics as Khárijís, Zindíks, Khwájas, Sháríites, and the like, as well as Muláhida, or atheists of various denominations, throve, and propagated;[1] more especially the Karmatians, who, after being first introduced through this kingdom, maintained their hold in Western and Northern India long after they were suppressed in other provinces of the Empire.

The 'Alite refugees have preserved many traces of their resort to Sind, to which we may refer the unusual proportion of Saiyid families to this day resident in that country, the names of such places as Lakk-'alaví and Mut-'alaví,[2] founded and still inhabited by 'Alites, and the many Saiyids of even Eastern India, who trace their first settlements to Thatta, Bhakkar, and other places in the valley of the Indus.

These vague reminiscences, indeed, may be considered to comprise one of the most enduring monuments of Arab dominion in Sind. They were almost the only legacy the Arabs left behind them; affording a peculiar contrast in this respect to the Romans, after they had held Britain for the same period of three centuries. Notwithstanding that their possession was partial and unstable, our native soil teems with their buildings, camps, roads, coins, and utensils, in a manner to show how completely they were the master-spirits of that remote province.[3] But with regard to the Arab dominion in Sind, it is impossible for the traveller to wander

[1] See Weil, II. 15; Burton, 249.

[2] The latter is now better known as Matárí. The two great families of Lakkyárí and Matári Saiyids constitute the Majáwars, or attendants at the shrine of the celebrated saint, La'l Sháh-báz of Sihwán.

[3] See William of Malmesbury, *Gest. Reg.* Lib. 1. cap. i.

through that land, without being struck with the absence of all record of their occupation. In language, architecture, arts, traditions, customs, and manners, they have left but little impress upon the country or the people. We trace them, like the savage Sikhs, only in the ruins of their predecessors; and while Mahfúza, Baizá, and Mansúra have so utterly vanished, that "etiam periêre ruinæ," the older sites of Bhambúr, Alor, Multán, and Sihwán still survive to proclaim the barbarism and cruelty of their destroyers. It has, indeed, been observed, as a circumstance worthy of remark, that no people ever constructed so many edifices as the Arabs, who extracted fewer materials from the quarry: the buildings of their first settlers being everywhere raised from the wrecks of cities, castles, and fortresses which they had themselves destroyed.[1]

With respect to the descendants of the early Arab conquerors, we find it stated, by two local historians, that when 'Abdu-r Razzák, Wazír of Sultán Mahmúd, and the first Ghaznivide governor of Sind, was in the year 415 H. (1024 A.D.) directed to proceed to that country from Multán,[2] and that when, after having captured Bhakkar, and established his power upon a firm basis, he proceeded in 417 to Siwistán and Thatta, he found in those places, among the descendants of old Arab settlers, "only a very few, who had remained bound, as it were, to the country by family ties and encumbrances; and who, being men of learning and ability, were at that time holding posts of honour, and in the enjoyment of certain religious endowments."[3]

Eighteen Sindian families, or tribes, are said to have sprung from these ancestors:—the Sakifí,[4] Tamím, Mughairide, 'Abbásí, Sadíkí, Fárúkí, 'Usmání, Pahanwar,[5] Mankí,[6] Chabria, Bin-i Asad, 'Utba,

[1] Crichton's *Arabia and its People*, p. 426.

[2] The period of his departure from Multán is not clearly stated by either authority. One seems to say 414, the other 416. Now, as Mahmúd was, during Ramazán 415, in Multán, on his way to Somnát, that appears to be a more probable year than either of the other two.

[3] *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 21. Mír Ma'súm says that the Wazír turned the Arabs out of these places; but that "some who had families, and were respectable and learned men, had high situations conferred upon them according to law,"—*i.e.*, they were appointed to judicial offices.—*Táríkh-i Sind*, MS. p. 38.

[4] The original Kázís of Alor and Bhakkar. From this family was descended the author of the *Chach-náma*.

[5] The descendants of Háris.

[6] A branch of the Tamím.

Bin-i Abí Sufyán,[1] Bájaride,[2] and the Bin-i Jaríma Ansárí, who were the progenitors of the tribe of Sapya, the lords of Siwistán. To these are to be added the Jats and Bulúchís, descendants of Hárún Makrání. It will be observed that, although the families are said to be eighteen, the enumeration extends to only seventeen, unless the Sapya and the descendants of Jaríma Ansárí are reckoned as two.

The same authority mentions, that some of the tribes now in Sind, and who appear from their names and occupations to have been originally Hindú, are in reality descendants of the Arabs. Thus, the Thím were originally Tamím; the Morya are pronounced to be descendants from Mughaira; and the Súmra are likewise held to be the offspring of adventurers from Sámarra, who accompanied the Tamím in great numbers. All these affiliations are gratuitous guesses, and about as probable as the one mentioned in the preceding paragraph, of the descent of the Jats and Bulúchís from Hárún Makrání. But that some of the inferior tribes are descendants of the Arabs is by no means opposed to reason or probability, and this more especially among those now classed as Bulúchís. The Rind, for instance, when they assert that they came originally from Aleppo and Damascus, may have truth on their side; but we should be cautious in admitting nominal resemblances or ambitious genealogies; especially where, as in the case of the Súmras, Sammas, Dáúdputras, and Kalhoras, there has been a political purpose to serve, and sycophants ready at all times to pander to a despot's aspirations.

The Súmra Dynasty.

The assignment of this dynasty to its veritable lineage and proper period among the rulers of Sind, is one of the most difficult problems with which we have to deal in the history of Muhammadan India; and the obscurities and inconsistencies of the native accounts have by no means been cleared by the European comments which have been made upon them.

Our first informant is Mír Ma'súm, whose account has been given

[1] Of this tribe are many of the *darweshes* of Rail, on the right bank of the Indus, opposite to Haidarábád. Among these celebrated saints are to be included the ancestors of Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, as shown in his work, styled the *Kachkúl.*

[2] Occupants of Jángár, about ten miles west from Sihwán.

at length in the Extracts from his history. He tells us (supra. p. 215,) that in the time of 'Abdu-r Rashíd, Sultán Mas'úd, 443 A.H., 1051 A.D., the men of the Súmra tribe revolted from the rule of Ghazní, and placed on the throne of Sind a man of the name of Súmra. He closes his unsatisfactory account by saying:—"If any of my friends know more on this subject, let them publish it; I have said all I can upon the matter."

Abú-l Fazl gives us no information in the *Ayín-i Akbarí* (Vol. II. p. 120), beyond the announcement that there were thirty-six Súmra princes, who reigned 500 years.

Firishta seems afraid of venturing on this difficult and doubtful ground. He merely observes (Vol. IV. p. 411,) that, on the death of Muhammad Kásim, a tribe, tracing their origin from the Ansárís, established their government in Sind; after which, the Súmra Zamíndárs reigned for 500 years;[1] but he adds, "neither the names nor the history of these princes are at present extant, since I have failed in my endeavour to procure them. In the course of years (although we have no account of the precise period) the dynasty was subverted by that of the Sammas,[2] whose chief assumed the title of Jám. During the reigns of these dynasties, the Muhammadan kings of Ghazní, Ghor, and Dehlí invaded Sind, and seizing many of the towns, appointed Muhammadan governors over them."

The *Táríkh-i Táhirí* (MS. p. 25,) says their dominion lasted for only 143 years, from 700 to 843 H., that they were Hindús, that Alor was within their dominions, and that their capital was Muhammad-Túr, in the Pargana of Dirak. Dúdá is made contemporary of 'Aláu-d Dín, and the popular stories relating to Dalú Ráí and 'Umar Súmra are given at length.

The *Beg-Lár-náma* (MS. p. 8) merely observes that, after the Muhammadan conquest, men of the Tamím tribe governed Sind, and after some time, the Súmras succeeded them, occupying the seat of government for 505 years; their capital being Muhatampúr.

[1] The *Kanzu-l Mahfúz*, on the authority of the *Tárikh-i Bahádur-sháhí* says the Súmras lasted for 500 years after the *auládd Tamím Ansárí*.

[2] [The words of this sentence as given by Gen. Briggs, are "the dynasty of Soomura subverted the country of another chief called Soomuna, whose chief," etc. Sir H. Elliot's emendation is obviously necessary.]

Muhammad Yúsuf says in his *Muntakhabu-t Tawáríkh* that when Sultán 'Abdu-r Rashíd, son of Sultán Mahmúd, inherited the kingdom of Ghazní, the people of Sind, finding him an indolent and weak-minded monarch, began to be refractory and contumacious, and in A.H. 445 (1053 A.D.), the men of the tribe of Súmra, having assembled around Tharrí, seated a man named Súmra on the cushion of government. He ruled independently for a length of time, and left as successor a son, Bhúngar, born to him by a daughter of a Zamíndár named Sád. Bhúngar, after ruling 15 years, departed to the world of eternity in A.H. 461, and left a son named Dúdá, who after a rule of 24 years, died A.H. 485;[1] then Sanghar reigned for 15 years; Hafíf, 33 years; 'Umar, 40 years; Dúdá II. 14 years; Pahtú, 33 years; Genhra, 16 years; Muhammad Túr, 15 years; Genhra II. several years; Dúdá III. 14 years; Tái, 24 years; Chanesar, 18 years; Bhúngar II. 15 years; Hafíf II. 18 years; Dúdá IV. 25 years; 'Umar Súmra, 35 years; Bhúngar III. 10 years. Then the government fell to Hamír, who was deposed by the tribe of Samma, on account of his tyranny.[2]

The latest native authority is the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (MS. pp. 21, 26, 126), which, in one passage, says that the Súmra tribe sprang from the Arabs of Sámira, who arrived in Sind in the second century of the Hijra, accompanying the Tamím family, who became governors of Sind under the 'Abbásides; that the whole term of their sway may be reckoned at 550 years, as they were mere nominal tributaries during the last two centuries of the 'Abbáside government, and enjoyed full independence when the greater part of Sind was held by the officers of the Ghaznivide and Ghorí kings.

In another passage we are informed that they were invited to Sind by Chhota Amrání, who being grieved at the injustice of his brother, the famous Dalú Ráí, repaired to Baghdád, and obtained from the Khalif one hundred Arabs of Sámira, whom he brought to Sind, together with Saiyid 'Alí Musaví, who married Dalú Ráí's daughter, and left descendants, now inhabiting the town of Mut'alaví.

When Ghází Malik, in the year 720 H. (1320 A.D.), marched towards

[1] [See the passage from Malet's translation of Mír Ma'súm, *supra*, p. 216.]

[2] [This passage is quoted in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, and another translation of it will be found at page 344.]

Dehlí with an army collected from Multán and Sind, overthrew Khusrú Khán, and assumed the title of Ghíásu-d dín Tughlik Sháh, the tribe of Súmra took advantage of his being occupied with the affairs of those distant parts, and collecting together from the neighbourhood of Tharrí, chose a person named Súmra as their ruler. He established perfect tranquillity throughout the country, and married a daughter of a Zamíndár, named Sád, who made pretensions to independence. His wife bore him a son named Bhúngar by whom he was succeeded. His son Dúdá succeeded him, and acquired possession of the country as far as Nasrpúr. He left an infant son, named Singhár. Tárí, daughter of Dúdá, assumed the reins of government till Singhár became of age. He, when installed in power, marched towards Kachh, and extended his territory as far as Nángnai. As he died childless, his wife Hímú appointed her own brothers to the governorship of the cities of Túr and Tharrí. A short time after this, another Dúdá, a Súmra, governor of the Fort of Dhak, assembled his kinsmen from the neighbourhood, and destroyed Hímú's brothers. While this was going on, Pahtú, a son of Dúdá, raised an insurrection, and held authority for a short time; after which, a man named Khairá obtained the principality. Then Armíl undertook the burden of governmeut, but as he proved to be a tyrant, the tribe of Samma rose against him, and slew him in A.H. 752 (1351 A.D.). So far the "confusion worse confounded" of the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám.*[1]

The attempts of European authors to explain these discrepancies are not successful.

Pottinger informs us that "Hakims were regularly sent from court (Ghazní) to this province, until the reign of Musaood, the son of Muhmood, when a great tribe, called Soomruh, appeared in arms and expelled all the partizans of the king; but their chief, whose name was Sunghar, immediately making an apology for this outrage, and offering to pay tribute to the amount of the revenues before collected, he was pardoned, and appointed governor, in the stead of the person he had deposed. The tribute was paid with great regularity for one hundred and fifty years after this arrangement, when the Empire of Ghuznee was overturned by the Ghoorian

[1] *Supra*, p. 343.

dynasty; on which the Soomruhs, in whose tribe the government of Sinde had gradually been allowed to become hereditary, declared themselves in a state of independence, and although they were repeatedly worsted in the wars that followed this declaration, yet they managed to preserve their liberty till the final extinction of the race, or at least the princes of it, in the person of Duhooda, who died without children, in the year of the Hijree, 694, about 335 years from the time his ancestors had first made themselves so conspicuous.

"On the demise of Duhooda, numerous candidates for the vacant government started up, and it was a continual struggle for nearly a century who should succeed to it. Among the last of them, two brothers, called Kheeramull and Urukmull successively held it for a time, but at length the tyranny of the latter became insupportable, and the head of the tribe of Sumuh went to his palace, accompanied by the ministers of the country, and put him to death. The populace with one accord elected this chief, who had relieved them from so dreadful a scourge, their king, and he was accordingly placed on their throne, with the title of Jam, or leader, which he was said to have adopted from his family being descended from the celebrated Jamshed, king of Persia."[1]

Dr. Bird, relying on some Persian authorities, including the *Táríkh-i Sind*, tells us that the Súmras, who became first known in the Indian history in the reign of Mahmúd of Ghazní, were originally Muhammadans descended from Aboulahil, an uncle of the Prophet, and that one of the tribe who, in the beginning of the eleventh century of our era, obtained power in Sind, married into the family of Samma, and had a son named Bhaonagar. The chief who had been thus placed at the head of the tribe was named Hallah, the son of Chotah, a descendant of Omar Sumra, first of the family mentioned in their history. Contemporary with Chotah was Deva Ráí, sometimes called Dilu Ráí, the ruler of Alore. "The son born to Hallah had for his descendants Dodar, Singhar, Hanif, and others, who appear to have originally possessed the Dangah pergunnah in the Registan, or sandy desert, from whence they extended themselves into the pergunnahs of Thurr, Sammawati, Rupah, and

[1] *Travels in Beloochistan*, pp. 391.

Nasirpur." Dr. Bird adds, that nothing satisfactory regarding them is to be found in any Indian author, except the statement of their descent from the family of the Prophet, in which, therefore, he seems to concur. "They derive their name," he continues, "from the city of Saumrah, on the Tigris; and appear to have sprung from the followers of Tamim Ansari, mixed with the Arab tribes of Tamim and Kureish." * * * "In Masudi's time, many chiefs of the Arabs descended from Hamzah, the uncle of the prophet, and Ali, his cousin, were then subject (to the chief of Mansúra.). To these ancestors we may trace the Saiyids of Sinde, and the family of the Sumrahs."[1]

The difficulty of solving this question is shown by so confused a statement written by a well-informed author.

Elphinstone observes that, "Kásim's conquests were made over to his successor Temím, in the hands of whose family they remained for thirty-six years, till the downfall of the Ummayides, when, by some insurrection, of which we do not know the particulars, they were expelled by the Súmras, and all their Indian conquests were restored to the Hindús; part of the expelled Arabs, according to Firishta, having found a settlement among the Afghans." And, again, that "after the expulsion of the Arabs in 750 A.D., Sind, from Bhakkar to the sea, was ruled by the Súmra Rájpúts, until the end of the twelfth century; that it is uncertain when they first paid tribute to the Muhammadans, probably, the beginning of that century, under Shahábu-d dín, or his immediate successor." Here, the whole period of the 'Abbáside governors, and of the independent rulers of Multán and Mansúra and the Karmatians, is entirely neglected. So important an omission by such a writer teaches us, as in the preceding paragraph, how obscure are the annals with which we have to deal.[2]

In calling the Súmras Rájpúts, Elphinstone is without doubt correct, for notwithstanding the assertions of the local writers, the real fact must be admitted, that the Súmras are not of Arab descent at all, and that this fictitious genealogy was assumed by them, when

[1] *Sketch of the History of Cutch*, Appendix vi.; *Visit to the Court of Sinde*, p. 10; and again, *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I. pp. 126.
[2] *History of India*, Vol. I. pp. 228, 511.

the majority of the tribe were converted to Islám; and that, as the name of Sámarra offered a sufficiently specious resemblance, that town was adopted as the probable seat of their origin, though it was not built till after the supposed period of their emigration.[1]

That the Súmras were not Moslims during at least the early period of their sway, seems to be proved by their names, though this argument is not quite decisive, for down to modern times in Sind, Muhammadan converts have been occasionally allowed to retain their Hindú names. Still, reasoning generally, the retention of Hindú names points, *primâ facie*, to the probability of the retention of the native religion. Now, when we come to examine the Bhúngars and Dúdás among the Súmras, we find that even to the latest period, with one, or at most two, doubtful exceptions, they are all of native Indian origin. The fact of their being called "Hamír," in Sindian ballads (a probable corruption of "Amír") scarcely militates against this, as it was, both in ancient and modern times, a distinctive appellation of the rulers of Sind, and was only superseded where, as in the case of the Jáms, there was a more familiar title of local origin. The ascription of so honourable an address and so high a lineage, is easily accounted for by the natural tendency to aggrandisement which has actuated all bards and minstrels, from Demodocus and Tyrtæus to the last prizeman of the Cambrian Eisteddfodd. That many of the tribe still continue Hindús, roaming as shepherds through the *thals* of Jesalmír and the Upper Dhat country to the east of Sind, we know from personal communication. Even if it might be admitted that, in the present day, they had forgotten their Arab origin, and lapsed into Hindúism from their former creed; still, that could not have occurred at the very earliest period of their history, within a century or two of their emigration, and before their high and holy origin could possible have been forgotten.

The Súmras of the desert are one of the subdivisions of the Pramára Rájpúts, and from frequently combining with their brethren the 'Umars, gave name to a large tract of country, which is even still recognized as 'Umra-Súmra, and within which Alor is situated.

[1] The various modes of writing and pronouncing the name of this town are given in the *Marásidu-l Ittilá'*, ed. Juynboll, II. 5, 27, but not one admits of a *u* in the first syllable.

Renouard surmises that they may be "Som-Ráí," that is, of the Lunar race, but, being without question of the Pramára stock, they are necessarily Agni-kulas. Their successors and opponents, the Sammas, were of the Lunar race.

It is not improbable that the Lúmrís, or Númarís, of Bulúchistán may be of the same stock, who, when they derive their lineage from Samar, the founder of Samarkand, may have been originally nothing but Súmras. This, however, would not be admissible, if they really have that consanguinity with the Bhátís which they profess, and which would throw them also into the Lunar family.[1]

It is not only from passages which professedly treat of the Súmras that we know them to be Hindús, but from an incidental notice in foreign historians, such as the authors of the *Jahán-kushá* and the *Jámi'u-t Tawáríkh;* where, in writing of the expedition of Jalálu-d dín to Sind, in 621 A.H. (1221 A.D.), they mention that, when he was approaching Debal, the ruler of that country, Hasrar, took to flight, and embarked on a boat, leaving the Sultán to enter the place without a contest, and erect mosques on the sites of the Hindú temples which he destroyed. This Hasrar is, in Firishta's account of the same expedition, named Jaisí, which, if it be correctly written, is more probably a titular than a personal designation; for we learn it was the name borne by the son of Dáhir, who ruled in the same province, and was so called from the Sindí word *jai,* "victory." It seems, however, not improbable that the name is neither Hasrar, nor Jaisí, nor Jaisar, but Chanesar, the popular hero of some of the Sindian legends respecting the Súmra family. Neither of the three other names is to be found amongst those of the Súmra rulers, and written without the diacritical points, they all vary but little from one another. Admitting this to be the case, we obtain an useful synchronism in the Súmra dynasty, notwithstanding that the local ballad of Dodo and Chanesar makes them contemporaries of 'Aláu-d dín, a name more familiar to native ears than Shamsu-d dín, the actual ruler of Dehlí at that period, and his predecessor by nearly a whole century.

[1] Tod, *Annals of Rájasthán*, Vol. I. pp. 92, 93; II. 310–12; *Encyc. Metropol.* Vol. XXIII. p. 780; *Journ. R. Geog. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 14; Masson, *Journey to Kelát*, pp. 298, 355.

There is, however, one very curious passage in an author, whom we should have little expected to afford any illustration to the history of Sind, which would seem to prove that, before they apostatized from their ancestral faith to Islám, the Súmras had intermediately adopted the tenets of the Karmatian heresy. In the sacred books of the Druses, we find an epistle of Muktana Baháu-d dín, the chief apostle of Hamza, and the principal compiler of the Druse writings, addressed in the year 423 H. (1032 A.D.), to the *Unitarians of Multán and Hindústán in general, and to Shaikh Ibn Súmar Rájá Bal in particular.*[1] Here the name is purely Indian, and the patronymic can be no other than our Súmra. That some of that tribe, including the chiefs, had affiliated themselves to the Karmatians is more probable than the other alternative, suggested by M. Reinaud,[2] that certain Arabs had adopted indigenous denominations. It seems quite evident from this curious coincidence of names, that the party particularly addressed was a Súmra; that this Súmra was a Karmatian, successor of a member of the same schism, who bore in the time of Mahmúd a Muhammadan name (Abú-l Fath Dáúd), and whose son was probably the younger Dáúd mentioned in the letter; and that the Karmatians of the valley of the Indus were in relation and correspondence, not only with those of Persia and Arabia, but with the Druses, who adored Hákim, the Fátimide Khalif of Egypt, as a God.

That the Karmatians obtained many converts to their infidel opinions is rendered highly probable by the difficulty of accounting for their rapid conquest of Sind by any other supposition. Being merely refugees from Bahrein and Al Hassa after their successive defeats, mentioned in another note, and their subsequent persecution in Arabia, they could scarcely have traversed an inhospitable country, or undertaken a long sea voyage, in sufficient numbers, to appear

[1] He calls Rájá Bal the true descendant of Bothro and Houdelhela, and mentions many other members of his family, some of whom have Arab, and others Indian names, eulogising their faith and virtues. "Oh, illustrious Rájá Bal, arouse your family, the Unitarians, and bring back Dáúd the younger into the true religion; for Mas'ud only delivered him from prison and bondage, that you might accomplish the ministry with which you were charged, against 'Abd-ulla, his nephew, and against all the inhabitants of Multán, so that the disciples of the doctrines of holiness, and of the unity, might be distinguished from the party of bewilderment, contradiction, ingenuity, and rebellion."

[2] *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 256.

suddenly with renovated power in Sind. Many Hindú converts doubtless readily joined them, both in the hope of expelling their present masters, and in the expectation of receiving a portion of their ancient patrimony for themselves, after the long exclusion under which they had groaned. One of the Bulúch clans, indeed, still preserves the memory of its heresy, or that of its progenitor, in retaining its present title of Karmatí.

Independent of the general dissemination of Shía' sentiments in the valley of the Indus, which favoured notions of the incorporation of the Godhead in Man, the old occupants of the soil must, from other causes, have been ready to acquiesce in the wild doctrines of the heretics, who now offered themselves for spiritual teachers, as well as political leaders. Their cursing of Muhammad; their incarnations of the deity; their types and allegories; their philosophy divided into exoteric and esoteric; their religious reticence; their regard for particular numbers, particularly seven and twelve; the various stages of initiation; their abstruse allusions; their mystical interpretations; their pantheistic theosophy, were so much in conformity with sentiments already prevalent amongst these willing disciples, that little persuasion could have been required to induce them to embrace so congenial a system of metaphysical divinity, of which the final degree of initiation, however cautiously and gradually the development was concealed, undoubtedly introduced the disciple into the regions of the most unalloyed atheism. So susceptible, indeed, must the native mind have been of these insidious doctrines, that Hammer-Purgstall and others, who have devoted much attention to these topics, have very reasonably concluded that the doctrines of these secret societies,—such as the Karmatians, Isma'ílians or Assassins, Druses, Bátinís, and sundry others, which at various periods have devastated the Muhammadan world, and frequently threatened the extinction of that faith,—though originally based upon the errors of the Gnostics, were yet largely indebted to the mystical philosophy and theology of Eastern nations, and especially of India, where the tenets of transmigration and of absorption into the Deity were even more familiar both to Buddhists and Bráhmans than they were to these miserable schismatics.

The Hindú population, therefore, though they had much to dread from them, if it continued obstinately in the path of idolatry, was likely to offer a rich field of proselytism to such zealous fanatics as the Karmatians, or "people of the veil," whose creed could not have been less attractive to an ignorant and superstitious multitude, from its eluding in many instances the grasp of human apprehension, and from its founder being announced, in profane and incomprehensible jargon, to be "the Guide! the Director! the Invitation! the Word! the Holy Ghost! the Demonstration! the Herald! the Camel!"

Assuming, then, that this Ibn Súmar, the ruler of Multán in 423 H. (1032 A.D.), was in reality a Súmra, we must date the commencement of the Súmra dynasty at least as early as that period, and most probably even before Mahmúd's death, in the lower course of the Indus; for it has already been observed, on the authority of Ibn Asír, that Mahmúd on his return from Sommát, in 416 H., (1025 A.D.), placed a Muhammadan chief in possession of Mansúra; for that the incumbent had abjured Islámism. So that the expelled ruler must necessarily have been a Karmatian, or a Hindú; and, in either case, doubtless a Súmra, who, in the distractions of the Ghaznivide Empire, would have allowed no long time to elapse before he recovered the dominions from which he had been expelled.

This re-establishment might have been delayed during the reign of Mas'úd, who is expressly mentioned by Baihakí as comprising all Sind within his dominions. The Súmras, indeed, may possibly have allowed a titular sovereignty to the Ghaznivides, even down to the time of 'Abdu-r Rashíd in 443 H. (1051 A.D.); or paid tribute as an acknowledgment of fealty; but after that time, the advance of the Saljúks on the northern frontier of the empire, and the internal disorders of the government, must have offered too favourable a conjuncture for them to profess any longer an even nominal subordination to distant monarchs unable to enforce it.

The Súmra power could at no time have been extensive and absolute in Sind; and the passage translated above at p. 340, from the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám,* showing seven tributary chiefs in Sind in the time of Násiru-d dín, represents perhaps the true state of the country during a great portion of the so-called Súmra period. Moreover, this unfortunate province was subject to perpetual incursions from

the Ghorian, Khiljí, and Tughlik dynasties of Dehlí and the Panjáb, as well as the still more ruinous devastations of the Moghals. The retreats in their native deserts offered temporary asylums to the Sindians during these visitations, till it pleased the stronger power to retire, after ravaging the crops and securing their plunder: but, beyond the personal security which such inhospitable tracts offered, the Súmras could have enjoyed little freedom and independence, and can only claim to rank as a dynasty, from the absence of any other predominant tribe, or power, to assert better pretensions to that distinction.[1]

The Samma Dynasty.

In considering the annals of this race, we are relieved from many of the perplexities which attend us during the preceding period. After expelling the Súmras in 752 A.H. (1351 A.D.), the Sammas retained their power, till they were themselves displaced by the Arghúns in 927 A.H. (1521 A.D.). Some authorities assign an earlier, as well as later, date for the commencement of their rule. The *Beg Lár-náma* says 734 A.H. (1334 A.D.), making the dynasty last 193 years. The *Tárikh-i Táhirí* says 843 A.H. (1439 A.D.), giving it no more than 84 years. The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* says 927 H., which gives 175 years.

The *Tárikh-i Táhirí* is obviously wrong, because when Sultán Fíroz Tughlik invaded Sind in 762 A.H. (1361 A.D.), he was opposed by a Prince whose title was Jám, one borne by Sammas only, not by Súmras,—and this we learn from a contemporary author, Shams-i Siráj, whose father himself commanded a fleet of 1000, out of 5000, boats employed upon the expedition. The power of the Jám may be judged of by his being able to bring a force of 40,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry to oppose the Sultán of Dehlí, whom he kept

[1] Compare Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Assassinen*, Book i., and *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vol. VI.; *Biog. Universelle*, v. "Carmath;" Renouard, *Encyc. Metropolitana*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 301, 308; M. Jules David, *Syrie Moderne*, pp. 195-7; M. Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, Tom. I. p. CDXCI, II. 341; and *Journal des Savants*, ann. 1818; the entire work of De Sacy has been copiously abstracted in the first and second Volumes of Col. Churchill's *Mount Lebanon*, 1853; Weil, *Ges. der Chalifen*, Vol. II. p. 214, III. 65; Sale, *Koran*, Prel. Disc., Vol. I. p. 252; *Secret Societies of the Middle Ages*, pp. 37-44; Bohlen, *Das alte Indien*, Vol. I. p. 206.

at bay for two years and a-half. Ten years previous, we also know from contemporary history that, upon Muhammad Tughlik's invasion, the chief of Thatta was a Súmra, and not a Samma. We may, therefore, safely concur with the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* in taking the year 752 H. as that of the accession of the Sammas, which was, indeed, coincident with that of Sultán Fíroz, for his reign commenced while he was yet in Sind, and this change of dynasty was probably in some measure contingent upon his success in that province, before he advanced upon Dehlí.

All these authors concur in fixing the extinction of the Samma dynasty in 927 H. (1521 A.D.).

Native writers have done their best to render the origin of this tribe obscure, in their endeavours to disguise and embellish the truth. The extracts from the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* will show the propensity of the Sindian mind to wander into the region of fable and romance. Nothing can be made out of such arrant nonsense. In another passage the author throws discredit on the Arab descent, and inclines to that of Jamshíd. The Arabic origin from Abí Jahl has been assigned, in order to do honour to the converts from Hinduism, The Jhárejas of Kachh, who are of Samma extraction, prefer claiming the distant connection of Shám, or Syria. The descent from Sám, the son of the prophet Núh, has been assigned, partly for the same reason of nobilitation, partly that a fit eponymos might be found for Samma; and Jamshíd, or Jam (for he is known under both forms indiscriminately), has been hit upon, in order that a suitable etymology might be obtained for the titular designation of Jám.

Tod derives the word Jám from Samma, but the correctness of this etymology may be doubted, for it was not the designation of the family generally, but merely of the chiefs. Indeed, Jám is a title still borne by many native rulers in these parts—such as the Jám of Bela, the Jám of Nawánagar, in Suráshtra, the Jám of Kej, the Jám of the Jokyas, a Samma tribe, and others—and has no necessary connection with Persian descent, much less with such a fabulous monarch and legislator as Jamshíd. In the same manner, it has been attempted to engraft the genealogy of Cyrus on the ancient Median stock, by detecting the identity between Achæmenes and

Jamshíd;[1] but here, again, notwithstanding that the hypothesis is supported by the respectable name of Heeren, we are compelled to withhold our assent, and are sorely tempted to exclaim—

> Alfana vient d'equus, sans doute;
> Mais il faut avouer aussi,
> Qu'en venant de la jusqu' ici
> Il a bien changé sur la route.

What the Sammas really were is shown in an interesting passage of the *Chach-náma*, where we find them, on the banks of the lower Indus, coming out with trumpets and shawms to proffer their allegiance to Muhammad Kásim. Sámba, the governor of Debal, on the part of Chach, may be considered the representative of the family at an earlier period.[2]

They were then either Buddhists or Hindus, and were received into favour in consideration of their prompt and early submission. They form a branch of the great stock of the Yádavas, and their pedigree is derived from Samba, the son of Krishna, who is himself known by the epithet of "Syáma," indicative of his dark complexion. Sammanagar, on the Indus, was their original capital, which has been supposed by some to be the Minagara of the Greek geographers, and is probably represented by the modern Sihwán. Sihwán itself, which has been subject to various changes of name, may, perhaps, derive that particular designation (if it be not a corruption of Sindomana), from the Sihta, themselves a branch of the Sammas, mentioned in the *Chach-náma*, and also noticed at a later period of Sindian history, as will appear from some of the preceding Extracts. The name is also still preserved amongst the Jhárejas of Kachh. The more modern capital of the Sammas, during part of the period under review, and before its transfer to Thatta, was Sámúí, mentioned in another Note. Since the Sammas became proselytes to Islám, which occurred not earlier than 793 H. (1391 A.D.), their name, though it still comprises several large erratic and pastoral communities, is less known than that of their brethren, or descendants, the Samejas, and the demi-Hindú Jhárejas, of Kachh, who do

[1] Schnitzler, *Encylc. des Gens du Monde*, Tom. I. pp. 144; Wahl, *Allgemeine Beschreibung des Pers. Reichs*, pp. 209; *Zendavesta*, I, 14; Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, Vol. I. pp. 377.

[2] *Chach-náma*, MS. pp. 70, 109.

honour to their extraction by their martial qualities, however notoriously they may be deficient in other virtues.

It being admitted that the Sammas are unquestionably Rájpúts of the great Yádava stock, and that they have occupied the banks of the lower Indus within known historical periods, there seems nothing fanciful in the supposition that their ancestors may be traced in the Sambastæ and Sambus of Alexander's historians. The name of Sambastæ, who are represented as a republican confederacy, is doubtful, being read Abastani in Arrian, and Sabarcae in Quintus Curtius; but Sambus, of whose subjects no less than 80,000 (let us hope Diodorus was more correct in saying 8,000) were wantonly slain by that mighty destroyer—

"That made such waste in brief mortality."

and whose capital was the Sindonalia, Sindimona, or Sindomana above named, appears under the same aspect in all three authors, with the closer variation of Samus in some copies,[1] and may fairly claim to have represented an earlier Samma dynasty in Sind than that which forms the subject of this Note.[2]

The Arghún Dynasty.

The family of the Arghúns derive their name, as stated at p. 303, from Arghún Khán Tarkhán, the grandson of Hulákú, the grandson of Changíz Khán. Amír Basrí is there said, in general terms, to be one of the descendants of Arghún Khán. The descent more accurately traced, is as follows:—

Arghún Khán.
Uljáitú Sultán Muhammad Khudábanda.
Amír Elchí.
Amír Ekú Tímúr.
Amír Shakal Beg.

[1] He is *Sabbas* in Plutarch, *Saboutas* in Strabo; and under the further disguises of *Ambigarus* in Justin, and *Ambiras* in Orosius.

[2] Compare *Tárikh-i Sind*, MS. p. 31; *Beg-Lár-náma*, MS. p. 9; *Tárikh-i Táhirí*, MS. pp. 42, 51; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. pp. 15, 37, 166; Shams-i Siráj, *T. Firozsháhí*, MS.; Zía Barní, *T. Firozsháhí*, MS.; Tod, *Annals of Rájasthán*, Vol. I. p. 86; II. pp. 220, 226, 312; and *Travels in W. India*, pp. 464, 474; Dr. Burnes, *History of Cutch*, Introd. pp. xi. xiv, 1, 73; Vincent, *Comm. and Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. I. pp. 151, 155; Droysen, *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen*, pp. 446–9; Ritter, *Erdkunde von As.*, Vol. I. pt. i. pp. 473–4; Diod. Siculus, *Biblioth Histor.*, Lib. xvii, cap. 102, 103; Arrian, *Anab.*, Lib. vi. cap, 16; Q. Curt. Rufus, *De Gest. Alex.*, Lib. ix. cap. 32; C. Müller, *Scriptores Rerum Alex. M.*, p. 71; R. Geier, *Alex. M. Histor. Scriptores*, p. 174.

Bartak Beg.
Mír Shekhú Beg.
Mahmúd Beg.
Yár Beg.
Mír Farrukh Beg.
Míram Beg.
Ahmad Walí.
Farrukh Beg.
Amír Basrí.

The Arghún dynasty of Sind consisted of only two individuals—Shujá', or Sháh, Beg, and his son Mirzá Sháh Husain, with whom the family became extinct. The relations of the former with the Emperor Bábar, when possession of the province of Kandahár was contested between them, and of the latter with the Emperor Humáyún, when that unfortunate monarch took refuge in Sind for nearly three years, constitute their reigns as of some importance in the general history of India, especially when we consider that the memoirs of Bábar are defective in the period alluded to.

The duration of their rule is variously stated at 35, 36, and 41 years. The last period is correct only if we date from 921 H. (1515 A.D.), when, according to the *Táríkh-i Táhirí*,[1] Sháh Beg invaded and occupied a portion of Upper Sind: but as the final conquest of Lower, as well as Upper Sind was not effected from the Sammas till 927 H. (1521 A.D.), it is more correct to assume 35 years as the period.

All authorities concur in representing that the Arghún dynasty—Sháh Husain having died childless—closed in 962 A.H. (1554-5 A.D.)[2]

The Tarkhán Dynasty.

When Áúng, Khán of the Keraite Mongols, and celebrated in Europe under the name of Prester John, had, at the instigation of the jealous enemies of Changíz Khán, at last resolved to destroy that obnoxious favourite; two youths, named Ba'ta and Kashlak, who had overheard the discussion of the measures which were determined upon for execution on the following day, instantly flew to the camp of Changíz Khán, and disclosed to him the circumstances of the premeditated attack and his critical position. Being thus

[1] The *Tarkhán-náma*, following the chronology of the *Táríkh-i Sind*, says that this first invasion occurred in 924 H.

[2] Compare *Táríkh-i Sind*, MS. p. 136; *Beg-Lar-náma*, MS. p. 30; *Tarkhán-náma*, MS. p. 24; *Táríkh-i Táhirí*, MS. pp. 14, 51, 76, 81; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. pp. 42, 52.

forwarned, he was able to defeat the scheme, and after defending himself against great disparity of numbers, escaped the danger which impended over him. Upon proceeding to reward his gallant companions in the conflict, Changíz Khán conferred upon the two youths, to whose information he was indebted for his life, the title of Tarkhán, expressly ordaining that their posterity for nine generations should be exempted from all question for their offences, that they should be free from taxes and imposts, and permitted to enjoy all the plunder they should acquire in war, without being obliged to resign any part of it to the Khán. From these are said to be descended the Tarkháns of Khurásán and Turkistán.

Another set of Tarkháns were so denominated by Tímúr. When Tuktamish Khán was advancing against that potentate, he was gallantly opposed by Ekú Tímúr, who fell in the unequal conflict; but his surviving relatives, whose gallantry and devotion had been witnessed by Tímúr, were honoured by him with the title of Tarkhán, and it was enjoined, amongst other privileges, that the royal servitors should at no time prohibit their access to his presence, and that no criminal offence committed by them should be subject to punishment, until nine times repeated. From these are said to be descended the Tarkháns of Sind.

Others say, Tímúr bestowed the title upon a set of men who gave him shelter in his youth, when he lost his way in a hunting expedition.

Another origin is ascribed to this name, which is evidently fanciful, namely, that it is a corrupt mode of pronouncing "tar-khún," quasi, "wet with the blood (of enemies)."

Though it is probable that the Tarkháns of Sind may, as the local histories assert, be able to trace their origin to Ekú Tímúr, who, as we have seen in the preceding Note, was the great grandson of Arghún Khán, and who was the member of the Imperial family from whom the Arghúns also were descended,—yet the Tarkháns of Khurásán and Turkistán cannot all be descended from the family of Ba'ta and Kashlak, because Arghún Khán was himself a Tarkhán, and we find the title borne by others who could have had no connection with those favoured youths. Thus, Tarkhán, prince of Farghána, hospitably entertained the last monarch of Persia; and

thus, among the events of 105 H. (723 A.D.), Tabarí makes frequent mention of the Tarkháns as officers under the Khákán of the Khazars, to the west of the Caspian sea. Bábu-l Abwáb was garrisoned by a thousand Tarkhánís, the flower of the Tátár tribes. One chief's name was Hazár-Tarkhání; and other instances might easily be adduced of the antiquity of the title.

We find the name descending to a late period of the annals of India, and scions of this family still reside at Nasrpúr and Thatta; but the dynasty of the Tarkháns of Sind may be considered to have expired in the year 1000 H., when Mirza Jání Beg resigned his independence into the hands of Akbar's general, the Khán-i Khánán, after the kingdom had remained with the Tarkháns for a period of 38 years.

The *Tárikh-i Táhiri* extends their rule even to 1022 H., or rather, it should have been 1021 H., when Ghází Beg Tarkhán died at Kandahár; but he was only an imperial officer, having no independent jurisdiction, and entitled merely a Jágírdár. Even then, it is impossible to make, as that authority does, the Tarkhán period reach to 53 years; so that, as before mentioned, we must date the extinction of Sind as an independent kingdom, from 1000 A.H. (1591-2 A.H.), and thenceforward the consideration of its affairs merges in the general history of the Tímúrian empire.[1]

Shah Beg's Capture of Thatta.

The *Tarkhán-náma* states, that when Sháh Beg advanced to the capture of Thatta, the river, meaning the main stream of the Indus, ran to the north of that city. If this statement be correct, it shows that a most important deviation must have occurred since that period in the course of the river. But I believe that the assertion arises from a mere mis-translation of the *Tárikh-i Sind*, of Mír Ma'súm, which is generally followed *verbatim* in the *Tarkhán-náma.*

[1] Compare *Modern Universal History*, Vol. III. p. 250; D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, Tom. I. p. 44; *Shajrat ul Atrák*, p. 71; *Journal R. A. S.* Vol. XI. p. 123, XII. p. 344; Price, *Retrospect of Muham. Hist.*, Vol. I. p. 470, II. 483, III. 117; D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orientale*, v. "Tarkhán;" *Zafar-náma*, MS.; *Rauzatu-s Safá*, MS.; *Habíbu-s Siyar*, MS.; *Tárikh-i Táhirí*, MS. pp. 14, 76; *Tarkhán-náma*, MS. pp. 4, 23, 51, 69, 118; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. pp. 52, 62; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I. p. 500.

Mír Ma'súm says (p. 138), that "Sháh Beg advanced by daily marches towards Thatta, by way of the Lakhí pass, and encamped on the banks of the Khánwáh, from which Thatta lies three kos to the south. At that time the river generally flowed by Thatta; therefore he was in doubt how he should cross." Now this is not very plain, and we should even more correctly interpret the original, if we were to say that, "Thatta lies three kos to the *north* of the Khánwáh." We know that this could not have not been meant, but the statement, as it stands, is puzzling, and the author of the *Tarkhán-náma*, in the endeavour to be exact, has complicated matters still further. The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, (p. 41) says that the subsequent action took place "on the stream called 'Alíján, which flows below Thatta," but does not mention whether this was the same stream near which Sháh Beg encamped, though from the context we may be allowed to presume that it was. The *Táríkh-i Táhirí* is more specific, and states (p. 48) that "he encamped on the bank of the Khánwáh, that is, the canal of water which Daryá Khán had dug, for the purpose of populating the Pargana of Sámkúrá and other lands at the foot of the hills, and the environs of the city."

It is evident, therefore, that Sháh Beg pitched his camp, not on the main stream, but on one of the canals, or little effluents, from the Indus. The Ghizrí, or Ghara creek, is too far to the westward, though it is represented in some maps as running up as far as the Indus itself, and joining it above Thatta. Indeed, there still exist traces of its having been met by a stream from the river at no very remote period, and, during the inundations, the city is even now sometimes insulated from this cause. In the absence of any more precise identification, we may safely look to this deserted bed as corresponding with the ancient 'Alíján, and suiting best the position indicated.

Authorities differ about the date of Sháh Beg's crossing this river, and capturing Thatta, by which an end was put to the dynasty of the Jáms, or Sammas. The *Táríkh-i Sind* says it occurred in the month of Muharram, 926. The *Táríkh-i Táhirí* is silent. The *Tarkhán-náma* says Muharram, 927 (corresponding with December, 1520); differing only in the day of the month from the *Tuhfatu-l*

Kirám, where the correctness of this latter date is established by an appropriate chronogram :—

"Kharábí Sind.—The Downfall of Sind."

The *Tárikh-i Táhirí* (p. 51) refers this chronogram to the period when Sháh Husain plundered Thatta, on the ground of extravagant joy having been evinced by its inhabitants upon the death of his father, Sháh Beg; but this is evidently a mistake, and is adopted merely to accommodate his false chronology.

The Death of Sháh Beg Arghún.

Authorities differ greatly respecting the time and place of Sháh Beg's death. The *Tarkhán-náma* states that it occurred in Sha'bán, 926 H., not far from Chandúka, said in the *Tárikh-i Sind* (MS. p. 196) to be thirty kos west of Bhakkar, and that the accession of Mirzá Sháh Husain was celebrated where Sháh Beg died.

Fírishta says he died in 930 H., but mentions no place.

Mir Ma'súm (MS. p. 154) says, he died after leaving Bhakkar, on his way to Guzerát,—in the same page Agham is the particular spot implied—and that the words *Shahr-Sha'bán* ("month of Sha'bán") represent the date of his death, *i.e.*, 928 H. (1522 A.D.). That very night, he adds, Sháh Husain was proclaimed his successor, and, three years afterwards, Sháh Beg's coffin was conveyed to Mecca, where a lofty tomb was erected over it. He mentions (MS. p. 171) that Sháh Husain's succession took place at Nasrpúr, though he has previously led us to suppose it was Agham.

The *Táríkh-i Táhirí* (MS. p. 49) says that his death took place in 924 H.—"some say it occurred in Multán, some in Kandahár."

The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (MS. p. 42) states that he died at Agham on the 23rd of Sha'bán, 928 H. It is mentioned in that work also, that this month represents the date of his death. The author gives satisfactory reasons why the reports just quoted from the *Tárikh-i Táhiri* must necessarily be both incorrect.

Under these conflicting evidences, we may rest assured that the chronogram is correct, and that Sháh Beg Arghún, the conqueror of Sind, died at Agham, on the 23rd of the month Sha'bán, 928 A.H. (18th July, 1522 A.D.).

NOTE (C.)—ETHNOLOGICAL.

Native Opinions on the Aborigines of Sind.

The names, which are given in the *Beg-Lár-náma* (p. 292) as three :—" Bína, Ták, Nabúmiya," amount to four in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (MS. p. 4)—" Banya, Tánk, Múmíd, and Mahmír." They are given from Sindian authorities by Lieut. Postans, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (No. cxi. 1841, p. 184), as "Nubeteh, Tak, and Moomeed;" and again, by the same author (No. clviii. 1845, p. 78), as "Nubuja, Jak, and Momid."

It would be a matter of great interest to restore these tribes correctly, and ascertain the course of their migrations. I can trace the mention of them to no earlier authority than the *Beg-Lár-náma*. All their names, except one, defy positive identification, and we may put the list of the *Vishnu Purána* and the *Asiatic Researches* through all kinds of contortions, without meeting any race that will yield a sufficient resemblance for our adoption. That single exception is " Ták," about which there can be no doubt. " Bína " may possibly represent "Mína," the probable founders of the celebrated Minagara, and the present occupants of the upper Árávalí range. Or if " Baniya " be the correct reading, then the designation may have been applied to them, as being foresters. In " Múmíd " we may perhaps have the "Med " of the Arabs; and in the " Mahmír," we may chance to have the representatives of the " Mhairs," or " Mairs " of Rájpútána, if, indeed, they differ from the Med. We can venture upon nothing beyond these dubious conjectures.

That we should find the " Ták " in Sind at an early period, is by no means improbable, and if the statement rested on somewhat better, or more ancient, authority than the *Beg-Lár-náma*, it might be assumed as an undoubted fact, with some degree of confidence.

Tod exalts the Táks to a high and important rank amongst the tribes which emigrated from Scythia to India, making them the same as the Takshak, Nágabansí, or serpent-race, who acted a conspicuous part in the legendary annals of ancient India. His speculations,

some of which are fanciful, and some probable, may be found in the passages noted below.[1] One thing is certain that the Táks were progenitors of the Musulmán kings of Guzerát, before that province was absorbed into the empire of Akbar.

Tod observes, that with the apostacy of the Ták, when Wajíhu-l Mulk was converted, and became the founder of the Muhammadan dynasty of Guzerát, the name appears to have been obliterated from the tribes of Rájasthán, and that his search had not discovered one of that race now existing; but there are Táks amongst the Bhangís, who, though of spurious descent, have evidently preserved the name. There are also Tánk Rájpúts in the central Doáb and lower Rohilkhand, whose privileges of intermarriage show them to be of high lineage; and there is a tribe of nearly similar name existing near Jambhú, not far from their ancient capital Taksha-sila, or Taxila; of which the position is most probably to be sought between Manikyála and the Suán River, notwithstanding some plausible and ingenious objections which have been raised against that opinion.[2]

Buddhists in Sind.

Biláduri calls the temple of the sun at Multán by the name of *budd*, and he informs us, that not only temples, but idols, were called by the same name. As the Buddhist religion was evidently the prevalent one in Sind when the Musalmáns first came in contact with Indian superstitions, it follows that to Buddha must be attributed the origin of this name, and not to the Persian *but*, "an idol," which is itself most probably derived from the same source.

[1] *Annals of Rájasthán*, Vol. I. pp. 53, 92, 95, 99, 103–6, 536, 673, 738, 739, 796, 800; and Vol. II. pp. 225, 227, 445, 678, 735. His ardent admirer, Mr. E. Pococke, exalts them still higher, by mis-spelling their name:—"The Tág is a renowned Rajpoot tribe! The Toga of the Rámas was the dress worn by this tribe! The race was the Taga-des (Toga-tus), that is, Tagland. . . The Gena Tagata, or Gens Togata, that is, the Tág Race!"—*India in Greece*, p. 172.

[2] On this interesting and much-vexed question, consult Mannert, *Geographie der Gr. und Römer*, Vol. V.; Ritter, *Asien*, Vol. IV. pt. i. p. 451; *Asiatic Res.*, Vol. VIII. pp. 346, 348; *Modern Traveller*, "India," Vol. I. p. 119; *Annals of Ráj.*, Vol. I. pp. 92, 104, 693; II. p. 227; *Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. V. p. 118; XI. 157; *Mem. sur l' Inde*, pp. 64, 107; Lassen, *Indische Alterth.*, Vol. II. p. 145; M. Stan. Julien, *Hist. d' Hiouen Thsang*, p. 143; and, above all, J. Abbott, *Journal A. S. Bengal*, 1852, pp. 216–218, 254–263; in which work, Taxila has frequently formed the subject of discussion.—[*Journal R. A. S.*, Vol. XX. p. 221.].

With regard to the *budd* of Debal,[1] M. Reinaud has observed that the word not only is made applicable to a Buddhist temple, but seems also to indicate a Buddhist *stupa*,[2] or tower, which was frequently the companion of the temple; and he traces the word *budd* in the *feouthau*, or rather *foth*, which we find mentioned in the Chinese relations, as serving at the same time to designate a Buddha, and the edifice which contains his image. "*Feou-thou*" says Klaproth, "is the name which they give to pyramids, or obelisks, containing the relics of Sákya, or other holy personages. Chapels, likewise, are so called, in which these images are placed.[3]

Although Chach, who usurped the throne about the beginning of the Hijrí era, was a Bráhman, there is no reason to suppose that he attempted to interfere with the then popular religion of Buddhism. Bráhmanism is, indeed, so accommodating to anything that partakes of idol-worship, that Chach and Dáhir might have made their offerings in a Buddhist temple, without any greater sacrifice of consistency than a Roman was guilty of in worshipping Isis and Osiris, or than we witness every day in a Hindú presenting his butter and flowers at the shrine of Shaikh Saddú, Ghází Mián, Sháh Madár, or any other of the apotheosized Muhammadan impostors of Hindústán. There is even no incompatibility in supposing that Chach, though a Bráhman by birth, still continued a Buddhist in his persuasion;[4] for the divisions of caste were at that time secular, not religious,—the four classes existing, in former times, equally amongst the Buddhists and amongst the Hindús of continental India, as they do at this day amongst the Buddhists of Ceylon, and amongst the Jains of the Peninsula, where even Bráhman priests may be found officiating in their temples.

There are several indications of the Buddhist religion prevailing

[1] The temple of Debal is described as being one hundred and twenty feet high, surmounted by a dome also of equal height.—*Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 10.

[2] The origin of our English "tope." It is curious that, in Icelandic also, *stupa* signifies "a tower." See further, respecting this word, Hammer-Purgstall, in *Wien Jahrbücher*, No. cvii. p. 17; Burnouf, *Budd. Ind.*, Vol. I. p. 349; Fergusson, *Illustr. to Anc. Archit. of Hindústán*, p. 14. [*Journ. R. A. S.*, I. (N.S.) p. 481.]

[3] *Fragments Arabes*, pp. 193, 200; *Foe-koue-ki*, pp. 19, 41, 50, 91, 355; *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 90, 177, 290.

[4] There seems, indeed, reason to believe that his brother and successor, Chandar, was actually a Buddhist ascetic.—V. *sup.*, p.153.

at that period in the valley of the Indus, not only from the specific announcement of the Chinese travellers, and the declaration of Ibn Khurdádba to that effect, but from certain incidental allusions of the Arabic writers, made without any particular reference to the opposite factions of Bráhmans and Buddhists—between which the distinctions, especially of worship, oblations, mythology, and cosmography, were generally too nice to attract the observations, or excite the enquiries of such ignorant and supercilious foreigners. Thus, when priests are mentioned, they are usually called *Samaní*;[1] the state elephant is white, a very significant fact (*supra*, p. 170); the thousand Bráhmans, as they are styled, who wished to be allowed to retain the practices of their ancient faith, were ordered by Muhammad Kásim, with the permission of the Khalif, to carry in their hands a small vessel as mendicants, and beg their bread from door to door every morning—a prominent ceremony observed by the Buddhist priesthood (p. 186); and, finally, the sculpturing, or otherwise perpetuating, the personal representations of their conquerors (p. 124); all these indicate Buddhist rather than Bráhmanical habits. To this may be added the negative evidence afforded by the absence of any mention of priestcraft, or other pontifical assumption, of widow-burning, of sacerdotal threads, of burnt-sacrifices, of cow-worship, of ablutions, of penances, or of other observances and ceremonies peculiar to the tenets of the Bráhmanical faith.

The manifest confusion which prevailed amongst the Arabs regarding the respective objects of Bráhman and Buddhist worship, prepares us, therefore, to find, as remarked at the commencement of

[1] Vide. translations of the *Futúhu-l Buldan* (p. 121) and the *Chach-náma*, *passim*. These are the Sarmanes, Sarmanæ, Garmanæ, Samanæi, and Semnoi, of Clemens of Alexandria, Strabo, and other Greek writers. The name is derived from the Sanskrit, *Sramana*, "a religious mendicant, an ascetic, especially one of the Buddhist faith." More information can be had respecting the various disguises and applications of this word, by consulting Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Fragmenta*, pp. 45–50; C. Müller, *Fragm. Histor. Græc.*, Vol. II. pp. 435–7; Lassen, *Rhein. Mus.*, Vol. I. pp. 171–190; *Ind. Alterth.*; Gildemeister, *de reb. Ind.*, p. 114; Humboldt, *Cosmos*, Vol. II. pp. 59; Thirlwall, *Hist. Greece*, Vol. VII. p. 15; *Journal A. S. Bombay*, No. viii. p. 91; Dr. Wilson, *Antiq. of Western India*, p. 63; *Journal R. A. S.*, No. xii. 378–402; Burnouf, *Budd. Ind.*, Vol. I. p. 275; Ritter, *Asien*, Vol. IV. pt. i. p. 491; Bohlen, *das alte Indien*, Vol. I. pp. 319–322.

this Note, that the temple of the Sun at Multán is, by Biládurí, styled a *budd* (p. 123). Even in the time of Mas'údí, the kings of Kanauj, which he asserts to have then been under Multán, are all styled *Búdh, Búdah* or *Bauüra*, doubtless from the worship which the Arabs had heard to prevail in that capital (p. 22); and in this he is followed by Idrísí (p. 81), who wrote as late as the middle of the twelfth century: so that the use of *budd* is very indefinite; and whether applied to man, temple, or statue, it by no means determines the application to anything positively and necessarily connected with Buddhism, anymore than the absence of that word denotes the contrary, when incidental notices and negative testimonies, such as those mentioned in the preceding paragraph, can be adduced to support the probability of its prevalence.

The Jats.

[General Cunningham in his Archælogical Report for 1863-4, says, "The traditions of the Hindu Játs of Biána and Bharatpur point to Kandahar as their parent country, while those of the Muhammadan Játs generally refer to Gajni or Garh-Gajni, which may be either the celebrated fort of Ghazni in Afghanistan or the old city of Gajnipur on the site of Rawul-Pindi. But if I am right in my identification of the Játs with the *Xanthii* of Strabo, and the *Iatii* of Pliny and Ptolemy, their parent country must have been on the banks of the Oxus, between Bactria, Hyrkania, and Khorasmia. Now in this very position there was a fertile district, irrigated from the Margus river, which Pliny calls *Zotale* or *Zothale*, and which, I believe to have been the original seat of the *Iatii* or Játs. Their course from the Oxus to the Indus may perhaps be dimly traced in the *Xuthi* of Dionysius of Samos, who are coupled with the Arieni, and in the *Zuthi* of Ptolemy who occupied the *Karmanian* desert on the frontier of Drangiana. As I can find no other traces of their name in the classical writers, I am inclined to believe, as before suggested, that they may have been best known in early times, by the general name of their horde, as *Abars*, instead of by their tribal name as *Játs*. According to this view, the main body of the *Iatii* would have occupied the district of *Abiria* and the towns of *Pardabathra* and *Bardaxema* in Sindh, or Southern Indo-Scythia, while

the Panjab or Northern Indo-Scythia was chiefly colonized by their brethren the *Meds.*

[When the Muhammadans first appeared in Sindh, towards the end of the seventh century, the *Zaths* and *Meds* were the chief population of the country. But as I have already shown that the original seat of the *Med* or *Medi* colony was in the Panjab proper, I conclude that the original seat of the *Iatii* or Ját colony, must have been in Sindh. * * * * At the present day the Játs are found in every part of the Panjab, where they form about two-fifths of the population. They are chiefly Musulmans, and are divided into not less than a hundred different tribes. * * * *. To the east of the Panjab, the Hindu Játs are found in considerable numbers in the frontier states of Bikaner, Jesalmer, and Jodhpur, where, in Col. Tod's opinion, they are as numerous as all the Rajput races put together. They are found also in great numbers along the upper course of the Ganges and Jumna, as far eastward as Bareli, Farakhabad, and Gwalior, where they are divided into two distinct clans. * * * To the south of the Panjab, the Musulman Játs are said by Pottinger to form the entire population of the fruitful district of Haraud-Dajel, on the right bank of the Indus, and the bulk of the population in the neighbouring district of Kach-Gandava. In Sindh, where they have intermarried largely with Buluchis and Musulmans of Hindu descent, it is no longer possible to estimate their numbers, although it is certain that a very large proportion of the population must be of Ját descent.]

The Kerks.

The pirates, whose insolence led to the final subjugation of Sind, are stated, by a very good authority, to be of the tribe of Kerk, Kruk, Kurk, Karak, or some name of nearly similar pronunciation. The reading is too clear to be discarded in favour of 'Kurd,' or 'Coorg,' as has been proposed; and M. Reinaud, while he suggests the latter reading, which has been shown to be highly improbable, on the ground of Coorg being not a maritime, but an inland hilly country — nevertheless informs us that, in the annals of the Arabs, the Kurk are more than once spoken of as desperate pirates, carrying their expeditions even as far as Jidda,

in the Red Sea.[1] We must, therefore, necessarily be content to consider them as of Sindian origin, otherwise Rái Dáhir would not have been called to account for their proceedings.

Though the name of Kerk be now extinct, and declared to be entirely incapable of present identification, we must enquire whether we cannot find any trace of their having occupied the banks of the Indus at some remote period. And, first of all, the resemblance of the name of Krokala, which has conspicuous mention in the voyage of Nearchus, is sufficiently striking to attract our observation. Dr. Vincent and Heeren consider Krokala to be the modern Karáchí. A later authority says Chalna, a small rocky island, about four miles from Cape Monze.[2] Neither of these authorities knew that there is at present a large insular tract, which bears the name of Kakrála, at the mouth of the Indus, answering exactly all the requirements of Arrian's description—"a sandy island, subject to the influence of the tides."[3] It is situated between the Wanyání and Pittí mouths of the river; but modern travellers differ about its precise limits. Captain Postans places it further to the west, and makes it include Karáchí.[4] This is no shifting, or modern name. We can see from the *Ayín-i Akbarí*, and from some of the works quoted in this volume, that it has been known, and similarly applied, for the last three centuries at least; and it may, without question, be regarded as the Krokala of Arrian. Its origin is easily accounted for, by conceiving it to mean the "abode of the Krok," or whatever their real designation may have been before its perversion by the Greeks. The only other vestige of the name is in Karaka, a place three miles below Haidarábád.

In pointing out another possible remnant of this ancient name, I am aware I shall be treading on dangerous and very disputable ground. Nevertheless, let us at once, without further preliminary, transfer ourselves to the north-eastern shores of the Euxine sea,

1 *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 181.

2 *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, Vol. I. p. 194; *Asiatic Nations*, Vol. II. p. 246; *Journal of the R. Geographical Society*, Vol. V. p. 264; Ritter, *Asien*, Vol. IV. pt. i. p. 479.

3 Nearchi *Paraplus*, p. 4; Plin. *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 21.

4 *Personal Obs. on Sindh*, p. 24; McMurdo, *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 212; Burnes, *Travels to Bokhara*, Vol. III. p. 12; *L'Univers Pittoresque*, "Inde," p. 68.

where we shall find, among other peoples and places recalling Indian associations, the tribe of Kerketæi or Kerketæ[1]—the bay of Kerketis[2]—the river of Korax[3]—the mountains of Korax[4]—the town of Korok-ondame[5]—the river and peninsula of Korok-ondame[6]—the sea, or lake, of Korok-ondametis[7]—the tribe of Kerketiki[8]—the city of Karkinitis[9]—the city of Karkine[10]—the bay of Karkinitis[11]—the city of Kirkæum[12]—the river of Karkenites[13]—the region of Kerketos[14]—the tribe of Koraxi[15]—the wall of Korax[16]—and other similar names,—all within so narrow a compass as to show, even allowing many to be identical, that they can have but one origin, derived from the same fundamental root—Kerk, Kurk, Karak, Korak, Kark—retaining immutably the same consonants, but admitting arbitrary transpositions, or perhaps unsettled pronunciations of unimportant vowels.

It may be asked what connection these names can possibly have with our Sindian stock. Let us, then, carry the enquiry a little further, and many more Indian resemblances may be traced :—for,

1 Hellanicus, *Fragm.* 91; Scylax Caryand., *Periplus;* ed. Hudson, p. 31; Strabo, *Geograph.*, xi. 2; ed. Tauchnitz, Vol. II. pp. 399, 406; Dionys., *Perieg.* V. 682. Pallas and Reineggs consider that the Charkas, or Circassians, derive their name from the Kerketæ. They certainly occupy the same sites.

2 Ptol., *Geogr.*, v. 8.

3 Ptol., *Geogr.*, v. 9.

4 Ptol., *Geogr.*, *ib.* and iii. 6; Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 9, 12; Pompon, Mela, *de situ Orbis*, i, 19; iii. 5.

5 Strabo, *Geogr. ib.* p. 403; Ptol., *Geogr.*, v. 9; Stephanus Byzant., *Ethnica*, s.v.

6 Strabo, *Geogr.*, *ib.*; Pompon, Mel., i. 19; Dionys., *Perieg.*, 550.

7 Strabo, *Geogr.*, *ib.*; Steph. Byz., s.v.

8 Pompon. Mela, i. 19; Priscian, *Perieg.*, 663.

9 Steph. Byz., v. Καρκινῖτις; Herod., iv. 99.

10 Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, iv. 26; Ptol., *Geogr.* iii. 5.

11 Strabo, *Geogr.*, vii. 3; *ib.* p. 90; Pompon. Mel., ii. 1; Artemidori, *Fragm.* p. 87.

12 Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 4; *Etymolog. Magnum*, v. Κίρκαῖον; Apoll. Rhod., *Argon.*, ii. 400; iii. 200.

13 Ptol., *Geogr.*, iii. 5.

14 Eustathius, ad Dionys., *Perieg.*, 682.

15 Hecatæus, *Fragm.*, 185; Scylax Cayand, *Periplus*, p. 31; Steph. Byz., s.v.

16 Bayer, *de Muro Cauc;* Reineggs, *Histor.-Topograph. Beschreibung d. Kaukasus*, Tom. I. p. 16; Steph. Byz., v. Κόραξοι. The common names of Charax, and its compounds, Characene, Characoma, etc., in Syria, Asia Minor, and along the course of the Euphrates and Tigris, offer an inviting resemblance, but have no connection with these. The origin of these names is, curiously enough, both Hebrew and Greek; the Hebrew signifying a "wall," or "fortress;" χάραξ, a "fosse." The Kerak, or Karac, which we so often read of in the history of the Crusades, is derived from the former.

next to these wild Kerketiki, we are struck with finding the very Sindians themselves.

KERKETIKI*que, ferox ea gens,* SINDI*que superbi.*[1]

We have also a Sindikus portus[2]—a town of Sinda[3]—the tribe of Sindiani[4]—the town of Sindica[5]—the tract of Sindike[6]—the town of Sindis[7]—the tribe of Sindones[8]—the town of Sindos[9]—the tribe of Sinti[10] Here, again, it may be admitted, that some of these may be different names for the same tribes and the same places.

The old reading of the passage in Herodotus, where the Sindi are mentioned (iv. 28), was originally Indi, but commentators were so struck with the anomaly of finding Indians on the frontiers of Europe, and they considered it so necessary to reconcile the historian with geographers, that they have now unanimously agreed to read Sindi, though the reading is not authorized by any ancient manuscripts. It is impossible to say what is gained by the substitution; for Sindi must be themselves Indians, and the difficulty is in no way removed by this arbitrary conversion. Hesychius, moreover,—no mean authority—says that the Sindi of the Euxine were, in reality, Indians; nay, more, though writing two centuries before our Kerks are even named or alluded to, he expressly calls the Kerketæ also "an Indian nation."[11]

It has been remarked, that even if no such direct testimony had been given, the hints that remain to us concerning the character and manners of these Sindi, the peculiar object of their worship, and their dissolute religious rites and sorceries, would leave no doubt as to the country from which they were derived.

It is from this region that the Indian merchants must have sailed

1 Orphei *Argonautica*, Cribelli versio, v. 1049; see also Herod., iv. 28; Apollon. Rhod., *Argonaut.*, iv. 322; Strabo, *Geogr.*, xi. 2; *ib.* p. 403; Val. Flacc., *Argon.*, vi. 86.

2 Scylax Caryand., *Periplus*, p. 31; Strabo, *Geog.*, *ib.*, p. 406; Ptol., *Geogr.* v. 9; Steph. Byz., v. Σύνδικος. This is still called Sindjak, a haven near Anapa. Rennell's map makes it correspond with Anapa itself.

3 Ptol., *Geogr.*, v. 9.

4 Lucian, *Toxaris*, c. 55.

5 Herod., iv. 86.—Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 5.

6 Strabo, *ib.* pp. 399, 403, 404.

7 Hesychius, *Lex.*, s.v.

8 Pompon. Mela, i. 19.

9 Pompon. Mela, i. 19.

10 Scylax Car., *Peripl.*, *ib.*—Hesychius, *Lex.*, s.v.—Polyænus, *Stratagem.*, viii. 55.

11 Σίντοι, 'έθνος 'Ινδικόν. Κερκέτάι, 'έθνος 'Ινδικόν. Conf. *Interprett.* Hesych., Vol. II. p. 234.

who were shipwrecked in the Baltic, and presented by the king of the Suevi, or of the Batavi, to L. Metellus Celer, the pro-consul of Gaul; for they could not have been carried round from the continent of India to the north of Europe by the ocean. Various solutions of this difficulty have been attempted. It has been surmised that they might have been Greenlanders, or mariners from North America, or even painted Britons: but the fact cannot be disputed, that they are called plainly "Indians," by all the authors who have recorded the fact, however improbable their appearance in those regions might have been.[1]

Their nautical habits were no doubt acquired originally in the Indian Ocean, and were inherited by generations of descendants. It is even highly probable that their inveterate addiction to piracies, which led to the Muhammadan conquest, and has only now been eradicated by the power of the British, may have been the cause of this national dislocation, which no sophistry, no contortion of reading, no difficulty of solution, can legitimately invalidate. The very term of *ignobiles*, applied to them by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 8), and the curious expressions used by Valerius Flaccus (vi. 86),—

> *Degeneres*que ruunt Sindi, glomerantque, *paterno*
> *Crimine* nunc etiam *metuentes verbera*, turmas,—

imply a punishment and degradation, which are by no means sufficiently explained by reference to the anecdotes related by Herodotus (iv. 1–4), and Justin (ii. 5).[2]

Whether this degradation adheres to any of their descendants at the present time will form the subject of a future essay; but before closing the subject of these early Indian piracies, we should not omit to notice the evident alarm with which they always inspired the Persian monarchy, even in the days of its most absolute power. Strabo and Arrian inform us, that in order to protect their cities

[1] Qui ex Indiâ commercii causa navigantes, tempestate essent in Germaniâ abrepti, —Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, ii. 67. Compare Pompon. Mel., *de sit. Orb.*, iii. 5. The original authority is Cornelius Nepos, *Fragmenta*, p. 731; ed. A. van Staveren, Lugd. Bat., 1734, where the Notes should be consulted. See also Ramusio, *Navigat, et Viaggi*, Tom. I. p. 373 D.

[2] Ukert, *alte Geographie*, Vol. III. pt. ii. pp. 494–496, 510; W. D. Cooley, *Maritime and Inland Discovery*, Vol. I. pp. 82–87; *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip.*, Tom. VI. p. 263; XLVI. p. 403; M. Viv. de St. Martin, *Etudes de Géographie ancienne*, Tom. I. p. 273.

against piratical attacks, the Persians made the Tigris entirely inaccessible for navigation. The course of the stream was obstructed by masses of stone, which Alexander, on his return from India, caused to be removed for the furtherance of commercial intercourse. Inspired by the same dread, and not from religious motives, (as has been supposed), the Persians built no city of any note upon the sea-coast.[1]

We may here make a passing allusion to another memorial of Indian connexion with these parts. The southern neighbours of these Euxine Sindi were the Kolchians. C. Ritter, in his *Vorhalle*, quoted at the end of this Note, asserts that they came originally from the west of India. Pindar[2] and Herodotus[3] both remark upon the darkness of their complexion. The latter also mentions that they were curly-headed. He states that he had satisfied himself, not only from the accounts of others, but from personal examination, that they were Egyptians, descended from a portion of the invading army of Sesostris, which had either been detached by that conqueror, or, being wearied with his wandering expedition, had remained, of their own accord, near the river Phasis. He also mentions the practice of circumcision, the fabrication of fine linen, the mode of living, and resemblance of language, as confirmatory of his view of an affinity between these nations. He has been followed by Diodorus and other ancient writers, as well as many modern scholars, who have endeavoured to account for this presumed connection.[4] I will not lengthen this Note by pursuing the enquiry; but will merely remark that this Egyptian relationship probably arises from some confusion (observable in several other passages of Herodotus), respecting the connection between the continents of India and Ethiopia,—which pervaded the minds of poets and geographers

[1] Strabo, *Geograph.*, xvi. 1; *ib.*, Vol. iii. p. 338; Arrian, *Expedit. Alex.*, vii. 7 Amm. Marcellinus, xxiii. 6; Robertson, *Ancient India*, Note x.; Ritter, *Asien*, Vol. x. pp. 24–32; *Ind. Alterthum*, ii. 601. Heeren and others have questioned whether these dykes were not rather maintained for the purposes of irrigation.

[2] Κελαινώπεσσι Κόλχοισιν.—*Pyth.*, iv. 378. The Scholiast dwells on the subject.

[3] *Hist.*, II. 104. See also Eustathius ad Dionys., *Perieg.*, 689.

[4] *Bibl. Hist.*, i. 28, 55; Apollon. Rhod., *Argon.*, iv. 259-271; Strabo. *Geogr.*, xi. 2, *ib.*, p. 409; Val Flacc., *Argon.*, v. 421; Fest Avien., *Descr. Orbis*, 871; Amm. Marc., xxii. 8; Ukert, *alte Geogr.*, Vol. III. pt. ii. p. 509; St. Martin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 255-270.

from Homer[1] down to Ptolemy,[2]—or rather down to Idrísí and Marino Sanuto;[3] and which induced even Alexander, when he saw crocodiles in the Indus, although their existence therein had already been remarked by Herodotus, to conceive that that river was connected with the Nile, and that its navigation downwards would conduct into Egypt.[4]

It is admitted that grave objections may be raised, and have been urged with some force, against carrying these presumed analogies too far; and sceptics are ready to exclaim with Fluellen, "there is a river in Macedon, and there is also, moreover, a river at Monmouth ° ° ° there is salmons in both." But, while some have endeavoured to trace the indications of a direct Indian connection between the inhabitants of the Euxine shores and India, on the ground of such names as Acesines,[5] Hypanis,[6] Kophes, or Kobus,[7] Typhaonia,[8]

[1] *Il.*, xxiii. 205; *Odyss.*, i. 23.

[2] *Geograph.*, vii. 3, 5. There had been a decided retrogression in the system of Ptolemy; for Herodotus, Strabo, and some others had a far correcter knowledge of the Southern Ocean.

[3] Vincent, *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, pp. 568, 664-8; M. Jaubert, *Geog. d'Edrisi*; *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Vol. II. p. .

[4] Strabo, *Geograph.*, xv. 1, Vol. III. p. 266; Arrian, *Expedit. Alex.*, vi. 1; Geier. *Alex. M. Historiarum Scriptores*, p. 118.

It is fair to remark, that such ignorance is not reconcilable, either with the general arrangement of Alexander's plans, or with the real geographical knowledge which his inquisitive mind must have imbibed. Respecting the supposed geographical connection of these two countries; see Schauffelberger, *Corpus Script. Vet. qui de India scripserunt*, 1845, 1. 12; Sir J. Stoddart, *Introd. to the Study of Un. Hist.*, pp. 112, 218; Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Fragmenta*, pp. 1-5, 64; Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Geogr.*, v. "Arabicus Sinus" and "Asia;" Gildemeister, *Script. Arab de rebus Indicis*, pp. 27, 145; Humboldt, *Cosmos* (Sabine), Vol. II. Note 419; D'Anville, *Antiq. de l'Inde*, p. 187; Cooley, *Mar. and Inland Discov.*, Vol. I., pp. 113, 128, 150; Valentyn, *Beschryving van Oost Ind.*, Vol. I. p. 62; Robertson's *India*, Note xxxii; Ctesiæ *Operum Reliquiæ*, ed. Baehr, pp. 309, 454. These quotations do not refer to the large and interesting question of their civil, religious, and ethnographical affinities, which Heeren, Bohlen, and others have treated of in learned disquisitions.

[5] A river of Sicily.—Thucyd., *Bell Pelop.*, iv. 25.

[6] A western tributary of the Dneiper, according to Herodotus. Also, the name of another river which fell into the Pontus Euxinus. Herod., iv. 17, 52; Ovid., *Pont.*, iv. 10, 47; *Metamorph.*, xv. 285.

[7] A river on the eastern shore of the Euxine.—Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 4; Arrian, *Perip.*, p. 10.

[8] Rocky mountains in the Caucasus and India.—*Etymol. Magn.*, s.v. Τυφαόνια.

Phasis,[1] Caucasus, and such like, being found in both one country and the other; and while the resemblance between the worship of Odin and Buddha has been strongly urged by similar advocates;[2] it may, on the other hand, and with great reason, be asserted that these names are not local in India, and that they have generally been grafted on some Indian stock, offering a mere partial likeness, either through the ignorance of the Greeks, or with the view of flattering the vanity of Alexander, by shifting further to the eastward the names and attributes of distant places, already removed almost beyond mortal ken and approach, and lying far away—

"Extra flammantia mœnia mundi." [3]

In the grossness of their indiscriminate adulation, they were at all times ready to ascribe to that conqueror the obscure achievements of mythical heroes, whose glory was inseparably connected with certain streams and mountains, which even they, in the plenitude of their power, had found it no easy matter to traverse and surmount. Strabo, indeed, informs us that the Argonautic monuments were industriously destroyed by Alexander's generals, from a ridiculous alarm lest the fame of Jason might surpass that of their master. Parmenio is especially mentioned both by him and Justin, as one whose jealousy was prompted to destroy several temples erected in honour of Jason, "in order that no man's name in the east might be more venerable than that of Alexander."[4]

Hence, it has been justly remarked, even by early writers, open to the influence of reason and philosophy, and guided by the results

[1] A river of Scythia, as well as of Kolchis and of Taprobane.—Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, x. 48; Val. Flac., *Argon.*, ii. 596; Pausan., iv. 44; Steph. Byz., v. Φᾶσις. Respecting the Kolchis of Southern India, see Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Geography*, v. "Colchis" and "Colchi Indiæ."

[2] This Odin-Buddha-Hypothesis, as the Germans call it, has been, perhaps, somewhat too readily condemned by Remusat, Klaproth, A. W. Schlegel, Ukert, and others. Compare *Asiatic Researches*; *Fundgruben des Or.*, Vol. IV., p. 201; *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 144; *Introd. to Univ. Hist.*, ut sup., pp. 275-8; Finn Magnusen, *Mythologiæ Lexicon*, Copenhagen, 1848.

[3] Compare on this subject, Strabo, *Geogr.*, vii. 35, xi. 2, Vol. II. p. 77, 408; the Scholiast upon Apollon. Rhod., *Argon*,, ii. 397, 417; Ukert, *alte Geographie*, Vol. III. pt. 2, pp. 205, 505.

[4] Justin, *Hist. Phil.*, xlii. 3; Strabo. *Geogr.*, xi. 5, Vol. II. p. 421, xi. 11, p. 441, xi. 14, p. 456, xv. 1, Vol. III. p. 253, xvi. 4, p. 412; Arrian, *Indica*, ii; *Exped. Alex.*, v. 3.

of an extended observation, that the Greeks have transposed these localities upon very slender foundations, and that many of the barbaric names have been *Hellenised*."[1]

We find frequent instances of the same tendency to corruption in our own Oriental nomenclature, but with even greater perversions. Thus, we have heard our ignorant European soldiery convert Shekhawatí into 'sherry and water;' Siráju-d Daula into a belted knight, 'Sir Roger Dowler;' Dalíp into 'Tulip;' Sháh Shujá'u-l Mulk into 'Chá sugar and milk,' and other similar absurdities; under which, in like manner, "many of the barbaric names have been *Anglicised*,"

But when we apply the same argument to the cases under consideration, we shall see it has no force; for here there has been no room for the corruptions and flatteries to which allusions have been made; nor did it ever occur to the Greeks to enter upon the same comparisons which are engaging our attention. When we carry these identifications yet further, we shall find names with which the Greeks were not even acquainted; and it is not between streams, towns, and mountains, that the similitudes exist, but between peoples in the one country and places in the other,—the latter known, the former unknown, to ancient historians and geographers,—who have, therefore, left the field open for moderns alone to speculate in.

Now, it is not merely in the two instances already adduced that these striking monuments of connection attract our observation; but, when we also find the Maidi next to the Sindi and Kerketæ,[2] a tribe

[1] Nikanor, in Steph. Byz., *Ethnica*, v. Τάναις. Compare Hesych., *Lex.* v. Σανδαροφάγος; Schlegel, *Ind. Bibliothek*, Vol. II. p. 297; Droysen, *Geschichte Alex.'s*, p. 405; Wesseling, ad Diod. Sic., xvii. 83; Bernhardy, ad Dionys, *Perieg.* 714.

[2] (Pseudo-) Arist., *de Mirabel Auscultat.*, c. 123. The Sindi were by some authors considered to be a remnant of the Maiotæ; Steph. Byz., v. Σινδοί; Strabo, *Geogr.*, xi. 2, *ib.* Vol. II. p. 404. This extraordinary juxtaposition of Sindi and Maidi again occurs in Thrace; See Thucyd., *Bell. Pelop.*, ii. 98. Respecting the Sindi, Sindus, Sintica, and similar names in Thrace and Macedonia, see Herod., vii. 123; Cæsar, *Bell Civ.*, iii. 79; Liv., *Hist. Rom.*, xxvi. 25, xl. 22, xliv. 46, xlv. 29 Polybius, *Excerpt.*, x. 37; Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, iv. 10; Steph. Byz., v. Σιντία; *Ency Metrop.* v. "Thrace." Homer tells us also of Sintians on Lemnos, who 'spoke a strange language;' *Il.* i. 594; *Od.* viii. 294; and they had before his time been noticed by Hellanicus of Lesbos; *Fragmenta*, 112, 113. From these, the Scholiast on Thucydides says, that the Thracian Sindians were derived. More Indian families might be mentioned in Lycia and other intermediate countries, but enough has been adduced on the subject to suit our present design.

of Arii or Arichi,[1] an island of Aria or Aretias,[2] a river Arius,[3] a tribe of Maetes or Mæotai,[4] a town of Madia,[5] a town of Matium,[6] a tribe of Matiani,[7] a town of Mateta,[8] a tribe of Kottæ,[9] a country of Kutaïs,[10] a city of Kuta,[11] a city of Kutaia,[12] a tribe of Kolchi,[13] a district of Kolchis,[14] a Kolchian sea,[15] a tribe of Koli,[16] the mountains of Koli,[17] a district of Koli,[18] a province of Iberia,[19] a tribe of Iberes,[20] a tribe of Bounomai,[21] a district of Minyas,[22] a city of Male,[23] a tribe of Baternæ,[24] a river of Bathys,[25] a port and town of Bata;[26] when we find all these names in close juxtaposition, reminding us in their various forms of our own Meds, Káthis, Koles, Abhírs, Mínas, Mallinas, and Bhatis, tribes familiar to us as being, at one time, in and near the valley of the Indus; and when we consider, moreover, that all these different names, including the Sindi and Kerketæ, were congregated about the western region of the Caucasus, within a

1 Strabo, *Geogr. ibid.*; Steph. Byz. v. Ἀῤῥηχοί; Ptol., *Geogr.*, v. 9.

2 Apollon. Rhod., *Argon.*, ii. 103; Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, v. 13.

3 Scyl. Caryand., p. 32. The connection of the Arii and Maidi will be developed in the following Note.

4 Scymnus Chius, 870; Strabo, ii. 5, xi. 2; Priscian. *Perieg.*, 644. As for the lake Mæotis being so called, as Herodotus (iv. 86) says, because it is the *mother* of the Pontus, it is surprising that so frivolous a reason has met favour with modern geographers. See, on this name, Zeuss, *die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 296.

5 Ptol., *Geogr.* v. 9.

6 Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 4.

7 Pompon. Mel., *de sit Orb.*, i. 2.

8 Ptol., *Geogr.*, v. 8.

9 Ptol., *Geogr.*, vi. 7.

10 Orphei *Argonaut.*, 824, 1009; Apollon. Rhod., *Argonaut.*, ii. 399, 403, iv. 511.

11 Lycophron, *Cassandra*, 174; Steph. Byz., v. Κύτα; Eustath., ad. *Il.*, iv. 103.

12 Val. Flaccus, *Argon.*, vi. 428, 693; *Etymol. Mag.*, p. 77.

13 Herod., ii. 104; Diod. Sic., i. 28; Pindar, *Pyth.*, iv. 378.

14 Strabo, xi. 2, *ib.* p. 408; Ptol., v. 10; Pomp Mela, i. 19.

15 Strabo, *ib.* p. 399.

16 Scyl. Car., *Periplus*, p. 31; Steph. Byz., v. Κῶλοι.

17 A portion of the Caucasus; Hecatæus, *Fragm.*, 161, 186; Steph. Byz., *ib.*

18 Steph. Byz., *ib.*; Ptol., *Geogr.*, vi. 5.

19 Ptol. *Geogr.*, v. 9; Val. Flacc., *Argon.*, vi. 120; Pliny, Plutarch, Pomponius Mela, etc.

20 Strabo, *Geog.*, xi. 2, p. 406; 3, p. 412; Appian, *Mithridates*, 101, 116.

21 Orphei, *Argonautica*, v. 1036. Their relation to the bucolic Abhírs, or Ahírs as we now call them, will be obvious to any one who has resided in India. *Ind. Alterthum.* II. 547, 953, 956.

22 Servius ad Virgil, *Eclog.*, iv. 34.

23 Scylax Caryand., *Periplus*, p. 32, and the note of Vossius, p. 42.

24 Valer. Flacc., *Argon.*, vi. 70.

25 Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 4; Peutinger, *Tab.*, Segm. vii. This may be derived, as is usually supposed, from βαθὺς 'deep.'; Dr. Falconer's translation of the *Periplus of the Euxine Sea*, p. 44.

26 Scyl. Carland., *Peripl.*, p. 31; Strabo, *Geogr.*, *ib.* p. 406; Ptol., *Geogr.*, v. 9.

space scarcely larger than the province of lower Sind, and when again we reflect upon the curious coincidence, that Pliny[1] calls the former province "Scythia Sendica," while Ptolemy[2] calls the latter "Indo-Scythia;" that even as late as the fifth century, the judicious ecclesiastical historian, Socrates,[3] as well as the accurate geographer, Stephanus,[4] continued to call the former by the name of "India," it is very difficult to resist the conviction, that these cumulative instances of combinations and affinities cannot be altogether accidental, or the mere result of diligent and ingenious exploration.

But, even allowing that all these miscellaneous instances of resemblance, brought forward in the preceding paragraph, are indeed purely fortuitous,—and it is willingly acknowledged that there is "ample room and verge enough" for a sharp eye, a nice ear, and a playful fancy, in the selection of such alliterative illustrations,—even if we reject them altogether as the products of a wild and dreamy imagination, and since they add little to the cogency of our argument, they may be resigned as such without a murmur, still it is impossible to yield the Sindi, the Kerketæ, or even the Maidi, to the cavils of such an illiberal and hostile spirit of criticism, for, with respect to them, it must be confessed by all but the most obstinately sceptical, that they, at least, stand boldly and prominently forth, as undoubted evidences of actual Indian occupancy on the shores of the Euxine.

It is not the purport of this Note to show how these coincidences could possibly have arisen; how nations, separated by so many mountains, seas, forests, and wastes, could have preserved any signs whatever of original identity, much less of such close approximation in names, as has been here adduced. Ukert, the strongest opponent of this supposed connection between the Caucasus and India, mentions that the ancients are express in asserting that the Indians

[1] Plin., *Nat Hist.*, iv. 26.

[2] *Geogr.*, vii.; Eustathius ad Dionys., *Perieg.*, 1088; Mannert, *Geog. der Griechen und Römer*, Vol. V. p. 220; Ersch and Gruber, *Encycl. der Wissenschaften*, s.v. "Indo-scythia;" *Nouv. Journ. Asiatique*, 3rd series, Tom. VIII. p. 264.

[3] *Eccles. Hist.*, i. 15. See also the note by Isaac Vossius to Scylax Caryand., p. 40, ap. Hudson, *Geog. Gr. Min.*, Vol. I.; and Fréret, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, Tom. IV. p. 603.

[4] *Ethnica*, vv. Γοργίππια et Σύνδικος. See also Is. Tzetzes ad Lycophron, *Cassandra*, 174, where he calls the Kolchians Ινδικοὶ Σκύθαι.

never sent out of their country any armies or colonies;[1] but migrations might easily have arisen from other causes, and a hint has been thrown out above, that in this particular instance, the expatriation might perhaps not have been altogether voluntary.

In another part of this work I have traced, step by step, the progress of one Indian family from the banks of the Indus to the remotest shores of Europe; and in the following Note upon the Meds, I have shown several instances of compulsory transportations to countries nearly as remote; so that this branch of the enquiry need not engage our attention further in this place, the object of showing the probable existence of a tribe of Kerks, both on the Indus and Euxine, having, it is hoped, already been sufficiently proved to the satisfaction of every candid and unprejudiced mind.[2]

The Meds.

We find the Meds frequently mentioned by the Arab authors on Sind, and, together with their rivals the Jats, they may be considered the oldest occupants of that province, who, in their names as well as persons, have survived to our own times.

The first account we have of them is in the *Mujmalu-t Tawárikh*. That work mentions that the Jats and the Meds are reputed to be descendants of Ham, the son of Noah, and that they occupied the banks of the Indus, in the province of Sind. The Meds, who devoted themselves to a pastoral life, used to invade the territories of the Jats, putting them to great distress, and compelling them to take up their abode on the opposite side of the river; but, subsequently, the Jats, being accustomed to the use of boats, crossed over and defeated the Meds, taking several prisoners and plundering their country.

[1] Strabo, *Geogr.*, xv. 1; *ib.* Vol. III. p. 251; Diod. Sic., *Biblioth. Histor.*, ii. 38.

[2] Compare also Wahl, *Asien*, Vol. I. pp. 793, *et. seq.*; Malte Brun, *Universal Geography*, Vol. II. pp. 27–52; Lünemann, *Descriptio Caucasi*, Gotting., 1803; Rommel, *Caucas. regionum et gentium Straboniana descr.*, Lips. 1804; Ritter, *Asien*, Vol. II. p. 622; and *die Vorhalle der Europäischer Völker-geschichten*, pp. 51, 75, 300; Eichwald, *Geogr. d. Kasp. Meeres*, p. 303, *et seq.*; Boeckh, *Corpus Inscriptionum*, Vol. II. pp. 100–110; M. V. de St. Martin, *Mém. histor. sur la Géog. anc. du Caucase*, Sect. ii, iii, in *E'tudes de Géog.*, Vol. I; Ukert, *Alte Geographie*, Vol. III. pt. ii. pp. 282–286; Christoph. Cellarius, *Notitiæ orbis antiqui*, Vol. II. pp. 356–367.

At last these two tribes, seeing the inutility of protracting their contests any longer, agreed to send a deputation to Duryodhana, the king of Hastinápur, begging him to nominate a king to rule over them. Duryodhana accordingly nominated his sister Dassal (Duhsálá), the wife of Jayadratha, who exercised the functions of government with great wisdom and moderation. The families and adherents of 30,000 Bráhmans, who were collected from all parts of Hindústán, were sent by Duryodhana to her court, and from that time Sind became flourishing and populous, and many cities were founded. The Jats and the Meds had separate tracts of land assigned to them, and were governed by chiefs of their own election.

The queen and Jayadratha made the city of 'Askaland their capital; the same place, apparently, which is called in a subsequent passage 'Askaland-úsa, perhaps the Uchh of later times, as has been shown in another Note of this Appendix (p. 365).

Jayadratha was killed in the fatal field of Thanesar, and his faithful wife ascended the funeral pile, after their reign had continued for more than twenty years. On the same field was extinguished the dynasty called after the name of Bharata, he being the most celebrated ancestor of Dhritaráshtra, the father of Duryodhana and the Kurus. On the transfer of the empire to the Pándavas, Yudhishthira conferred Sind upon Sanjwára, the son of Jayadratha and Dassal (Duhsála), and from him Hál was descended (*supra*, p. 103). As the Great War, in which these heroes enacted a conspicuous part, has been supposed, on astronomical grounds, to have taken place during the twelfth century B.C.,[1] we must assign an equal antiquity to their contemporaries the Meds of Sind, if we put faith in this narrative; but as this early settlement is not, in Lassen's opinion, opposed to probability in the case of the Jats, we need not withhold our faith in its correctness with respect to the Meds. Indeed, admitting that the 'Jartikas' of the *Mahá-bhárata* and the *Puránas* represent the Jats, we cannot but consider the 'Madras' as repre-

[1] Sir W. Jones, *Works*, Vol. III. p. 213; VII. 77. Some fix it earlier. See Prichard, *Researches into the Phys. Hist. of Mankind*, Vol. IV. p. 101, *et seq.*; Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I. p. 499, *et. seq.*; Prof. Wilson, *J. A. S. Bengal*, Vol. XIII. p. 81.

senting the Meds—confirming thereby the antiquity and synchronism of these two races on the banks of the Indus.[1]

During the period of Arab occupation, Muhammad Kásim is represented as making peace with the Meds of Suráshtra, "seafarers and pirates, with whom the men of Basra were then at war." This gives a great extent to their dominion at that period towards the south-east.

In the time of Mu'tasim Bi-llah, 'Amrán, the Barmekide, governor of Sind, directed an expedition against the Meds, in which he killed three thousand of them, and constructed an embankment, which he called the Meds' embankment, probably for the purpose of depriving them of the means of irrigation, as was done so effectually in 1762 and 1802 at Mora and Ali Bandar, when the Sindians ruined the prosperity of north-western Kachh. The word *Sakar*, 'embankment,' is preserved in the town of that name opposite to Rorí, where, however, the mound is a natural limestone formation of about one hundred feet high, and not an artificial causeway.[2] Nevertheless, we might, if we could be sure that any Meds were then on the western side of the Indus, pronounce this to be the identical locality; for certainly, in Biláduri (*supra* p. 128), the whole transaction seems to be closely connected with 'Amrán's proceedings against Kandábel and the Jats on the Aral river, not far from Sakar, insomuch that, immediately after settling affairs with them he returns to attack the Meds, having the chief of the Jats in his company. But, as on the occasion of this second attack, he dug a canal from the *sea* to their lake, rendering their water salt and nauseous, there can be no question of this scene, at least, being in the south-eastern portion of the province, where they were settled in the greatest numbers; and here, therefore, we must also look for the embankment raised in the first incursion. They are said to have been attacked by 'Amrán from several different directions, and were thus doubtless reduced to great extremities.

[1] Lassen, *de Pentapotamiâ Ind.*, p. 20, and *Indische Alterth.* Vol. I. pp. 97, 397, 821; Wilson, *Vishnu Purána*, Index; *As. Researches*, Vol. VIII. p. 346; M. Vivien de St. Martin, *E'tudes de Géographie ancienne*, Tom. i. p. 337.

[2] Sakar, or Sakhar, as it is now pronounced, is better known to the natives as "Chipríbandar," which would imply that it was, in part at least, artificial.

During the reign of the same Khalif, we find an Arab chieftain, Muhammad bin Fazl, who had taken possession of Sindán, in the Abrása district of Kachh, attacking the Meds with a squadron of seventy vessels;[1] on which occasion he took Málí, of which the position may be identified with Mália on the Machú. This powerful armament seems to have been directed against the sea-board of the tract invaded by 'Amrán, now occupied by the Ran of Kachh; where Vígogad, Vingar, and Ballyárí, on the northern, and Phangwarrí, Nerona, Bitáro, etc., on the southern shore, are all known, both by concurrent native tradition, as well as by independent European observation, to have been once washed by the sea.

All these various expeditions, however, had but little permanent effect in reducing the power of the Meds, for Mas'údí informs us that, when he visited Sind, the inhabitants of Mansúra were obliged continually to protect themselves against their aggressions.[2]

Ibn Haukal notices them under the name of Mand (p. 38), and though, without the diacritical point, the word might be read Med, yet as all the MSS., few as they are, concur in this reading, it must be retained. He describes them as dwelling on the bank of the Indus from the borders of Multán to the sea, and in the desert between that river and Fámhal, the frontier town of Hind. They had many stations which they occupied as pasture grounds, and formed a very large population, unconverted to the faith. What Abú-l Fidá says of them is taken from this passage, and we do not read of them in any subsequent author.[3]

Hence we might suppose that the tribe is entirely extinct, and have left no memorial of their existence, except the passages above quoted. M. Reinaud, indeed, observes that he finds it impossible to apply the name of Med or Mand, to any known population, and therefore conceives that the denomination is disfigured. But he is mistaken in this supposition, for the tribe of Med still exists, both to the east and the west of the Indus;[4] and those on the coast, being

[1] *Bárija* in the original. *Supra*, p. 124, 128. See Note on the word "Barge."
[2] *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 43, 50, 188, 215, 234.
[3] Gildemeister, *Script. Arab. de rebus Indicis*, p. 172.
[4] In the *Ayín-i Akbarí* also we have a tract called after their name within the Sirkár of Hájí Khán.

unable now to practice piracy after the mode of their ancestors, devote themselves to the more tranquil pursuit of fishing. To the east, we find them roving on the borders of Sind and Jodhpúr, the site of their occupation during the Arab period; and to the west, they are found in the little ports of Makrán, from Súnmiyání to Charbar, divided into the clans of Gazbúr, Hormárí, Jellar-záí, and Chelmar-záí.

It is possible that the Meds, or some offshoot of that stock, may have been designated as Mand, for that syllable enters into the name of several native tribes and places existing to this day: as the Mand-ar, the Mand-hor, the Mind-hro, besides the Bulúch tribe of Mond-rání, as well as the ancient towns of Mand-rá and Mand-ropat, in Cháchagám, to the east of the Gúní, Mand-rása to the north of the Makalí hills, and Mund-ra and other similar names in Kachh.

That the Mers of the Árávalí mountains and Káthíwár are descendants of the same family, is also not beyond the bounds of probability. The native pronunciation, especially in the western and north-western provinces of Hindústan, tends so much to an intermixture of the cerebral letters *r* and *d*,—the written character, indeed, being the same in both, and the diacritical marks being a mere modern innovation—that Mer and Med may be identical: and the addition of the aspirate, which sometimes makes the former into Mher, or, as we commonly write it Mhair, offers still no argument against identity, for that also is an optional excrescence, especially in the names of peoples and families. For the same reason, the connection of the Mahr of Úbáro, and other tracts in the Upper Sind, where they are reckoned by their neighbours as the aboriginal inhabitants of the country between Bhakkar and Bahávalpúr, is equally plausible.[1]

Tod pronounces the Mers to be of Bhattí origin, and derives their name from *Meru*, "a mountain." But at the same time that he pronounces them to be Bhattís, he says they are a branch of the Mína, or Maina, one of the aboriginal races of India. These statements are obviously incompatible, and the Bhattí hypothesis must be rejected.

[1] To them may perhaps be ascribed the distinction of giving name to the Mihrán, or Indus.

The old town of Mhar in Kachh, where there is a temple of great antiquity and celebrity, dedicated to the goddess Ásapúra, may probably trace its origin to a similar source.

During the whole period of their known history, they have been conspicuous for their lawless and predatory habits, from the time when four thousand Mer archers defended their passes against Pirthí-Ráj,[1] down to A.D. 1821, when their excesses compelled the British government to attack them in their fastnesses, and reduce them to complete obedience. Since which period, it is gratifying to observe that they have emerged from their barbarism, and, under the judicious management of European officers, have learnt to cultivate the arts of peace, and set a notable example of industry to the surrounding tribes.

Taking into consideration, therefore, the fact that the Mers of the A'rávalí are but little advanced beyond the tract where the Meds are known, a thousand years ago, to have formed a numerous and thriving population; that their brethren, the Mínas, can themselves be traced in their original seats to the banks of the Indus; that Káthíwár, or the Saurashtran peninsula, was the very nursery of the piractical expeditions for which the Meds were about the same period celeberated and feared, and where Mers still reside, we may conclude that to declare them identical, is doing no great force to reason and probability.[2]

The simple permutation of a letter—not unnaturally forced, but based upon a law of common observance—introduces us to a new connexion of considerable interest; for we may make bold to claim, as an ancient representative of this race, Meris, or Moeris, the king of Pattala, who, on the approach of Alexander, deserted his capital, and fled to the mountains. The site of this town, at the head of the Delta of the Indus, answers well to the position which we may presume the chief of the Meds to have occupied at that period; and, that the name was not personal, but derived from his tribe, we may be satisfied, from the common practice of Alexander's historians, as

[1] With reference to the concluding paragraphs of this Note, the celebrity of Median archery—the *Medi pharetrâ decori*—should be borne in mind. Horat., Carm. ii. Od. 16; Propert., Lib. iii. Eleg. 11.

[2] Compare Chr. Lassen, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1840, Tom. iii. p. 189, and *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I. p. 369; Tod, *Annals of Rájasthán*, Vol. I. pp. 680–686; II. 323; Renouard, *Encyclop. Metrop.*, Vol. XX. pp. 40–42; Col. Dixon, *Report on Mhairwára*; M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Études de Géographie ancienne*, Tom. I. p. 339.

exemplified in the instances of Abisares, Porus, Sambus, Musicanus, Assacanus, and Taxiles, who have these names severally attributed to them from the nations, countries, or towns over which they ruled. Dr. Vincent, in admitting, as the etymon of Moeris, the Arabic words *Mir Rais*, "the ruling chief," has suffered his too easy credulity to be played upon by an ambitious young orientalist. Bohlen has attempted to trace in the name of Moeris a corruption of *Mahárájá*, "the great king," in which he is followed by Ritter; but, independent of the fact that his kingdom was circumscribed within very narrow limits, he is expressly noticed by Arrian, under the humble title of ὕπαρχος, which invariably implies subordination, and not supremacy.[1] A more probable, but still unlikely, origin has been suggested, from the tribe of *Maurya*;[2] but they were far away in the east, remote from Sind, so that altogether locality and verbal resemblance are most favourable to the present hypothesis, that Meris is a Grecised form for the "chief of the Mers."

We may even extend our views to a still more remote period, and indulge in speculations whether this tribe may not originally have been a colony of Medes. There is nothing in the distance of the migration which would militate against this supposition, for Herodotus mentions the Sigynnæ, as a colony of the Medes settled beyond the Danube:—"How they can have been a colony of the Medes," he observes, "I cannot comprehend; but anything may happen in course of time."[3] The Medians are also said to have accompanied the expedition of Hercules, when he crossed over from Spain into Africa.[4] The Sauromatæ were Median colonists beyond the Tanais, or Don.[5] The Matienoi, or Matienes,[6] the Kharimatai,[7] and possibly the Mares,[8] were Caucasian colonists from Media, preserving in their names the national appellation of Mata or Madia.

1 Q. Curt. Ruf., *De gestis Alex. Mag.*, Lib. ix. ch. 34; Arrian, *Anab.*, Lib. vi. ch. 17; Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von As.*, Vol. IV. pt. i. p. 474; Bohlen, *das Alte Indien*, Vol. I. p. 91; Vincent, *Comm. and Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. I. p. 157.

2 Theod. Benfey, *Indien*; M. F. Baudry, *Encyclopédie Moderne*, Tom. xviii. coll. 140, 144.

3 Herodotus, v. 9.

4 Sallust. *Jugurtha*, 14; *Nouv. Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, Tom. xii. p. 181, *et seq.*

5 Diod. Sic., *Bibl. Hist.*, ii. 43; Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 7. See on this subject, Zeuss, *die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 298.

6 Dionysii. *Perieg*, 1002; Herod., i. 189; iii. 94; v. 49, 52.

7 Stephan. Byzant., s.v. Χαριμάται.

8 Herod., iii. 94; vii. 97; Steph. Byzant., s.v.

They may either have been transplanted to the banks of the Indus when the Medo-Persian empire extended so far to the eastward; or they may have migrated thither at some indefinitely early period: or they may have sought an asylum there upon the occupation of their country by the Scythians; or during the persecution of the Magi, who consituted one of the six tribes of Medes, just as the Pársís did in Guzerát, at a later period and on similar occasion. It is worthy of remark that Ibn Haukal places the Budhas, or Budhyas, in the same category with the Mand, representing them as comprising several tribes to the west of the Indus. Now, the Budii were also one of the six Median tribes, and the juxtaposition of these two names in the province of Sind should not escape notice, for they also may have formed a body of similar emigrants.[1]

All arguments against the probability of such dispersions stand self-confuted, when we consider that Sindians were on the Euxine;[2] and that, besides the familiar instances of Samaritans and Jews under the Assyrians, we read over and over again in Persian history, of the deportations of entire tribes, expressly termed *'αναστάστοι* by Herodotus.[3] Thus we have the removal of Pæonians to Phrygia,[4] of Barcæans from Africa to Bactria,[5] of Milesians to Ampe, near the Tigris,[6] of Egyptians to Susa,[7] of Eretrians from Eubœa to Ardericca,[8] and to Gordyene,[9] of Antiochians to Mahúza,[10] and others which it would be tedious to specify.

There is another curious coincidence worthy of notice. It is well known, that from below the junction of the Panjáb rivers down to Sihwán, the Indus takes the name of *Sar*, *Siro*, or *Sira*, and from below Haidarábád to the sea, that of *Lár*. It is more correct, but unusual, to add an intermediate division, called Wicholo, "central," representing the district lying immediately around Haidarábád, just

[1] Herodotus, i. 101; Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis*, p. 172.

[2] I have entered on this subject in another Note; and will here merely again remark upon the singular fact of Sindi and Maidi occupying the same tract on the Euxine, and again, the Sinti and Maidi being found in close proximity with each other, even in Thrace.

[3] Herodotus, iv. 204.

[4] Herodotus, v. 98; vii. 80.

[5] Herodotus, iv. 204.

[6] Herodotus, vi. 20.

[7] Ctesias, *Persica*, c. 9.

[8] Herodotus, vi. 119; Philostrati, *Vita Apollon.*, i. 24–30.

[9] Strabo, *Geogr.*, xvi. 1; ed. Tauchnitz, Vol. III. p. 351.

[10] *Ancient Universal History*, Vol. IX. p. 305.

as on the Nile, the Wustání, "midlands," of the Arabs represented the tract between Upper and Lower Egypt.[1] Sir A. Burnes says that *Sír* and *Lár* are two Bulúch words for "north" and "south." But the first is a Slavonic word also, which Gatterer and Niebuhr tell us is retained in *Sauro*-matæ, signifying "northern" Medes. There were also a province of Siracene, and a tribe of Siraceni, and other similar names *north* of the Caucasus.[2] The Slavonic and Persian show a great similarity: thus, *spaco* signifies "a bitch" in both, and the same with the first syllable of Sauromatæ, or Sarmatæ.[3] Hence *Sar* for the "northern" Indus, was more probably a remnant of Median than Bulúch emigration, though the Persian element could be accounted for, even on the latter supposition, seeing what a strong tincture the Bulúchí language retains of its original Íránian connection.[4]

Moreover, amongst the several tribes of Kshatriyas, who, having neglected to observe the holy customs, and to visit the Bráhmans, became so degenerate that they were expelled their caste, and regarded as "Dasyus," or robber tribes, Manu enumerates the "Pahlavas."[5] "They are," continues the holy legislator, "Dasyus, whether they speak the language of Mlechchhas, or that of Áryas." *Árya* in Sanskrit, *airya* in Zend, means "noble," "sacred," "venerable;" hence a portion of Upper India is called Áryavarta, "the holy land," or "country of the Áryas." The Medes being also of the same original stock, were universally called Arii. The Áryas of Manu, therefore, are not necessarily, as some interpret, only degenerate natives, but may likewise have been Medes occupying the

[1] Dr. Eadie, *Early Or. History*, p. 13; Lt. Burton, *Sindh*, p. 4.

[2] Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, iv. 26; Strabo, *Geogr.*, xi. 2, 5; ed. Tauchnitz, Vol. II. pp. 399, 419, 422; Tacitus, *Annal.*, xiii. 15; Ptol., *Geogr.*, v. 9; Boeckh, *Corpus Inscript.*, Vol. II. p. 1009.

[3] Vuller's Institut, p. 32.

[4] Sir A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, Vol. III. pp. 64, 268; Dr. Burnes, *Visit to the Court of Sinde*, pp. xiv. 107; *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 224; *Journ. R. Geogr. Soc.*, Vol. III. 128, 130; Niebuhr, *Lectures on Ancient History*, Vol. I. 96; Herodotus, i. 110; *Report of British Association*, 1851, p. 145; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 166; Gatterer, *Comment. Soc. Scient. Gott.*, Vol. xii. pp. 160, 161.

The name of *Sar* is probably at least as old as the "Sorani" of Stephanus, a tribe which must have been on, or near, the Indus, because an Alexandria, enumerated by him as the fourteenth, was built within their territory. If the people of Sar are not meant, allusion is perhaps made to the Sodhas, who once occupied that country.—See *Ethnica*, v. Ἀλεξάνδρεια.

[5] [*Cf.* Pehlavi].

valley of the Indus. It is probable that a still earlier, and more degenerate branch of the same family may be spoken of under the name of "Meda," in the code of Manu, "who must live without the town, and maintain themselves by slaying beasts of the forest." Allusion seems here to be made to the Mers of the A'rávalí.[1]

These indications need not be enlarged on further in this place. Many will, of course, look upon them as fanciful and extravagant. Others, who feel so disposed, must pursue the investigation for themselves; for it is foreign to the main design of this Note, which has merely been to show that we have the Meds of the Arabs retaining their own name to this day, as well as probably under a slightly varied form, in and around the original seats of their occupation. That object has, it is hoped, been accomplished satisfactorily, and with regard to all extraneous matter, to use the words of Cicero, *sequimur probabilia, nec ultrà quam id, quod verisimile occurrerit, progredi possumus, et refellere sine pertinaciâ et refelli sine iracundiâ parati sumus.*[2]

[General Cunningham, in his Report for 1863-64, says:—"The *Meds* or *Mands* are almost certainly the representatives of the *Mandrueni*, who lived on the *Mandrus* river, to the south of the Oxus; and as their name is found in the Panjáb from the beginning of the Christian era downwards, and in none before that time, I conclude that they must have accompanied their neighbours, the *Iatii*, or *Játs*, on their forced migrations to Ariana and India. In the classical writers, the name is found as *Medi* and *Mandueni*, and in the Muhammadan writers, as *Med* and *Mand*." To show that these

[1] Herodotus, vii. 62; *Institutes of Manu.*, ii. 22, 36, 45, 48; Heeren, *Historical Researches*; *Asiatic Nations*, Talboys, Vol. III. p. 322; Lassen, *Ind. Alterthums.*, Vol. I. pp. 515, *et seq.*; *Ind. Bibliothek*, Vol. III. p. 71; Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclopädie*, vv. "Indo-Germanischer Sprachstamm," p. 1, 46, and "Indien," pp. 4, 15, *et seq*; *Abhandlungen der Koenig. Bayer. Acad. der Wissenschaften*, 1829, p. 146; Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 119-124; Pott, *Etym. Forschungen*, pp. lxxii.; Burnouf, *Comm. sur le Yaçna*, Note p. cv.; M. F. Baudry, *Encycl. Moderne*, Tom. XVIII. col. 122-130.

[2] Besides the special references given above, compare M. Vivien de Saint Martin, *Mém. Hist. sur la Geogr. anc. du Caucase*, pp. 242, 248, in *E'tudes de Géographie*, Vol. I.; and *Hist. de l' Asie Min. Ancienne*, p. 218; Boeckh, *Corpus Inscript.*, Vol. II. p. 83; Schafarik, *Slawische Alterthümer*, Vol. I. pp. 302, 333, *et seq.*; Ukert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, Vol. III. Abth. ii. pp. 119, 269, 273, 279, 284, 333, 337, 346.

two spellings are but natural modes of pronunciation of the same name, the General notices the various ways in which the name of a village on the Jhelam is spelt in different maps and books—*Meriala, Mandiali, Mámriála, Mandyála, Mariála,* and *Merali.*]

["The earliest notice of the *Meds* is by Virgil, who calls the Jhelam *Medus Hydaspes.* The epithet is explained by the statement of Vibius Sequester, which makes the Hydaspes flow "past the city of Media." Now this is clearly the same place as Ptolemy's *Euthymedia,* or *Sagala,* which was either on or near the same river, and above Bukephala. Lastly, in the Peutingerian Tables, the country on the Hydaspes, for some distance below Alexandria Bucefalos, is called *Media.* Here then we have evidence that the *Medi,* or *Meds,* were in the Panjáb as early at least as the time of Virgil, in B.C. 40 to 30, and as we know that they were not one of the five tribes of *Yuchi,* or *Tochari,* whose names are given by the Chinese writers, it may be inferred, with tolerable certainty, that they must have belonged to the great horde of *Sus,* or *Abars,* who entered India about B.C. 126, and gave their name to the province of Indo-Scythia."

[As the date of the Peutingerian Table is not later than A.D. 250, we have a break of upwards of four centuries before we reach the earliest notices of the Muhammadan writers. In these we find the *Meds* or *Mands* firmly established in Sindh, along with their ancient rivals the *Játs,* both of whom are said to be the descendants of Ham, the son of Noah. Rashíd-ud dín further states that they were in Sindh at the time of the Mahá-bhárata, but this is amply refuted by the native histories of the province, which omit both names from the list of aborigines of Sindh. Ibn Haukal describes the Mands of his time (about A.D. 977), as occupying the banks of the Indus from Multan to the sea, and to the desert between Makrán and Famhal. Masudi, who visited India in A.D. 915–16, calls them *Mind,* and states that they were a race of Sindh, who were at constant war with the people of Mansura. These notices are sufficient to show, that at some time previous to the first appearance of the Muhammadans, the *Meds* must have been forced to migrate from the Upper Panjáb to Sindh. There they have since remained, as there can be no doubt that they are now represented by the *Mers* of the Arávalí Range to the east of the Indus, of Káthiáwar to the south, and of Biluchistán to the west."

["The name of *Mer*, or *Mand*, is still found in many parts of the Punjáb, as in *Meror* of the Bari and Rechna Doabs, in Mera, Mandra, and Mandanpur of the Sind Ságar Doab, and in Mandali, of Multan. Mera, which is ten miles to the west of Kalar Kahár, is certainly as old as the beginning of the Christian era, as it possesses an Arian Pali inscription, fixed in the side of a square well. The *Mers* would seem also to have occupied Lahore, as Abú Ríhán states that the capital of Loháwar was named *Medhukur* or *Mandhukur*.[1] This place is said to have been on the east bank of the Ravi, and, if so, it was most probably Lahore itself, under a new name. There is an old place called Mandhyawála, on the west bank of the Ravi, and only twelve miles to the south-west of Lahore, which may possibly be the *Mandhukur* of Abu Ríhán. But the old mound of *Mirathira*, in the Gugera district, in which figures of Buddha and moulded bricks have been discovered by the railway cuttings, is a more likely place. This frequent occurrence of the name in so many parts of the Panjáb, and always attached to old places, as in *Mera*, *Mandra*, and *Meriali*, of the Sindh Ságar Doab, and in *Medhukur* or *Mandhukur*, the capital of Loháwar, offers the strongest confirmation of the conclusion which I have already derived from the notices of the classical authors, that the *Meds* or *Mers* were once the dominant race in the Panjáb. The special location of the *Medi* on the Hydaspes by classical writers of the first century of the Christian era, the evident antiquity of *Mera*, *Meriali*, and other places which still bear the name, and the admitted foreign origin of their modern representatives, the *Mers*, all point to the same conclusion, that the *Medi*, or *Meds*, were the first Indo-Scythian conquerors of the Panjáb."

[* * * * "About this time (30 to 20 B.C.) the Meds may be supposed to have retired towards the south, until they finally established themselves in Upper Sindh, and gave their name to their new capital of *Minnagara*. As this could scarcely have been effected with the consent of the former occupants of Upper Sindh, whom I suppose to have been the *Iatii*, or *Jats*, I would refer to this period as the beginning of that continued rivalry, which the historian Rashídu-d dín attributes to the *Jats* and *Meds*.[2] To this same

[1] [See *supra*, p. 62.]

[2] [See the *Mujmalu-t Tawárikh*, *supra*, p. 103,]

cause I would also refer the statement of the Erythræan Periplus, that about A.D. 100, the rulers of Minnagara were rival Parthians, who were mutually expelling each other."]

The Wairsí and Sodha Tribes.

Wairsí, we are told in the *Beg-Lar-náma* (MS. p. 55), was a chief among the Sodhas. It would have been more correct to say that Wairsí was the chief clan among the Sodhas; for Wairsí was not a personal designation, as is evident from many passages of that work. It is written indiscriminately Wairsí and Wairsa, and a cognate, but then hostile, clan bore the closely similar name of Waisa (MS. pp. 190, 191). The Sameja tribe, often mentioned in the same work, is also a branch of the Sodhas.

An exact translation of the text to which this note refers would represent Rájia as the daughter of the Ráná (which, by the way, is spelt throughout in the original as Ra'ná); but at p. 61 we learn that she was his sister's son, and so she is also styled in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (MS. p. 73). Indeed, had she been his own daughter, we should not have found Abú-l Kásim Khán-i Zamán, who was the issue of the marriage with Mír Kásim Beg-Lár, passing his childhood among the Bhattís of Jesalmír after his father's death, but rather among the Sodhas of 'Umarkot.

The Soda or Sodha tribe (spelt Soda by Col. Tod, and Sodá by the Rev. Mr. Renouard) is an offshoot of the Pramára, and has been for many centuries an occupant of the desert tracts of Western India, into which they have receded, like their predecessors, when driven forward by more powerful neighbours from the banks of the Indus. Col. Tod contends that they are the descendants of the Sogdi of Alexander's time, in which there is greater probability than in most of his speculations. Sogdi may be a corruption, derived from the greater familiarity of historians with the northern nation of that name. The Sodræ of Diodorus offers an equal resemblance of name and position. It is not plain which bank of the river the Sodræ or Sogdi then occupied. They are not mentioned by Q. Curtius, and Arrian's use of "right" and "left," as applied to the banks of the Indus, is so opposed to the modern practice of tracing a river from its source downwards, that it adds to the confusion.

The transaction mentioned in the text shows the early period at which the Hindús began to disgrace themselves by their intermarriages with Muhammadans; and the high repute of the beauty of the Sodha women has served to maintain that practice in full vigour to the present time.

At the period treated of, we find the Sodhas in possession of 'Umarkot, of which the name and consequence have been subsequently much increased, independant of its importance as a border fortress, by being the birth place of the renowned Akbar.

The Ráná of the Sodhas was expelled from 'Umarkot by the Tálpúrs of Sind; and the present representative of the family, who still retains his title of Ráná, resides at Chor, a few miles north-east of his former capital, shorn of all power, and hard pressed for the means of subsistence.[1]

NOTE (D).—MISCELLANEOUS.

The Terrors of the Moghal Helmet.

(PAGE 276).

The reader of the history of the Crusades will recognize a similar anecdote, relating to a hero more familiar to him than Daryá Khán. The chivalrous Sire de Joinville tells us, that Richard's name acted as a powerful sedative upon the children of the Saracens, and that even their very horses were presumed to start at his shadow:—

"Le roy Richard fist tant d'armes outremer a celle foys que il y fu, que quant les chevaus aus Sarrasins avoient pouour d'aucun bisson, leur mestres leur disoient:—'*Cuides tu,*' fesoient ils à leurs chevaus, '*que se soit le roy Richart d'Angleterre?*' Et quant les

[1] Mannert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, Vol. V.; Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von As.*, Vol. IV. pt. i. p. 471; Tod, *Annals of Rájasthán*, Vol. I. p. 93; II. p. 310–319; *Encyc. Metrop.*, Vol. XXIII. p. 781; *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 33; Mitford, *Hist. of Greece*, Vol. X. pp. 231, 232, notes 15 to 17; Dr. Burnes, *Visit to the Court of Sinde*, p. 105; *Journ. R. Geog. Soc.*, Vol. IV. p. 93; Vincent, *Comm. and Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. I. pp. 137–145; Arrian, *Anab.*, vi. 15; Diod. Sic., *Biblioth. Hist.*, xvii. 102; Mrs. Postans, *Cutch*, pp. 52, 136.

enfans aus Sarrasins bréoient, elles leur disoient:—'*Tay-toy! tay-toy! ou je irai querre le roy Richart qui te tuera.*'"[1]

It is curious that we should learn this from a Frenchman only. Our English chroniclers, who exhaust the language of panegyric in speaking of Richard, omit this anecdote, which appears to be derived from a mere eastern mode of expressing terror.

In the passage taken from the *Táríkh-i Táhirí* we have not only children taking fright, but women even bringing forth prematurely, at the name of Daryá Khán. The same effect is ascribed in that work (pp. 48, 52) to the Moghal cap:—"Such fear of the Moghals fell upon both men and women, that the men lost all courage, *and the women miscarried at the very sight of the Moghals with their terrific head-pieces.*" But the shape and feature of this alarming helmet, or *Táki*, are not described. The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (p. 42) tells us that even horses started at it, as those of the Saracens at Richard of England.

We might, from the expressions used, conceive that their helmets, like those of Ulysses and some of the barbarous nations of antiquity, were covered with alarming devices of open jaws and fiery dragons, and that the Moghals in Sind stalked about,—

——— tegmen torquens immane leonis,
Terribili impexum setâ, cum dentibus albis,
Indutus.[2]

but had this been the case, we should have most probably had more frequent mention of the circumstance, especially by Khusrú, who was their prisoner, and delighted to record their hideous faces and fashions.

But neither in Khusrú, nor in any other author, do we find notice of such an helmet, or *chapelle de fer*, as would give rise to the fears here depicted. A good European observer of their manners merely remarks that the upper part of their casque was of iron or steel.[3] The tail of hair, if it was worn according to its present dimensions,

[1] *Hist. du roy St. Loys*, ix. p. 116; see also Matt. Westm., p. 304.
[2] Virg. *Æn.*, vii. 666
[3] Galea autem est superius ferrea vel de chalybe, sed ille quod protegit in circuitu collum et gulam de corio est."—J. de Plano-Carpini, in *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, Tom. IV. p. 687.

might, notwithstanding its being honoured as a royalty,[1] have excited surprise, and perhaps ridicule, but no alarm. From an early period, ever since the Moghal tribes were known to Europe, this appendage has naturally excited observation, just as it does now, where they border on European nations.[2] Procopius[3] and Priscus[4] remark upon it as a peculiarity of the Huns.

It is probable that these Moghals in Sind may, in their day, have worn a head-dress, such as Rubruquis, more than two centuries before, had attributed to their women. Even at present, the Turkman female cap is no pigmy, being higher than a military chako, over which a scarf is thrown, reaching down to the waist. But this is nothing to what it was in the time of our adventurous traveller. That was indeed calculated to inspire terror, and produce the results attributed to the *Táki*. It must have been more formidable than European courts ever produced, even in the horned and steeple coiffure of the fifteenth century.

"Their women have an ornament for their heads, which they call *Botta*, being made of the barke of a tree. * * * It hath a square sharp spire rising from the toppe thereof, being more than a cubite in length, and fashioned like unto a pinacle. * * * * Upon the midst of the sayd spire, or square toppe, they put a bunch of quills or of slender canes, another cubite long, or more. * * * Hereupon, when such gentlewomen ride together, and are beheld afar off, they seem to be souldiers with helmets on their heads, carrying their lances upright; for the sayd *Botta* appeareth like a helmet with a lance over it."[5]

This is like the fantastic *fontange* of Europe, raised an ell above the head, and pointed like steeples, which caused our pious preachers

[1] "A Mongol is amenable to punishment if he pluck another by his tuft of hair, not on account of the assault, but because the tuft is declared to be the property of the Emperor."—Pallas, *Mongolischen Völker*, Vol. I. p. 194.

[2] M. J. de Klaproth, *Voyage au Caucase*, Tom. I. p. 83.

[3] *Historia Arcana*, p. 31, Lugd. 1623. He says the Massagetæ adopt the same custom.

[4] *Excerpta de Legationibus*, 2.

[5] Rubruquis, cap. 8, ap. Hakluyt, *Voyages and Discoveries*, Vol. I. p. 108. The original Latin is given at p. 232, and a similar description by Jean de Plan-Carpin, at p. 615 of the *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, above quoted. Quatremere, *Hist. Mong.*, p. 102, note 30.

infinite trouble, as well as missionary perambulations, for its suppression. So like, indeed, that it would really seem to be derived direct from the eastern model, but that these comical fashions are the product of no particular age or country; for even before the decline of the Empire, the Roman lady—

"Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum
Ædificat caput; Andromachen a fronte videbis."[1]

Nevertheless, when we consider that, about the time of the capture of Constantinople, Turkish turbans were all the rage in Western Europe, we may perhaps admit, that, had we not become acquainted with Tartar costume, the marvellous absurdity of the steeple-cap never could have been introduced amongst us. Paradin describes it as—"Made of certain rolls of linen pointed like steeples, about an ell in height. These were called by some, great butterflies, from having two large wings on each side, resembling those of that insect. The high cap was covered with a fine piece of lawn, hanging down to the ground, the greater part of which was tucked under the arm."[2]

This must evidently be the same as the Tartar *Botta*, and the illuminations of that period make the dimensions still more portentous, and the resemblance to the eastern original still more striking. The *paysannes* of Normandy have to this day preserved this monstrous extravagance for the gratification of modern eyes.[3]

If this was not the Alpine chapeau which spread such dismay in Sind, it may have been the lofty dark sheepskin *Tilpak*,[4] which the Turkmans now wear, about a foot high. An exaggerated form of this would have been alarming enough to produce the effect described.

Dismounting for Combat.

We find that the practice of dismounting, previous to coming to close combat, is frequently alluded to in these local histories, as being of common observance among many of the border tribes between Sind and Rájpútána.

[1] Juvenal, *Sat.*, vi. 501. Ruperti's note gives other instances.
[2] Paradin, *Annales de Bourgogne*, p. 700.
[3] Wright, *Archæological Journal*, No. i.; Addison, *Spectator*, No. 98; Planché, *Hist. of British Costume*, pp. 146-149, 236-263; Argentre, *Hist. de Bretagne*, livr., x. ch. 42; Bayle, *Dict. Histor.*, v. "Andromaque," rem. G. and v. "Conecte."
[4] I presume this is the same as the Kalpak, on which see *L'Univers. Pitt.*, vi. 67.

Here in the Extract from the *Beg-Lar-náma*, at p. 293, it is the Sodhas and Ráthors who adopt it. A few pages before, we find the Jhárejas of Guzerát, who accompanied Jám Fíroz against Mirza Sháh Husain, appealing to that custom, as established among themselves; declaring that they always fought with the enemy on foot.

We have seen above (p. 411) that Ráí Chach and Mahrat of Chitor contend against each other on foot; the former representing that, being a Brahman, he was unable to fight on horseback; then again mounting his horse unexpectedly, he slays his antagonist with the most deliberate treachery.

It is probable that the Ráná of Chitor would not have so readily been deceived by this insidious challenge, had it been at all opposed to the military practice of those times. Indeed, to the present day, we find Sindians, unlike most Asiatic nations, still somewhat repugnant to fighting on horseback, and priding themselves more on being foot soldiers than cavalry.

I allude in a subsequent note to the dismounting being followed by binding those fighting on the same side, one to the other, by their waistbands: but this seems to have been resorted to only in desperate circumstances, when there was no chance, or intention, of escape. The mere dismounting appears not to have been attended with any vow of self-sacrifice.

In Persian history we meet with similar instances of this dismounting to engage in single combat. Thus, after the fatal battle of Kádisíya, the Persian general, Takharján, dismounts to fight with the Arab champion, Zahír.

The practice was very common in the Middle Ages in Europe, being introduced chiefly for the purpose of obviating the inconvenience of the cumbersome armour of that period. The cavalry dismounted, leaving their horses at some distance, and combated with their lances on foot. William of Tyre (xvii. 4) says of the Emperor Conrad's cavalry, in the second Crusade:—"De equis descendentes, et facti pedites; sicut mos est Teutonicis in summis necessitatibus bellica tractare negotia." The English did the same in their engagement with the Scotch, in 1138, near North Allerton, commonly called the Battle of the Standard. Comines also (i. 3) observes upon it as a Burgundian fashion: "Entre les Bourgig-

nons, lors estoient les plus honorez ceux que descendoient avec les archers."

In the wars of Edward III. dismounting was not uncommon; and Sir John Hawkwood, one of his knights, the famous partizan leader, disguised by contemporary writers under the name of Aucud or Agutus, introduced it into Italy. And it was, as we learn from Monstrelet (ii. 10, 20), practised by the English in their second wars with France, especially at the battles of Crevant and Verneuil.[1]

Colligation in Fighting.

The extraordinary custom alluded to in the *Beg Lár-náma*, of a devoted band tying themselves together by their waistbands, before fighting *à tout outrance*, is mentioned in the same terms in the *Tárikh-i Sind* (MS. p. 173).

"When they saw the army of the Moghals, they *dismounted from their horses, took their turbans from off their heads, and binding the corners of their mantles, or outer garments, to one another*, they engaged in battle; for it is the custom of the people of Hind and Sind, whenever they devote themselves to death, *to descend from their horses, to make bare their heads and feet, and to bind themselves to each other by their mantles and waistbands.*"

These people appear most of them to have been Sammas; and it is among their descendants in Kachh that we find this curious custom again alluded to (*Tárikh-i Sind*, MS. p. 194), when Mirzá Sháh Husain attacked Ráí Khangár. Here we have a new feature added, of serrying shields together like a compact phalanx.

"The men under Khangár, having set themselves in battle array, *dismounted from their horses, locked their shields together, seized their spears in their hands, and bound the corners of their waistbands.*"

The *Tarkhán-náma* omits all mention of the proceedings between Ráí Khangár[2] and Mirzá Sháh Husain, but they are noticed in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (MS. p. 194); and the observance of this strange practice is also there alluded to, in words similar to those quoted from the *Táríkh-i Sind.*

[1] Hallam's *Europe in the Middle Ages*, Vol. I. p. 508.

[2] According to a stanza familiarly quoted in Guzerát, there have been no less than seven Jháreja chieftains of this name. We need not here show which was the opponent of Mirzá Sháh Husain.

The dismounting from horseback, prior to actual contact in the field of battle, is mentioned in a previous note of this Appendix, and appears to have been a more common occurrence; but the colligation evidently implies desperation, even unto death.

Some barbarous nations of antiquity seem to have adopted the same practice, but more with the object, apparently, of keeping their ranks unbroken, than symbolizing any vow of self-destruction. So, at the battle of Campi Raudii, we read of the Cimbri binding themselves together by long chains run through their belts, avowedly for the purpose of maintaining an unbroken line.[1] There is good reason to suppose that the Soldurii of Gaul and the Comites of Germany showed their devotion occasionally in a similar fashion.[2]

Even as late as the days of chivalry, we find a resort to the same singular mode of showing a desperate resolve to die in the field. See what the heroic king of Bohemia, together with his faithful and devoted companions did at the glorious battle of Creçy:—

"The valyant kynge of Behaygne (Bohemia), called Charles of Luzenbourge, sonne to the noble Emperour Henry of Luzenbourge, for all that he was nyghe blynde, whan he vnderstode the order of the batayle, he sayde to them about hym, "Where is the lorde Charles, my sonne." His men sayde, "Sir, we can nat tell; we thynke he be fightynge." Than he sayde, "Sirs, ye ar my men, my companyons, and frendes in this iourney; I requyre you bring me so farre forwarde, that I may stryke one stroke with my swerde." They sayde they wolde do his commaundement; and to the intent that they shulde not lese hym in the prease, *they tyed all their raynes of their bridelles eche to other*, and sette the kynge before to accomplysshe his desyre, and so they went on their ennemyes. The lord Charles of Behaygne, his sonne, who wrote hymselfe Kynge of Behaygne, and bare the armes, he cam in good order to the batayle; but whan he sawe that the matter went awrie on their partie, he departed, I can nat tell you whiche waye. The kynge, his father, was so farre forewarde, that he strake a stroke with his swerde, ye and mo than foure, and fought valyantly, and so dyde his company; and

1 Plutarch, *Marius*, cap. 27.

2 Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, Lib. iii. Cap. 22, vii. 40; Tacitus, *Germania*, Cap. 14; J. Schiller, *Thesaur. Antiq. Teutonicarum*, iii. pp. 38, 749.

they adventured themselfe so forewarde, that they were ther all slayne; and the next day they were founde in the place about the kynge, *and all their horses tyed eche to other.*"[1]

A curious instance occurred even lately, when Muhammad 'Ali gained his victory over the Wahábís at Bissel. Several bodies of the Azir Arabs, who had sworn by the oath of divorce, not to turn their backs on the Turks, were found by the victors tied together by the legs, with the intent of preventing each other from running away, and in that unbroken and desperate line of battle were literally cut to pieces.[2]

Barge, an Arabic word.

The term used by Biláduri to represent a vessel of war is *Bárija.* He uses the same word, in the plural, in speaking of the vessels which were captured by the Meds, on their voyage from Ceylon to to the Persian Gulf, an act of piracy which led to the Arab conquest of Sind (*supra*, p. 118).

Bírúní says also, a century later, that the *Bawárij* are established at Kachh and Somnát, and are so called because they devote themselves to the pursuit of piracy, in ships which are called *Bera* (*supra*, p. 65).[3] This is a native word still in use for a boat, but the origin of the term *Bawárij* must be sought, not in the Indian *Bera*, but rather in the Arabic *Bárija*, which Golius, on the authority of the *Kámús*, tells us to mean a large vessel of war.[4]

From the same source our English *Barge* seems to be derived, which, though at first view it may appear rather a startling assertion, will perhaps be admitted, when we see how our best etymologists have failed in their endeavours to trace its real origin. Johnson (Todd) says it is derived from old French *Barje*, or *Barge*, and Low-Latin *Barga*. He should have ascertained whence the French *Barje* is itself derived. Tooke says, *Barge* is a strong boat, and *Bark* is a stout vessel, derived from the past participle of

[1] Froissart's *Chronicles, translated by Lord Berners*, Cap. 30, Vol. I. p. 157.

[2] Sir H. Brydges, *History of the Wahauby*, p. 91; Dr. Crichton, *History of Arabia*, p. 602.

[3] See also Gildemeister, *de reb. Ind.*, p. 185.

[4] Navis magna bellica.—*Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, s.v.

beorgan, "to protect," "to strengthen."[1] Crabb says from *Barca*.[2] Richardson, from the Gothic *bairgan*, "to fortify." Webster, from Dutch *Bargie*. Palgrave tells us that the piratical boats of the Danes were called *Barga* and *Barka*;[3] and *Barca* is used by the Monk Abbo, in his unpolished poem (A.D. 891) on the siege of Paris by the Normans.

Barcas per flumina raptant.[4]

But we have no occasion to look for any connection between our words *Bark* and *Barge*. The former is confessedly an old word, the latter comparatively modern. The former is, indeed, much older than even the Danish or Norman piracies. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, who died A.D. 431, applies it thus:—

Ut mea salubri *Barca* perfugio foret
Puppis superstes obrutæ.[5]

In consequence of its use by Byzantine authors, altered into *Βαλκα* by Nicetas,[6] Salmasius and J. C. Scaliger have sought for a Grecian origin of the word, and the latter finds it in *Βάρος*, quasi, "a ship of burden."[7] Others, again, say from "Barca, a city of Africa;" and Roderic of Toledo, from "Barco, a city of Spain."[8]

Our more immediate concern, however, is with *Barge*, respecting which it is obvious to remark, that, though its present use is confined to fluviatile transits and pageantries—whether for the conveyance of coals or cockneys, merchandize or Lord Mayors—it was, on its first introduction, designed for higher purposes. Our oldest writers apply it solely to sea-going craft. Thus Chaucer:—

He knew wel alle the havens, as they were,
Fro' Gotland to the Cape de Finistere,
And every creke in Bretagne and in Spaine:
His *barge* ycleped was the Magdelaine.[8]

[1] *Diversions of Purley*, Vol. II. p. 181.
[2] *Technological Dictionary*, s.v.
[3] Quoting Hincmar—"quas nostrates *Bargas* vocant."—*History of Normandy and England*, Vol. I. p. 510.
[4] *De bello Paris*, Lib. ii. This poem was published in Latin and French, with notes, by M. Taranne, in 1834.
[5] *Poëmata*, 13. [6] *Alex.*, Lib. i. Num. 7. [7] *Exercitat.*, 71.
[8] *De rebus Hispan.*, Lib. i. Cap. 5. These quotations are from Hofmann, *Lexicon Universale*, Vol. I. p. 476. See also Ducange, *Glossar. Med. et Inf. Latinitatis*, vv.
[9] Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, v. 412.

Even as late as the fifteenth century, the great Swedish ship of 1000 tons burden was called the King's *barge;*[1] and the largest vessel hitherto built in Scotland was called the Bishop's *barge.*[2] But what is more to the purpose is, that we do not find mention of the word till the Crusades had introduced it, through the Arabic language, into our vocabulary,[3] and then only as a large ship, used chiefly on military expeditions. So, in the very old Romance of Richard Cœur de Lion :—

Among you partes[4] every charge.
I brought in shippes and in *barge*,
More gold and silver with me,
Than has your lord and swilke[5] three.

Again, a little further on :—

Against hem comen her navey,
Cogges,[6] and dromounds,[7] many galley,
Barges, schoutes, and trayeres fele,[8]
That were charged with all weal,
With armour, and with other vitail,
That nothing in the host should fail.[9]

Coupling this early and distinctive use of the term with the fact of its being first used during the Holy Wars, and with the unsatisfactory guesses of our lexicographers, we may safely conclude that the English *Barge* is no other than the Arabic *Bárija*, however much it may now be diverted from the original design of its invention.

[1] Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. XI. p. 364.
[2] Mac Pherson's *Annals of Commerce*, Vol. I. p. 689.
[3] Admitting that the *g* in the Low-Latin *Barga* may have had the soft pronunciation of *j*, and that *Barge* is thence derived, we can still refer its origin to the Arabs in Spain. [4] Divide. [5] Such. [6] Cock-boats.
[7] Large vessels of burthen. This word, though a Greek etymology is assigned to it, is probably itself Arabic.—MacPherson, *Annals of Commerce*, Vol. I. p. 352.
[8] Many long-boats.
[9] Ellis, *Early English Metrical Romances*, pp. 315, 324.

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